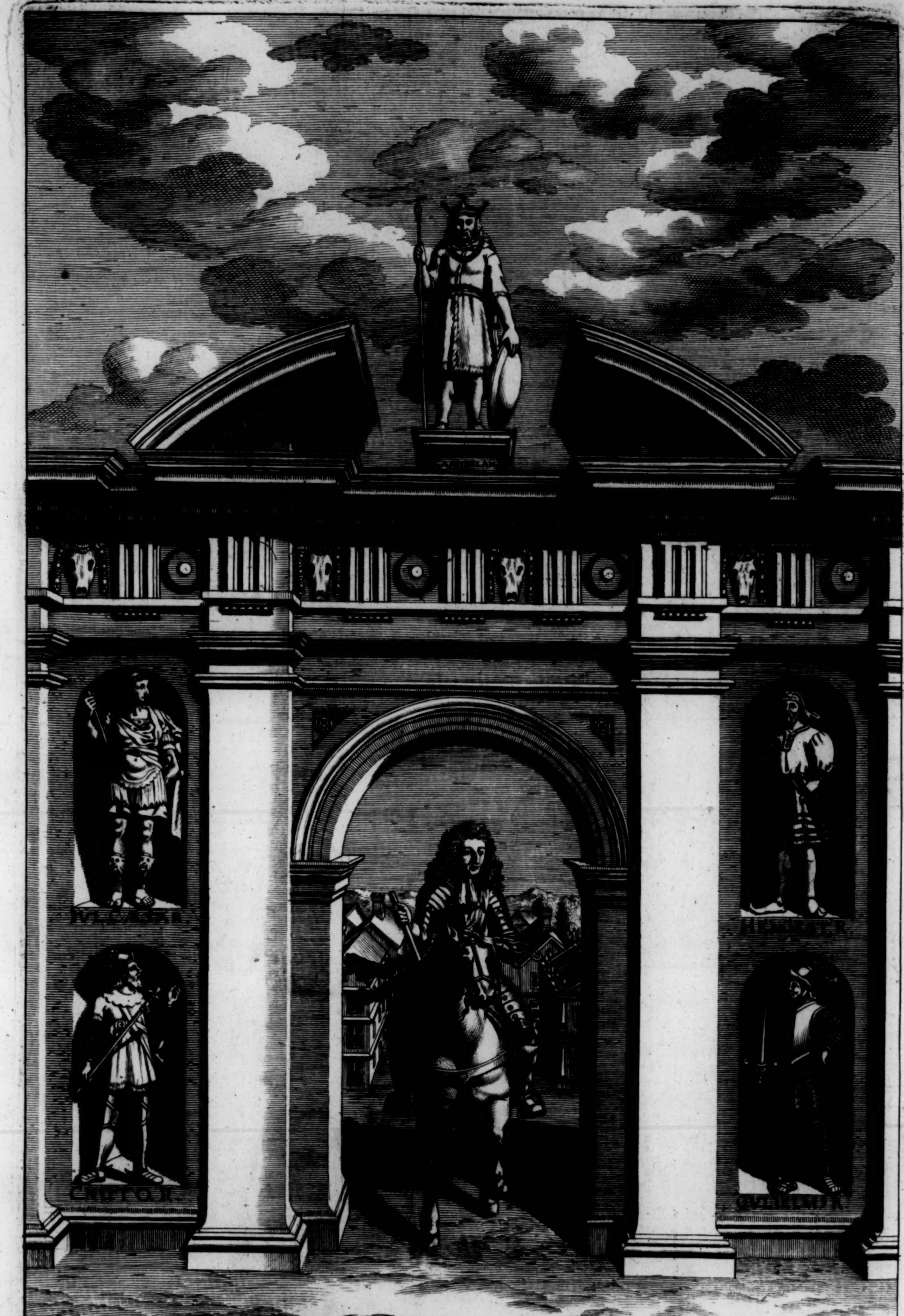

IVL. CAESAR
CNVTO R.
HENRIC. R.
GVLIELM. R.

M Burghers delin. et sculp.

THE
General Hiſtory
OF
ENGLAND,

AS WELL

Eccleſiaſtical as Civil,

From the Earlieſt Accounts of Time,
To the Reign of his Preſent Majeſty
King *WILLIAM.* III

Taken from the moſt ANTIENT RECORDS,
MANUSCRIPTS, and HISTORIANS.

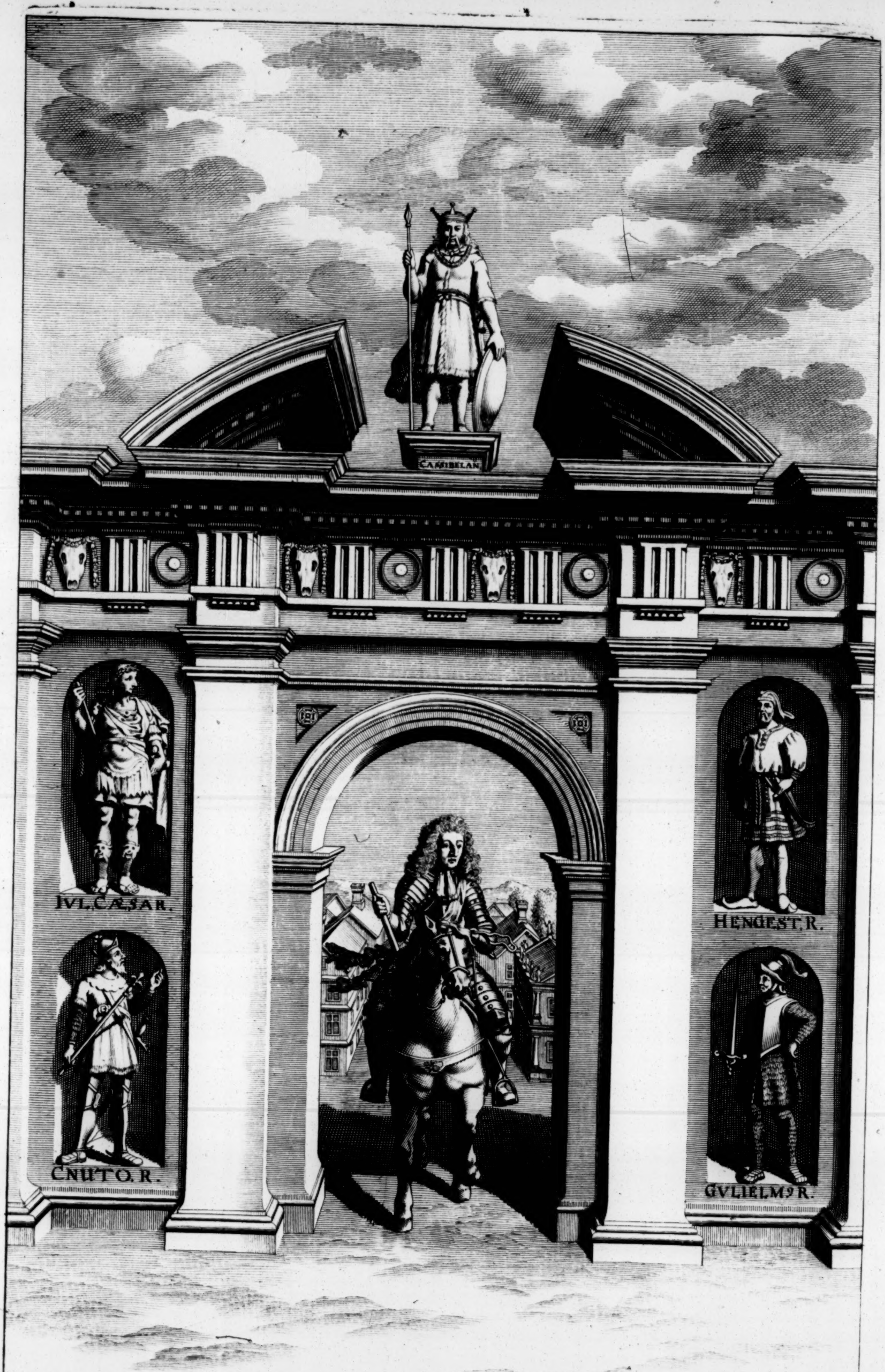
Containing the ~~LIVES of the KINGS, and~~ with MEMORIALS of the moſt EMINENT PERSONS both in CHURCH and STATE:

With the Foundations of the NOTED MONASTERIES, and both the UNIVERSITIES.

VOL. I.

By *JAMES TYRRELL*, Eſq;

LONDON,
Printed for **Henry Rhodes** in *Fleetſtreet*, **John Dunton** in *Jewenſtreet*,
John Salusbury in *Cornhil*, and **John Harris** in *Little-Britain*.
MDCXCVI.


CASSIBELAN
IVL. CÆSAR.
HENGEST. R.
CNUTO. R.
GVLIELM9 R.

M Burghers delin. et sculp.

THE
General Hiſtory
OF
ENGLAND,

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MDCXCVI.

1356/8

BRITISH MUSEUM

To the Right Honourable

THOMAS

Earl of Pembroke *and* Montgomery;
Baron Herbert *of* Caerdiff; *Lord* Roſſe, Par,
Marmion, St. Quintin *and* Shurland;
Lord Privy-Seal; Lord Lieutenant of the County
of Wilts, *and* South-Wales; *and*
One of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

My Lord,

IT having been uſual to dedicate Works of publick Uſe and Benefit to great Perſons, eminent for Vertue, Learning and Nobility, I think my ſelf happy under the Obligation of that Cuſtom; ſince it ſomewhat excuſes, as well as encourages my Preſumption, to lay this Performance at your Lordſhip's Feet.

I am ſure it could not be honoured with a more agreeable Name:

A Name ſo univerſally known, that all Men acknowledg your Lordſhip to be ſignally endued with thoſe excellent Qualities, which render you not only a great Maſter in the moſt uſeful Parts of Learning, but likewiſe incline you to a generous Encouragement of all thoſe who have any pretence to them. Which Favour, your Lordſhip having been pleaſed to confer on me, among ſeveral others of greater Merit, gives me the more Confidence to addreſs this firſt Volume of our Engliſh Hiſtory to your Lordſhip's Patronage: for as no Perſon hath been more converſant in things of this Nature than your ſelf; ſo I know none more able to make a right Judgment of them.

And tho I will not affirm this to be an Exact Hiſtory according to the ſtrict Rules of Art, yet if I were conſcious to my ſelf, that it was wholly unworthy your Acceptance, I ſhould derogate very much from that Reſpect which is ſo juſtly due to your Lordſhip's Character.

But if the not Writing any thing which I did not believe to be true, nor the concealing any thing uſeful to the World, that is ſo, might qualify me for an Hiſtorian, perhaps then I may have ſome pretence to that Title. However, your Lordſhip will here meet with a faithful Account of all the chief Actions and Revolutions, that have happened in this Kingdom down to the *Norman William.* As firſt, the Conqueſt the *Romans* made of that part of *Britain* we now call *England*; then their quitting it after a long Poſſeſſion, in order to ſecure their Empire at Home from the Inſults of ſo many barbarous Nations: after which followed the calling in of the *Saxons* to aſſiſt the *Britains.* And laſtly, from the formers quarrelling with the latter, enſued their total Expulſion out of the beſt and moſt fertile parts of this Iſland.

As for the Invaſions by the *Danes* under King *Cnute*, and by the *Normans* under King *William*, commonly called the *Conqueror*; though it muſt be granted, that theſe Princes were victorious by their Arms, yet was not this Nation ſubdued by either of them ſo entirely, as that its Submiſſions could properly be ſtiled Conqueſts, but rather Acquiſitions gained by thoſe Princes upon certain Compacts between them and the People of *England*; both Parties ſtanding obliged in ſolemn Oaths, mutually to perform their parts of the Agreement, as will be clearly ſeen in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

Yet I doubt not but in theſe great Revolutions, your Lordſhip will take notice, that the People of this Kingdom were never overcome by Strangers, till their Luxury ſoftning their warlike Tempers, and producing a careleſs Adminiſtration of their Affairs, had made them an eaſy Prey to their Invaders: This I obſerve not to reproach, but to warn our Nation, leſt by the like Miſcarriages they ſhould incur the like Puniſhments.

I have now no more, but to beg your Lordſhip's Acceptance of this Dedication, as a Tribute juſtly yours, by reaſon of thoſe great Obligations, for your ſo freely communicating to me ſome part of your uncommon Knowledg, whenever I have had the Happineſs of your excellent Converſation;

An Honour, which engages me to own my ſelf, with the utmoſt Reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and

moſt obedient Servant,

James Tyrrell.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THO it hath been a general *Complaint* of the *moſt Learned and Judicious Men of this Nation, that we have extreamly wanted an exact Body of* Engliſh *Hiſtory in our own Language, for the Inſtruction and Benefit of our Nobility and Gentry, together with others who would be glad to underſtand by it the Original Conſtitutions and Laws of their own Country; yet ſince perhaps ſome ordinary Readers may be inclined to think this Work unneceſſary, becauſe it hath been already performed by ſo many different Hands; I ſhall therefore in the firſt Place ſay ſomewhat to obviate and remove this ſeeming Objection.*

THOSE that are any thing converſant in our Hiſtorians, do know that the Writers in Engliſh, *eſpecially of this Period now publiſh'd, are not many. As for* Caxton, Fabian, *and others of leſs Note, (who are very ſhort, and now read but by few) I ſhall paſs them by, and only mention* Grafton *and* Hollingſhead, *the former of whom lived in the Reign of* Henry VIII. *and the latter in that of Queen* Elizabeth. *And of theſe I need not ſay much: for tho they contain a great deal of Matter, very curious and fit to be known, eſpecially relating to the Times wherein they lived, yet not only their dry and uncouth way of Writing, and dwelling ſo long on the exploded Fables of* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth, *but the ſtuffing of their Hiſtories with divers mean and trivial Relations unworthy the Dignity of their Subject, have rendred their Labours tedious, and in a great meaſure unuſeful to their Readers.*

BUT as for Stow *and* Speed, *who wrote in the time of King* James *the Firſt, 'tis true the former of them is not ſo long and tireſom in* Geoffrey's *Stories, as thoſe abovementioned; and it muſt be confeſſed that Mr.* Speed *was the firſt* Engliſh *Writer, who, ſlighting* Geoffrey's *Tales, immediately fell upon more ſolid Matter; giving us a large Account of the Hiſtory of this Iſland during the Time of the* Roman *Emperors, and* Engliſh Saxon *Kings; and had he not, by making his Reader follow thoſe Emperors in all their Foreign Wars and Expeditions, wherein* Britain *was no way concerned, he had rendred his Work leſs Irkſome, and more Profitable than now it is.*

BUT notwithſtanding both theſe Writers had many choice Collections of Noble Manuſcripts relating to our Engliſh *Hiſtory, and might have had the View of ſeveral others if they would have been at the Pains of ſeeking after*

ter them; yet it muſt be owned they did not make that Improvement of thoſe Opportunities as might have been expected from ſuch great Aſſiſtances; there being not much to be found material in either of them, but what was in the other Hiſtories before publiſhed: though this muſt be allowed in their Commendation, that they are both of them (eſpecially the former) commonly right in their Chronologies, *and the latter has given us a choice* Collection *of the Antient Coins of the* Roman *Emperors, as well as of the* Engliſh Saxon *Kings; and has been alſo more exact than any other Writer, in his Account of their Wives and Iſſue.*

AND as for thoſe who wrote in the Time of K. Charles *the* Firſt, *viz. Mr.* Daniel, *and Sir* Richard Baker; *the Relations they have afforded us of thoſe Kings, are rather ſhort Abſtracts of their Reigns, than juſt Hiſtories, it not being their Deſign to write at large of that Period we here treat of.*

BUT ſince the Reſtoration of K. Charles *the* Second, *there are ſeveral who have undertaken this Province, the firſt of whom was Mr.* Milton; *and it muſt be acknowledged, that he wrote this* Engliſh Saxon *Hiſtory with Judgment, though not with that Diligence and Exactneſs as we may ſee he did his other Works of a different Nature; ſince either through want of Opportunity to conſult Antient Manuſcripts, (ſeveral of which have been publiſhed ſince he wrote) or elſe by not making uſe of thoſe Authors he might have had, and by confining himſelf too much to the relating of Military Matters, and almoſt wholly neglecting Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, or looking into thoſe things which he by way of Contempt called* Cathedral Regiſters; *as alſo by omitting the giving us any Account of the Antient* Saxon *Laws, and* Original *Conſtitutions of this Kingdom; he has thereby rendred that Work much more dry and imperfect than otherwiſe no doubt it would have been from ſuch a* ^ *Pen* ~~*as his*~~.

^ celebrated

THE next that ſucceeded him in this Labour was Mr. Sammes, *who had a fair Opportunity of improving his Hiſtory, by amending Mr.* Milton's *Omiſſions; but inſtead of this, by indulging himſelf too much in the Relation of, and giving Credit to* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth, *and* White *(that called himſelf* Baſingſtoke*) their old Stories, and by making long and unneceſſary Excurſions on the Antiquity and Original of the* Greeks, Romans *and* Saxons, *as likewiſe of their Religion and Manners (things altogether foreign to this Subject) tho he hath ſhewn a great deal of Reading, yet having been all the while very ſhort in* that *which ought to have been the main Buſineſs of his Hiſtory, he hath thereby ſpoiled a Noble Deſign.*

Phœnicians?

'TIS true, the Learned Dr. Howell, *in the ſecond and third Volumes of his General Hiſtory, hath given us a faithful Account of the Affairs of* Britain, *from the Coming in of the* Romans, *as far as the* Norman *Conqueſt; and hath alſo a very elaborate Diſcourſe of their Civil Polity and Laws: and had that Work been done by it ſelf, and not involved in ſuch large Volumes, (but written in a more Chronological Method) and had he not laid the Hiſtory of each Kingdom of the* Engliſh Saxon *Heptarchy ſeparately and apart, which makes him often guilty of divers unneceſſary Repetitions; that Work would have proved much more uſeful than now it is: which being obſerved by many others beſides my ſelf, hath cauſed a certain Clergy-man (as I hear) to undertake the Epitomizing of that whole Work, which would be very uſeful to thoſe ordinary Readers who cannot well purchaſe theſe larger Volumes.*

BUT ſince theſe Learned and Ingenious Authors have in ſome Point or other here mentioned been deficient in this Undertaking, I found it requiſite (for

(for the making a full and compleat Hiſtory of the Affairs contained in this Volume) rather wholly to erect a new Edifice, than to be at the Trouble of altering of theirs; and therefore have thought it neceſſary to draw this Work afreſh from the ſame Originals from which they had taken theirs. To which I have alſo added ſeveral other material Paſſages, that either they wanted the Happineſs of ſeeing, or elſe would not be at the Pains and Expence I have been at to peruſe; not but that I muſt own my ſelf much beholding to them for divers Choice Remarks and Obſervations; which, not to be thought guilty of Plagiary, I have noted in the Margin by the Initial Letters of their Names; and have likewiſe ſometimes taken their Tranſlations of a few diverting Legends or Stories, to ſpare my ſelf the Trouble of making them anew: and even theſe I have alſo compared with the Originals, and corrected the Stile, as well as the Senſe, in divers Places.

BUT I cannot here omit taking notice (among other Writers) of the firſt Part of Dr. Brady*'s compleat Hiſtory of* England, *which, tho it comprehends the ſame Period of Time as this we now preſent you with; yet ſeeing he hath there rather choſen to give us an Account of the Political Government, and Laws of the* German *and* Engliſh Saxons, *than to write an Entire Hiſtory of thoſe Times; I beg his Pardon, if I do not take it as to that part for ſo* compleat a Hiſtory *as he is pleaſed to intitle it: however, it muſt be confeſſed he hath taken much Pains, and ſhewn a great deal of reading in that Volume; and I could have wiſhed I might have been able to ſay, he had been alſo as careful of the juſt Rights and Liberties of his Country, (which he has done all he can to depreſs) as he has been* in aſſerting an Imaginary Right of *Lineal Succeſſion* in our Kings long before the Conqueſt; and that before that time as well as after, the Commons had no Repreſentatives in Parliament; *both which Aſſertions we ſhall make bold to examine in our enſuing Introduction. And (tho I have otherwiſe a great Value for his Learning, yet) I hope neither he himſelf, nor any one elſe who has a real Concern for the publick Good, will take it amiſs if I differ from him, where the Truth of our Hiſtory, as well as our Antient Laws and Conſtitutions will juſtify me, in contradicting ſome Aſſertions, which he has with ſo great an Aſſurance publiſhed to the World.*

AND thus having acquainted you with the Defects of theſe Writers in their ſeveral Undertakings, and the Reaſons why it was neceſſary to compile a new Hiſtory; I ſhall now ſhew you what Method I have followed, and what Authors I have made uſe of, in the Performance of it.

AS for the firſt *Book, it is no other than an* Epitome *of* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth*'s pretended* Britiſh *Hiſtory; and if it had not been more for the Diverſion of the younger ſort of Readers, and that the Work would have been thought by ſome others to be imperfect without it, I ſhould have been much better ſatisfied in wholly omitting it; yet I hope it will neither prove tedious nor unuſeful, ſince it may ſometimes be of Advantage to know Legends as well as true Hiſtory; or elſe which way can one tell how to paſs a juſt Cenſure on them?*

NOR can we poſitively affirm, that every thing contained in that Book of his is abſolutely falſe; for he, being a Perſon well verſ'd in the Hiſtory of his own Countrey, could not but give us all he knew concerning it, though interſperſed with ſo many notorious Fables of his own, which he ſeemeth to have interwoven, the better to connect thoſe broken Remains of old Times: But ſince no Man can eaſily at this diſtance diſtinguiſh Truth from

Falſhood, he ought to be dealt with as we do with thoſe who would impoſe counterfeit Coin upon us; in refuſing the whole Sum, where the greateſt part of it is ſo plainly diſcernable to be falſe.

HERE by the way I muſt ingenuouſly own a ſmall Miſtake I have committed in the firſt Book of this Volume; where ſpeaking ſomewhat in Defence of this Author, that he was not the firſt Inventor of the Story of Brutus, *it being alſo found in* Nennius *who lived long before him, and from whom I then ſuppoſed* Henry *of* Huntingdon *to have borrowed it; I now perceive upon better Information, that* Geoffrey *and* H. Huntingdon *were not only Cotemporaries, but the latter in that part of his* Engliſh *Hiſtory ſtill in Manuſcript,* (viz. *in the Second of his Epiſtle, dedicated to one* Gwarin *a Britiſh or Welſh Nobleman) confeſſes, that in his Journey to* Rome, *ſtaying ſome time by the Way at the Abbey of* Bec, *he there found a large Book of this* Geoffrey'*s, (whom he alſo calls* Arthur) *who had copiouſly and diligently wrote the* Britiſh *Hiſtory; though in the common printed Copies we find no more, than that travelling to the Place abovementioned, he had there met with a certain Volume, in which were divers things relating to the* Britiſh *Hiſtory not before known, but yet without naming the Author.*

THIS I thought good to advertiſe the Reader of, becauſe thoſe Sheets were wrought off before ever I was ſenſible of my Miſtake.

AS for my ſecond *Book, I can only tell you it is a true and juſt Tranſlation of the* Britiſh *Hiſtory from all the* Greek *and* Roman *Authors I could meet with that have treated of it; from whom alſo I have given you a Deſcription of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Antient* Britains: *and tho I grant this has been already attempted by one* Daniel Rodgers, *whoſe Papers are in the* Cottonian *Library, and is fully performed by Mr.* Camden *in his Introduction to his* Britannia, *and likewiſe by Mr.* Speed *before his Hiſtory; yet I have my ſelf compared them with the Originals, and added ſome Remarks, which I thought were further neceſſary to be known.*

I have begun this Part with Cæſar'*s Relation, as I found it in his Commentaries concerning his two Expeditions into* Britain; *and have ended with the laſt of the* Greek *and* Roman *Hiſtorians, viz.* Zoſimus, Oroſius, *and* Aurelius Victor.

AND whereas others who have undertaken this Province, have uſed the Liberty of Epitomizing or enlarging thoſe Paſſages they have cited from the Greek *and* Latin *Authors; I have thought fit faithfully to tranſlate them, except in ſome of their long-winded Orations; which, to avoid Prolixity, I thought it better to abridg, as not believing thoſe Orations to have been deliver'd in thoſe Circumſtances in which they are now dreſs'd.*

AND tho I do not pretend to have added much to what Mr. Camden *and Mr.* Milton *have already collected from thoſe Writers relating to the Hiſtory of* Britain; *yet I hope I have from ſeveral Verſes of the Poet* Claudian, *as alſo by the Aſſiſtance of thoſe great Maſters in Antiquity, the Lord Primate* Uſher, *the Reverend Dr.* Stillingfleet, *now Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter, *and Dr.* Lloyd, *now Lord Biſhop of* Coventry *and* Litchfield, *not only illuſtrated, but ſettled divers things relating to that part of our Eccleſiaſtical, as well as Civil Affairs, not commonly taken notice of before.*

IN the beginning of the third *Book, I have from Mr.* Sheringham'*s Treatiſe* De Origine Gentis Anglorum, *as alſo from other Authors, given you, in order to our* Engliſh Saxon *Hiſtory, a more Exact Account of the Original of thoſe Nations, which (when they came over into* England) *were com-*

prehended under the General Name of Saxons, than hath been hitherto publiſhed in our own Language.

AFTER which I have given you a Relation of the Manner of their coming over hither, and the Ground and Occaſion of their quarrelling with the Britains, from Gildas, Bede and Nennius.

BUT as for the Time of their erecting themſelves into an Heptarchy, ſince it is not to be learnt from Bede, who is wholly ſilent of what the Saxons did here from their firſt entrance to the Propagation of Chriſtianity, which he made it his Buſineſs chiefly to treat of; I have taken it from the Saxon Annals, as well as other later Authors that have mentioned any thing of it; though as to the whole Period of Time contained in this Book, it muſt be confeſſed it was when Letters were not in uſe amongſt them, and therefore could only be convey'd down by Tradition, which makes us here be beholding to the Annals abovementioned, or to ſome Antient Memoirs, which tho now loſt, were certainly ſeen by thoſe Writers, who have gathered from them.

INDEED I was ſomewhat perplexed what Method to take in digeſting the Hiſtory of ſeven concurring Kingdoms; ſince, which way ſo ever I engaged, I found it attended with ſome Inconveniences.

WILLIAM of Malmesbury, and ſeveral other Authors, as well in Latin as Engliſh, I know thought it beſt to give us this Hiſtory digeſted under each reſpective Kingdom apart; but then there is this Exception againſt that way of Writing, that without Chronological Tables, or frequent turning backward and forward, one cannot underſtand the Synchroniſms of the ſeveral Kings Reigns, or the Time wherein they lived, ſo as to compare them with others their Cotemporaries.

BESIDES which, there is alſo a neceſſity of an unneceſſary Repetition of the ſame Wars or Tranſactions, as well under the Hiſtory of the King that made, as of him who ſuffered that Invaſion; this appeareth in Speed, and Dr. Howel. 'Tis true, Mr. Speed thought of a good Method to help this, by ſuppoſing ſo many ſucceſſive Monarchs to have been always in England, from the Time of Hengeſt to K. Egbert, under whoſe ſeveral Reigns he alſo reduces whatſoever Actions happened in the reſt of all the other ſubordinate Kings then Regnant. This I confeſs had been a very good Expedient to avoid the Difficulties abovementioned, were it as juſt as it ſeems ſpecious: but upon Examination it will be found, that tho Bede as well as the Saxon Annals, have given us a Series of all thoſe Supream Kings, whom ſome of the Modern Writers are pleaſed to call Monarchs; yet, as I have ſufficiently ſhewn in this enſuing Hiſtory, they could by no means deſerve that Title; ſince it may be clearly ſeen by any one who will peruſe Mr. Speed, that there were ſometimes Intervals of ten or twenty Years, before ſuch a victorious Prince could make all the reſt by the Terror of his Arms ſubmit themſelves to him; which yet they never all did till the Reign of King Egbert, without preſerving entire all their Royal Rights and Prerogatives over their own Subjects.

AND beſides, this Power owing its Original wholly to Force, and not to a Lineal Succeſſion or Election over the reſt of thoſe Princes upon whom it was uſurped, was without any Juſt or Legal Right, and conſequently laſted no longer than the Succeſs, or at fartheſt the Life-time of ſuch a Conquering Prince; and then it was for a time Extinct, until ſome other of the Seven by the like ſucceſs of his Arms, could ſet up for the ſame Power and Greatneſs.

SO that at length we found, that the beſt way of Writing this Hiſtory was to follow the plain and natural Method of our Saxon Annals, not only as the moſt eaſy for our ſelves, but alſo for the Reader.

AND tho perhaps an Objection may be made againſt this Method, viz. *That the crowding of ſo many different Actions done in ſeveral Places, and under ſeveral Kings, renders the Work perplexed and difficult to be remembred, which I grant is in part true; yet to obviate this, I have at the end of each of the enſuing Books (except the laſt) preſented you with exact Chronological Tables, not only of the Names of all the Kings contained under each Period, but alſo in what Year of our Lord they began and ended their Reigns; ſo that the Reader by caſting his Eye upon any one of them, may eaſily find what Kings lived and reigned together, and conſequently in which of their Reigns any Action related in the Hiſtory was performed. And now,*

TO come to the fourth *Book,* Bede *being the moſt antient Author that gives us an Account of what was done in this Period, and out of whom the* Saxon Annals *themſelves have borrowed almoſt the greateſt part of what they relate, concerning thoſe early Times of Chriſtianity; I have therefore wholly confined my ſelf to him, without having recourſe to theſe* Annals, *or any other, unleſs it be where I find they relate any Action of which he has been wholly ſilent. But in this Period, I cannot but mention* Stephen Eddi, *or* Heddi, *a Monk; who, as* Bede *tells, was one of the firſt Maſters for Singing in the* Northumbrian *Churches; and having been invited by* Wilfred *Archbiſhop of* York *out of* Kent *for that purpoſe, had ſo great a Veneration for his Memory, that he wrote his Life in Latin, in a Stile ſomewhat better than could be expected from that Age: this Treatiſe having continued in Manuſcript in the Library of Sir* Jo. Cotton, *and alſo of that of* Salisbury, *has lately been publiſhed by the Learned Dr. Gale, in his laſt Volume of* Engliſh *Writers; and to which I muſt own my ſelf beholding for many choice Paſſages relating to the Eccleſiaſtical, as well as Civil State in thoſe Times: this Author flouriſh'd cotemporary with* Bede, *in the Reign of* Oſric *King of* Northumberland, *and died about* Anno Dom. 720.

BUT indeed as for the laſt forty Years, or thereabouts, viz. *from the Time when* Bede *ceaſed to write, which was* Anno Dom. 637. *we have been forced to make uſe of the* Annals, *or elſe of thoſe of later Writers that have made any Additions to them.*

WHICH Annals, *ſince I found them the Store-houſe, or Repoſitory, from whence moſt (if not all) of our* Latin *Hiſtorians, as well thoſe that wrote before, as ſince the Conqueſt, have borrowed the earlieſt Accounts of our* Engliſh Saxon *Affairs; I have by the advice of Perſons of much greater Learning and Judgment than my ſelf, rather choſe to tranſlate and give you them almoſt entire, as I find them in the Edition lately publiſhed, than to (do as moſt other Writers) cite them at ſecond Hand; not that I have omitted ſetting down whatſoever any other Authors have added to theſe* Annals *by way of Improvement or Illuſtration.*

WHEREFORE to avoid ſtuffing my Margins with unneceſſary Quotations, I deſire my Reader once for all, to obſerve, that whereſoever he ſhall find the Lines Comma'd, *(unleſs they be before ſome Speeches or Laws) they always denote the* Saxon Annals, *whether expreſly mentioned or not, as alſo in all other places, tho not* Comma'd, *where no other Writer is cited.*

BUT if ſome think I have inſerted too many Names of Authors into the Body of this Hiſtory, and that it had been better omitted there, and put into the Margin, or bottom of the Pages; to this I anſwer, that intending faithfully to tranſlate theſe Annals, *and to make ſuch frequent uſe of them as I have done, there could be no way to diſtinguiſh them from other Writers, but either by Letters in the Margin, or elſe by ſetting them in a different Character.*

racter. But as the former would have been a conſtant and unſightly clog to the Margin, ſo the other would have looked as unhandſome in the Body, and eſpecially at the latter end of the Work, where theſe Annals *alone take up ſeveral whole Pages.*

AND tho in my Citations of Authors I have ſeldom quoted the Page, yet having taken what I write from thoſe who have wrote in a Chronological Method, the Reader by turning to the Years of our Lord, may eaſily find what he looks for, making ſome ſmall allowance for different Accounts; and where other Authors have not taken that Courſe, I have there quoted the Chapter or Book, and in matters of greater Moment the very Page.

BUT that even the Annals *themſelves do vary from each other in Account of Time, often one, and ſometimes two or three Years, that is to be aſcribed either to the fault of the ſeveral* Amanuenſes, *or elſe to the different Calculations of thoſe Monks, who drew them up in the Form we now have them, as any may eaſily perceive that will give himſelf the Trouble to compare the various Readings of the ſeveral Copies of theſe* Annals, *lately publiſhed at* Oxford *by the Ingenious Mr.* Edmund Gibſon.

IN the fifth *and* ſixth Books, *as I have endeavoured faithfully to tranſlate the ſame* Annals, *ſo I have alſo uſed that Liberty, as not ſlaviſhly to confine my ſelf to the very Words themſelves, when either the Obſcurity or Uncouthneſs of the Phraſe would not bear a literal Tranſlation, but I thought I could give them a better turn.*

AND here, as alſo in the two preceding Books, I have often added by way of Illuſtration to the Text, the preſent proper Names of Places in a Parentheſis immediately after the obſolete Saxon *ones, as alſo the Titles of the Ealdormen, or Earls, Biſhops and Abbots, out of* Florence *of* Worceſter, *and other Authors, where the* Annals *have only given their bare Names, without telling us to what Places they belonged; and here likewiſe I would note, That in all* Saxon *words, where the Letter* (C) *is made uſe of, it is always pronounced like* (K), *there being no* K *in that Language. And as for the* Saxon *Names of Men made uſe of in the* Annals, *I have as near as I could faithfully kept to the* Saxon *Original, tho they often differ very much in their way and manner of ſpelling them from that of thoſe Latin Authors that tranſlate them.*

HAVING thus given you a ſhort Account of the ſeveral Books into which I have divided this Volume, I will now proceed to acquaint you with the reſt of my Authors from whom I have collected it; nor will I give you only their Names, which has been done by ſo many already, but a brief Cenſure of them and their Works, and in what Time they wrote, being ſuch as lived either before or after the Conqueſt: Of the former ſort there are but few, ſince from Bede *to* Aſſer. Menev. *there flouriſh'd no general Hiſtorian; for* William *of* Malmsbury *himſelf confeſſes, that after* Bede, *all liberal Studies more and more declining, thoſe that followed ſpent their Lives in Idleneſs or Silence: yet during even that Period, there were ſome Writers of this kind,* viz. *certain Monks in the greater Monaſteries, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſet down in ſhort, by way of* Annals, *the moſt remarkable Paſſages of their own Times in their own Language; nay, Learning was in that King's Reign fallen to ſo low an Ebb, that even ~~King Alfred~~ tells us in his Preface to the* Saxon *Verſion of* Gregory's *Paſtoral, That "in the " beginning of his Reign, there were few on this ſide* Humber *who could " underſtand their own Prayers, much leſs turn a piece of* Latin *into* Eng- " liſh, *and where then were our ſuppoſed flouriſhing Univerſities?*

Vid. Append. 3. ad vit. Alfredi.

he himſelf +

AND I ſhall here begin with Aſſerius Menevenſis, who was ſo called becauſe he was a Monk of Menevia or St. Davids. This was he who being ſent for by King Alfred out of Wales, aſſiſted him in his Studies, and beſides taught his Children, and others of the Nobility, Latin: after this King Alfred ſent him with others to fetch Grimbald out of Flanders into England; and after the Schools were opened at Oxford, the latter there profeſſed Divinity, and the former Grammar and Rhetorick, as you may find in the Annals of Hyde, cited in the enſuing Hiſtory.

Vid. Gotcelin in vit. Grimbaldi.

THIS Monk, being Learned above the Age in which he lived, firſt wrote the Annals that go under his Name; which having long continued in the Cottonian and other Libraries in Manuſcript, have been lately publiſhed by the Learned Dr. Gale, in his laſt Volume of Hiſtorians printed at Oxon. After theſe Annals, it is certain Aſſer alſo wrote the whole Hiſtory of King Alfred's Life, under the Title of de Geſtis Regis Ælfredi, which were firſt publiſhed by the Reverend Arch-biſhop Parker, in Saxon Characters, according to the Copy now in the Cottonian Library, and was alſo again put out by Mr. Camden in another Edition at Frankford. But it muſt be confeſſed there is ſome difference between theſe two Copies concerning the Univerſity of Oxford, which is taken notice of in this Work in its proper Place; but that the Annals abovementioned were written before his Hiſtory of King Alfred's Life, is plain, for he there refers you to thoſe Annals, which he has alſo inſerted in the Life almoſt word for word. But tho the former of theſe is continued to the Death of King Alfred, and the latter as far as the 14th Year of the Reign of K. Edward the Elder: yet it is evident that he himſelf wrote neither the one nor the other after the Year 893, being the 45th of King Alfred's Age; and this appears from the Life it ſelf, in which the Author particularly mentions it, nor could he extend the Annals any farther, becauſe they were written before he wrote the Life. This I obſerve to let the Reader underſtand, that whatever he finds farther in the Annals or Life, (the Subſtance of both which I have given him in this Volume) were continued by ſome other Hand; and as for the Annals they ſufficiently declare it; for towards the latter end, under Anno Dom. 909. you may meet with this Paſſage, hoc Anno Aſſerius Epiſcopus Sciréburnenſis obiit, which was no other than our Author himſelf: yet this muſt be farther obſerved of him, that he was ſo extreamly negligent in his Account of Time, that he begins the firſt Year of King Alfred's Reign, ſometimes at one Year of our Lord, and ſometimes at another, ſo that no Man can tell by him when it commenced.

Page 491. Edit.Camden.

BUT why he left off Writing ſo many Years before King Alfred died, and never finiſh'd his Life though he ſurvived him nine Years, I confeſs I know not; unleſs being preferred, about the Time when he had finiſh'd it, to the Biſhoprick of Shireburne, he left the King's Service, and going to reſide at his own See had other Buſineſs on his Hands than Writing. And that the ſame Aſſer who taught King Alfred, was alſo by him made Biſhop of Shireburne, appears from this King's Preface to the Saxon Tranſlation of St. Gregorie's Paſtoral, in which he tells you, he was aſſiſted by Plegmund his Archbiſhop, and Aſſer his Biſhop, to whom the ſaid King in his Will, (after the Archbiſhop and ſome other Biſhops) bequeathed a 100 Marks, by the Title of Aſſer Biſhop of Shireburne: from whence it is manifeſt, that the ſame Perſon who was King Alfred's Inſtructor, was alſo Biſhop of Shireburne; which Biſhoprick was certainly beſtowed on him after he had done Writing, ſince tho he mentions the Abbeys of Banwell, Ambresbury, and Exceter, to have been beſtowed upon him by the King, yet he is utterly ſilent of his being made Biſhop, which he would not ſurely have omitted, if he had been then ſo preferred; but how long he held this Biſhoprick we can ſay little poſitively, becauſe we do not find when it was firſt given him; but as for the time of his Death, not only the Annals that go under his Name, but the Saxon Chronicle alſo, places it under Anno 909. So that I think there can be no reaſonable cauſe to doubt of that.

BUT what ſhould lead ſuch a careful Chronographer as Florence of Worceſter into ſo great a Miſtake, as to place this Biſhop's Death under Anno 883, I know not, unleſs he had ſome other Copies of the Saxon Annals by him than are now extant, but the Faſti of the Saxon Kings and Biſhops publiſh'd by Sir H. Savil, at the end of William of Malmesbury, and other Writers are guilty of the like Miſtake, making this Aſſer to have ſucceeded Sighelm Biſhop of Shireburn, and to have died Anno 883; whereas it appears from our Annals, that Sighelm (whom William of Malmesbury makes to be the ſame Perſon with the Biſhop abovementioned) this very Year De Geſt. Pont. carried King Alfred's Alms to Rome, and afterwards went himſelf as far lib. 2. as India: however this Miſtake of Florence, as alſo the pretended Authority of our Welſh Chronicle, hath (as I ſuppoſe) led divers other Learned Men (and particularly Biſhop Godwin, and Arch-biſhop Uſher) into a Belief of two Aſſers both Biſhops, the one of whom died Anno 883, and the other to have been Arch-biſhop of St. Davids, and to have ſucceeded Novis: who (according to the Chronicle of that Church publiſh'd in the 2d Volume of Anglia Sacra) died Anno 872; and there immediately follows under Anno 909, Aſſerius Epiſcopus Britanniæ fit, which muſt certainly be an Errour in the Monk that wrote this Chronicle; for Aſſer himſelf in his Life of King Alfred, tells us of Hemeid Prince of South-wales, That & Nobis Archiepiſcopum Propinquum meum & me expulit, viz. from the Church of St. Davids: which word Nobis, the Learned Dr. Gale reads Novis, and ſo makes it good Senſe, that otherwiſe ſeems Non-ſenſe in the printed Copies. The falſe reading of which Word, as well as this Chronological miſtake of Florence abovementioned, led Bale into the belief that the Arch-biſhop above- Script. Britan. mentioned muſt have been that Aſſer, whom Caradoc's Chronicle (publiſh'd Cent. 2. cap. by Dr. Powel) makes to have died Anno Dom. 906. and which Authority led 25. the Lord Primate Uſher into that ſmall Miſtake in his Index Chronologicus, at the end of his Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquitat. of ſuppoſing this Aſſer to have been the Author of the Hiſtory of King Alfred, and not he who was Biſhop of Shireburn.

AND the right reading of this word Nobis in Aſſer, alſo proves the falſhood of that Welſh Annal but now mentioned: for if Novis was expell'd his Biſhoprick not long before Aſſer was ſent for by King Alfred, which was about Anno 885. then Novis could not be dead in Anno 872. as that Chronicle makes him; nor yet could Aſſer ſucceed Novis, Anno Dom. 909. for then there would have been a Vacancy of near 40 Years in that See, whereas the Saxon Annals rightly place the Death of our Aſſer Biſhop of Shireburn under this very Year.

SO that upon the whole Matter, it is the Judgment of the Reverend and Learned the now Lord Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, “That there ne-
“ver was but one Aſſer, who was alſo Biſhop of Shireburn; and that as
“for this Aſſer Biſhop of St. Davids, he had never any Being in Na-
“ture, but in the Brain of ſome ignorant Monks, who would for the Honour
“of their Church have made this Aſſer to have been Biſhop, not only of

" *St.* Davids, *but of* Britain, *contrary to the Truth of all Chronology, as* " *well as Matter of Fact.*

I have no more to remark of this Aſſer, *but that* Ingulph *not only ſays he was Biſhop of* Shireburn, *but alſo Abbot of* Bangor, *which I find not related by* Aſſer *himſelf, nor by any other Author; and therefore I look upon it as a Miſtake either in* Ingulph *or his Tranſcriber, in writing* Bangor *inſtead of* Banwell, *which was one of thoſe Abbeys that* Aſſer *ſays King* Alfred *beſtowed upon him.*

FROM this Aſſer *to* Ethelwerd, *who calls himſelf* Quæſtor, (i. e. *Treaſurer) and wrote in the beginning of the Reign of King* Edgar, *being deſcended from the* Saxon *Blood-Royal by King* Alfred *his Great-Grandfather, there flouriſhed no Hiſtorian; nor are we indeed ſo much the better for him as I could wiſh, for unleſs it be in the right ſettling of the Reigns and Deaths of ſome of our* Saxon *Kings, who lived not long before him, (about which the ſeveral Copies of the* Saxon Annals *do differ) there is not much to be learnt from him but what is in the* Annals *themſelves, or elſe in the laſt mentioned Author: from both which one may perceive that he had borrowed the moſt part of what he there writes. So that partly from the affected Obſcurity of his Stile, and partly from the bad Copy from which it was printed, (being that which is now in the* Cottonian *Library) in many Places we do not underſtand his meaning; but as far as we are able to do it, we have given you a true Account of what he has added to this Hiſtory.*

BUT either from the Lazineſs or Ignorance of the Monks, who were almoſt the only Writers of that Age, from the Time that Ethelwerd *left off, to ſome Years after the Conqueſt, we meet with no Hiſtorians, except* Osbern *and another Monk, that is* Anonymous; *the former of whom writing the Lives of St.* Dunſtan *and St.* Alphege, *has afforded us ſome Paſſages relating to this Hiſtory, as has alſo the latter in his Life of St.* Dunſtan, *which is ſtill in Manuſcript in the* Cottonian *Library: But as for* Osbern, *he is publiſhed in the firſt Volume of* Anglia Sacra. *And from theſe that Age gives us none, unleſs the Author (whoſe Name we know not) that wrote that ſhort Account of the Times immediately preceding the Reign of* Edward *the* Confeſſor, *called* Encomium Emmæ, *until* Ingulph *Abbot of* Croyland *finiſhed the Hiſtory of that Abbey about the latter end of the Reign of* William *the* Firſt. *And tho he did not take upon him to write a Hiſtory of more Affairs than thoſe of his own Monaſtery, yet he hath by the by interſperſed many conſiderable Paſſages relating to the Publick Tranſactions of this Kingdom, which I likewiſe have here inſerted.*

FROM him to Eadmerus *we find no Hiſtorian; and He, only relating the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory during the Reign of* William *the* Firſt, *and his Sons* William Rufus *and* Henry, *is of no uſe to us in this Volume here publiſhed.*

IN the beginning of the Reign of Henry *the* Firſt, *we find a moſt Laborious and Diligent Chronologer, viz.* Florence *of* **Worceſter**, *who continuing and enlarging the Hiſtory of* Marianus Scotus, *hath among the various Tranſactions of the reſt of* Europe, *given us at the end of almoſt every Year out of the* Saxon Annals, *an exact Account of the Affairs of* England; *to which he hath alſo added divers very curious Memoirs and Illuſtrations of his own: and beſides what is printed, there is alſo in Manuſcript in the* Bodleian *Library, a fair and perfect Copy of this Author, which once belonged to the Monaſtery of* St. Edmundsbury, *to which I have been much beholding, not only for ſome things concerning that Abbey, but alſo for ſeveral choice Paſſages relating to this our Hiſtory, which are neither to be found in the* printed Editions of this Author, nor any where elſe that I know of; therefore where-ever the Reader ſhall meet with any thing cited from Florence which is not found in Print, he may be aſſured it is in that Manuſcript, under the Year there ſet down in the Margin: this I mention, that the Reader may not be ſtartled, if he does not find the Paſſage I cite in the printed Copies, ſince I had not always time to compare them together.

FLORENCE was immediately followed by Simeon of Durham, who did not only Copy from him, but alſo added ſeveral Remarkable things particularly relating to the Northumbrian Kingdom, as well before as after it came under the Government of Earls. Tho Mr. Selden in his Preface to the Decem-ſcriptores, will not allow this Simeon to have been the Author of this Work, but that he was a Plagiary, and ſtole it from Turgot a Monk of the ſaid Church, who was alſo afterwards ordained Biſhop of St. Andrews in Scotland; and Simeon only adding ſome things to it of his own, took the whole Honour to himſelf: his Hiſtory reaches no farther than 1129. but was continued by John Prior of Hagulſtad to Anno 1154.

TO whom we may adjoin Richard (a Monk of the ſame Monaſtery) his Hiſtory of the Church of Durham, who has interſperſed many excellent Paſſages concerning the ſame Northern Story. Here likewiſe we may add the Chronicle of the Abbey of Mailroſs, which tho wrote by the Abbot of Dundraimon, was certainly collected out of ſome much antienter Annals of that Monaſtery which was then deſtroyed; and theſe together with the laſt mentioned Authors, have helped us to make up the Succeſſion of the Northumbrian Kings after Eardulf, that was expelled his Kingdom Anno 806. from whom our common Writers ſuppoſe there was an Interregnum for the ſpace of above ſixty Years, tho by thoſe above-named it appears to have been otherwiſe, as you may ſee in the Tables at the end of the laſt Book.

AFTER theſe flouriſhed William of Malmesbury, who finiſhed his Hiſtory in the Reign of King Stephen; but certainly he began it long before, viz. in the Reign of Henry the Firſt. To which Learned Monk, being one of the beſt Writers both for Judgment and Stile of that Age, I muſt own my ſelf obliged for the beſt and choiceſt Paſſages in this Volume.

TO him ſucceeded Henry Arch-Deacon of Huntington, who wrote a Hiſtory of the Kings of England, as well before as after the Conqueſt, and retiring to Rome lived there for ſome time for that purpoſe. He deduced his Hiſtory almoſt to the end of K. Stephen, and writing moſt commonly by way of Annals, tranſcribed many things out of Florence of Worceſter; and was of ~~that~~ great Reputation, that Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was his such Cotemporary, recommends the Engliſh Hiſtory to be written by his Pen, as he does the Britiſh to be continued by Caradoc of Lancarvon, who wrote a Welſh Chronicle as far as his own Time; the Subſtance whereof I have here likewiſe given you, as it was put out by Dr. Powell, to which I have alſo added ſeveral remarkable Paſſages that were deſigned in a new Edition of the ſame Work, to be publiſhed from the Manuſcripts of the Learned Antiquary Mr. Robert Vaughan, by Mr. Ellis late of Jeſus College in Oxon, but which were never finiſhed. And I have likewiſe inſerted divers choice Notes, that I gathered from another Manuſcript of the ſame Author's, relating to the Chronology and Actions of the Britiſh Princes, which he wrote for the Satisfaction of the Lord Primate Uſher, and from him is now in my Poſſeſſion. And I ſuppoſe no Ingenious Britiſh Antiquary will think this Performance unneceſſary, ſince he will here find the Subſtance of all that is contained in Caradoc's Chronicle, together with a great many conſi-

derable Additions from the Manuſcripts abovementioned, as alſo ſome others gathered from two MS. Copies of the Chronicles of Wales, *the one in the* Cottonian *Library, the other in the* Exchequer, *written at the end of one of the Volumes of* Doomeſday; *for the peruſal of which I ſtand obliged to the Reverend Dr.* Gale.

H. Huntingdon *was followed by* Rog. Hoveden *a ſecular Prieſt of* Oxford, *and was Domeſtick Clerk or Secretary to* Henry *the* Second; *he ſeems to have chiefly tranſcribed from* Simeon *of* Durham, *as to the Affairs before the Conqueſt, as he does from* William *of* Malmesbury *and other Authors, as well as his own Obſervations for thoſe that occur'd afterwards to his own Time, continuing his Hiſtory to the beginning of King* John's *Reign.*

THE next we come to, are thoſe Authors contained in that noble Volume, called the Decem-Scriptores, *ſuch as* Ailred, *Abbot* de Rievalle, *who wrote concerning the Kings of* England *ſo far as King* Henry *the* 2d. *in whoſe Time he lived; as alſo concerning the Life and Miracles of* Edward *the* Confeſſor, *from whom I have taken divers memorable Paſſages relating to the Life of that King, as well as to his Predeceſſors, omitting his Fables and Legends in which he does too much abound.*

AFTER him follows Radulphus de Diceto *Dean of St.* Pauls, London, *who flouriſhed in the Reign of King* John, *about the Year* 1210. *he was eſteemed a very accompliſhed Hiſtorian, and an indefatigable Collector in his Time of things not only before, but after the Conqueſt.*

I have alſo taken ſome few Paſſages from William Thorn *a Monk of* Canterbury, *who wrote an entire Hiſtory of the Affairs of his own Monaſtery of St.* Auguſtin *down to the beginning of King* Richard *the* Second, *in whoſe Reign he lived.*

AFTER whom we had for a long time no printed Hiſtorians of the Times before the Conqueſt, till that in the Decem-Scriptores, *which goes under the Name of* John Brompton *Abbot of* Jorvaulx *in* Richmondſhire; *tho Mr.* Selden *has ſhewn us in his Preface to that Volume, that he was rather the Purchaſer, than Author of this Chronicle, which he left to his own Abbey: he is ſuppoſed to have lived in the time of* Edward *the* Third, *but the Hiſtory concludes with the Death of* Richard *the* Firſt.

BUT the ſaid Reverend Dr. Gale *farther obſerves of him,* “*That he intended to continue* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth, *as appears in the Preface, and in Col.* 1153. *as alſo that he took much from* Benedictus Abbas *(ſtill in Manuſcript in the* Cottonian *Library) and not from* Roger Hoveden; *for where a Fault or Omiſſion is found in* Benedictus, *the ſame is here found alſo, but not ſo in* Hoveden: *e. g.* Benedictus *wanted the Seal of the King of* Sicily, *and ſo did* Bromton, *till it was added from ſome other Copy, and not out of* Hoveden, *for the Seals differ, and ſome Copies of* Hoveden *have it not at all. And tho the Compiler of this Hiſtory ſeems to have lived in the Time of* Richard I. *as himſelf ſeems to intimate, yet* Col. 967. *it mentions* Richard *the* Third, *which muſt have been added to continue down the Genealogy of our Kings, as is often done in antient Chronicles by ſome later Hand. But the Learned Doctor farther ſuppoſes this Chronicle to have been written by one* John Brompton, *who (as the Doctor found in an old Manuſcript Year-Book, or Collection of Reports of the Reign of King* Edward *the* Firſt) *was a* Juſtice Itinerant *about that Time; which Conjecture is alſo confirmed by his careful inſerting the Antient* Saxon *Laws into this Chronicle: This as it was not done by any before him, ſo neither does it ſavour of the Monk.*

THIS is the more worthy taking notice of, becauſe Sir William Dugdale *hath omitted this* John Brompton *in his Catalogue of Judges* Itinerant, *at the end of his* Origines Juridiciales.

TO this Hiſtorian ſucceeds Henry de Knyghton *Canon of* Leiceſter, *who wrote his Hiſtory* de Eventibus Angliæ, *beginning with King* Edgar, *and ending with the Reign of* Richard *the* Second.

BUT the Reader may be pleaſed to take notice, that in theſe two laſt Authors are found many Paſſages which are in none of the more Antient Writers; and ſince moſt of them relate to Cuſtoms and Terms that had their Original after the coming in of the Normans, *therefore they may with good Reaſon be ſuſpected to have been borrowed from ſome common Stories or Traditions that then paſſed up and down for current.*

NOR can we here omit ſeveral other Pieces of leſs Bulk and Note, publiſhed ſince that Volume laſt mentioned, containing the Chronicles and Hiſtories of divers Cathedrals and Abbeys, ſuch as are the Annals *of the Abbey of* Wincheſter, *&c. which have been publiſhed from the* Cottonian *and other Libraries, in* Monaſticon Anglicanum, *and the firſt Volume of* Anglia Sacra, *lately publiſhed by the late Learned and Induſtrious Mr.* Wharton.

TO theſe likewiſe may be added the Hiſtories of the Monaſteries of Ely *and* Ramſey, *as alſo of* Glaſtenbury, *by* William *of* Malmesbury, *from whom we have taken ſeveral Things, not only relating to that Abbey, but the General Hiſtory of* England: *nor can I omit the Hiſtory of* John *of* Wallingford, *whom* Matthew Paris *mentions in his Lives of the Abbots of St.* Albans; *as the* 21ſt *Abbot of St.* Albans, *he wrote the Hiſtory of the Kings of* England *as far as the* 42d *of King* Henry *the* Third; *the firſt Part of which down to the* Norman *Conqueſt, hath been publiſhed in the aforeſaid laſt Volume at* Oxford *by the Learned Dr.* Gale. *From all which laſt mentioned, tho mingled with abundance of Monkiſh Traſh, we have here and there excerpted ſeveral excellent Remarks.*

WE have alſo ſometimes made uſe of Ranulph Higden *his* Polychronicon, *who was a Monk of* Cheſter, *the firſt Part of which is publiſhed alſo by the ſaid Dr.* Gale *as far as the Conqueſt; and* Matthew *a Monk of* Weſtminſter, *his* Flores Hiſtoriarum: *theſe Authors being Cotemporaries, and collecting to the Reign of* Edward *the* Third, *from all the reſt of the Antient Writers abovementioned, I have ſeldom uſed but as ſubſidiary Helps, when the Paſſages they relate are not to be found any where elſe, ſeveral other Authors they borrowed from, being now loſt, or very rare to be met with.*

HAVING now done with our printed Authors, I proceed to thoſe that continue ſtill in Manuſcript, in the Bodleian *and* Cottonian *Libraries; and alſo in thoſe of* Lambeth, Greſham *College, and the* Heraulds Office; *ſuch as are* John *of* Tinmouth *his* Hiſtoria Aurea, Johannes Caſtorius *(in Engliſh,* Beaver*) his Hiſtory of the Kings of* England, *and* John Rouſe *of* Warwick *his Collections on the ſame Subject; together with above forty or fifty nameleſs Authors which I have peruſed, to ſee what I could find in any of them that had not been taken notice of by others: but how little they have anſwered my Expectations, the ſmall Additions I have made from them I hope will ſatisfy the unprejudiced Reader; and for any that are otherwiſe, if they pleaſe to take the ſame Pains that I have done, I wiſh their Labours may be better requited.*

BUT as for the Extracts of Eccleſiaſtical Canons and Laws, which I have inſerted at the end of divers King's Reigns, I have faithfully tranſcribed them out of Sir Henry Spelman's firſt Volume of Britiſh Councils, and Mr. Lambard's Archaionomia, under their reſpective Years; and have alſo compared and corrected them in a great Part from the Manuſcript Notes of the Learned Junius, at the end of the Cambridg Edition of Bede, which is in the Bodleian Library; or elſe by another Latin Manuſcript Verſion of the Induſtrious Mr. Somner's. And I do not know of any other Saxon Laws, unleſs there be ſome of King Cnute's, which remain as yet in Manuſcript untranſlated in the Bodleian Library, as alſo in the Hands of Dr. Gale, as I am well informed: I hope they may be one day added to a new Edition of Mr. Lambard's moſt uſeful Work.

THUS having gone through all the chiefeſt Engliſh Hiſtorians, both in Print and Manuſcript, that I know of, relating to the Times before the Conqueſt, which I think are as many, and of as good Credit as any Countrey in Europe can ſhew in the like ſpace of Time; it may be expected I ſhould ſay ſomething in their Vindication, ſince I find they have been attacked in a poſthumous Treatiſe, long ſince written by a Learned Civilian, Sir Thomas Craig, in Latin, in anſwer to what Mr. Hollingſhead has publiſhed concerning the Homage that was due from the Kings of Scotland to thoſe of England; and is lately tranſlated into Engliſh by the Ingenious Mr. Ridpath: and as I ſhall here faithfully give you his Arguments againſt the Antiquity and Credit of our Writers, ſo I hope I ſhall return ſuch Anſwers to them as will ſatisfy all impartial Readers.

Vid. Hollinſhead. Lib. I.

HIS firſt Objection is, "That from the Death of Bede, (whoſe Credit, he "ſays, he will every where preſerve entire,) the Engliſh have no certain Hi"ſtory nor Writer to the Reign of King Henry the Firſt, except that Frag"ment of Ethelwerd's; for (ſays he) I do not acknowledg that Fragment "of Ingulphus, who preceded Ethelwerd twenty Years, as an Hiſtory; nor "Aſſerius Menevenſis, who wrote only concerning the Tranſactions of "his own King Alfred. And leſt he ſhould be thought to affirm any thing raſhly, "He brings William of Malmeſbury to witneſs the Matter, ſaying, "That all the Memorials of Tranſactions from the Death of Bede to his "own Time, which was in the Reign of Henry I. about 1142. were utter"ly loſt; nor was there any who followed that Study, or indeavoured to pur"ſue the thread of Hiſtory till himſelf.

Scotland's Soveraignty aſſerted, p.39,40.

Lib. I. fol.23.

NOW to give an Anſwer to this Learned Advocate, and take him Point by Point as he goes on; in the firſt Place I am ſorry to find a Perſon, otherwiſe every ways Able and Skillful in his own Profeſſion, ſo ignorant in our Engliſh Hiſtorians, ſince if he had not been ſo, he could not have committed almoſt as many Miſtakes as he hath wrote Lines: for in the firſt Place he calls Ingulph and Ethelwerd two Fragments, whereas if he had been pleaſed to have looked upon either of them, he would have found them entire Pieces ſo far as they went, (and we call Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Saluſt, Livy, Hiſtorians, not Fragments, altho each of them be imperfect) only the Edition that was then publiſhed of Ingulph wanted the Laws of William the Conqueror, and ſome few Sheets at the Concluſion, which have been ſince added.

Vid. Vol. I. Script. Ang. Edit. Oxon.

AND whereas he ſays, that Ingulph preceded Ethelwerd twenty Years, he is ſo far from being in the right of that, that the direct contrary is true; for Ingulph lived and wrote above one hundred Years after Ethelwerd had finiſhed his Hiſtory with King Edgar's Reign, whoſe Eulogy he only gives us in barbarous Verſe.

AND as for what the Advocate ſays concerning William *of* Malmesbury; *he much miſrepreſents the Senſe of this Author, who does not affirm that there were no Memorials from the Death of* Bede *to his Time, but the contrary; for he mentions the* Saxon Annals *in his Proem in theſe words,* Sunt ſanè quædam vetuſtatis Indicia, patrio Sermone, & chronico more per annos Domini ordinata: *alſo in his Book* de Antiquitate Glaſtoniæ *(publiſhed by Dr.* Gale, *as above) he citeth them as good Authority,* Tradunt Annales bonæ credulitatis, *&c. Nay, Sir* Thomas Craig *himſelf (I ſuppoſe through Forgetfulneſs) has allowed no leſs than three Writers of part of our Hiſtory, who lived before* Malmesbury, *as you may ſee above: and therefore he muſt alſo be underſtood only in this Senſe, that till himſelf there was none had undertaken an entire* Latin *Body of* Engliſh *Hiſtory; for he, diſtinguiſhing between an Hiſtory and* Annals, *did not reckon (it ſeems) theſe* Saxon Annals *as ſuch, though he often mentions them by the Name of the* Engliſh *Chronicles; being, as I ſaid before, the ground-Work upon which that Author, as well as others that followed him, built their Hiſtory: and theſe* Annals *remaining in Manuſcript till long after Sir* Thomas Craig*'s Death, gave him perhaps occaſion to affirm in the ſame Place, "That there is nothing of certainty to be found in the* Britiſh *Hiſtory from* 734. *which was the Year of* Bede*'s Death, to the Year* 957. *but all things were founded upon the Rumours of Antient Men, and it may be old Wives Fables, which being collected together into one Book, and put in a Latin Dreſs, made up as it were the ſhadow of a Hiſtory, from whence* Hollingſhead *does nevertheleſs bring moſt certain Arguments to eſtabliſh his fictitious Homage.*

THIS Point concerning the Homage *I ſhall not take upon me here to decide: but tho I confeſs there is no expreſs mention of it in the* Annals, *yet I muſt needs ſay there is ſomewhat to be met with in them that comes very near it; for under* Anno 924. *they relate thus of King* Edward *the* Elder, "*That the King and whole Nation of the* Scots *choſe him* in Patrem & Dominum, *in the Latin Verſion,* i.e. *for their Father and Lord; which is word for word the ſame with the* Saxon *Original, which I omit becauſe not commonly underſtood or read in that Character. But becauſe he ſuppoſes that* Florence *of* Worceſter *was the firſt Author that wrote this* Homage *and* Fealty, *therefore he muſt be the firſt that ever mentioned the Submiſſion of the* Scotiſh *King to the King of* England: *I deſire thoſe of Sir* Thomas *his Opinion to tell me, tho the formal Ceremonies of* Homage *and* Fealty *(which in different Ages and divers Countries, even where the Feudal Law was obtained, were very different) were not brought up till after the Norman* William *came hither; yet what could thoſe words* in Patrem & Dominum *ſignify, but ſuch an Acknowledgment or Dependance upon a Superior Lord as was tantamount? And it is the more remarkable, becauſe this is mentioned above* 20 *Years before. The ſame* Annals *relate, that King* Edmund *the* Younger, *Son to King* Edward, *beſtowed* Cumberland *upon* Malcolm *King of* Scots, *viz.* Anno 945. *on condition, that he ſhould ſerve him in his Expeditions by Sea and Land, for which alone the* Scotiſh *Writers will allow this* Homage *to have been due.*

Florenc. An. Dom. 921. 943.

Craig. ubi ſupra. p. 47.

AND in the Year following we find in the ſame Annals, *that K.* Eadred, *Brother to* Edmund, *having reduced all* Northumberland *into his Power, (which then took in almoſt all the Low-Lands of* Scotland, *as far as* Edinburgh) *thereupon* Scoti etiam ei juramenta præſtiterunt, ſeſe velle quicquid is vellet, *i. e. the* Scotiſh *Nation (by which I ſuppoſe muſt be underſtood*

derſtood the King *as well as the* People*) took an Oath to King* Eadred *to perform whatſoever he ſhould pleaſe to command them. But that* Florence *of* Worceſter *underſtood this to be an Oath of* Fealty, *appears by his Paraphraſe* ~~*of*~~ upon *theſe words in the* Annals *thus,* & Edredus à Scotis, ut ſibi fideles eſſent, juramentum accepit.

Pag. 545.

Lib.4. cap.24.

BUT that, if not Homage, *yet ſomewhat very like it, was rendered in that Age by the Kings of* Scotland *to thoſe of* England, *for the beſt part of what is now called the* Lowlands, *may appear from the Teſtimony of* John *of* Wallingford, *who in his Hiſtory relates, that* Keneth *King of* Scots *received* Lothian *from King* Edgar *under the Condition of doing* Homage *to himſelf and his Succeſſors: which, if it had not then the direct Ceremony of* Homage, *which perhaps came in with the* Normans, *yet that it was ſomewhat very near it,* John Fordun *the antienteſt* Scotiſh *Hiſtorian, acknowledges in theſe words, That King* Edmund (viz. *of* England*) gave the Province of* Cumberland *to* Malcolm *King of* Scots, ſub fidelitate Juramenti; *and it was afterwards agreed between the ſaid King* Edmund *and King* Malcolm, *that Prince* Indulf *his next Heir, and all the future Heirs of* Scotland *ſucceſſively, ſhould pay to King* Edmund *and his Succeſſors for the ſame,* Homagium, & fidelitatis Sacramentum: *ſo that if our Engliſh Writers have been miſtaken in calling that Submiſſion, which the Kings and Princes of* Scotland *then payed to* England, Homage, *you may here ſee the moſt Antient* Scotiſh *Hiſtorian guilty of the ſame Error: which was indeed an Oath of Fidelity, if not the ſame, yet very like what the* Scotiſh *Kings afterwards took when they did* Homage *to our Kings of* England *after the Conqueſt.*

HAVING ſaid thus much, I ſhall now leave it to the Reader's Judgment, when he has gone through our Annals, *to conſider, whether this Author's Cenſure of our* Engliſh *Hiſtory, from the Year* 734. *when* Bede *ended his, to the Year* 957. *be juſt,* that they were only things, *as he ſays,* founded upon the Rumours of Antient Men, and it may be old Wives Fables, and ſo being collected together in one Book, dreſs'd up in Latin, made up as it were the ſhadow of a Hiſtory.

Idem. pa. 41.

AS alſo whether what Florence *is cited by the Author to ſay,* “ *That after* Bede*'s Death the* Engliſh *Hiſtory ceaſed, and that for his own part he had left things to Poſterity, either as he found them in the Text of the* Engliſh *Chronicles, or as he had them from the relations of Men worthy of Credit, or heard and ſaw them himſelf; deſerves that raſh Cenſure, not only concerning theſe* Annals *now publiſhed, but of* Florence *himſelf,* viz. as to what concerned the Text of the Engliſh Chronicles, he mentioned them that he might deceive his Reader with the greater Facility: *whereas* Florence *was accounted always a Writer of unqueſtionable Diligence and Veracity, as appears by the ſeveral Teſtimonies of Learned Men before his Hiſtory.*

Id. ibid.

BUT the reaſon of this Author's Triumph before the Victory, was, that he did not believe any ſuch thing as a Saxon *Chronicle could be found; for ſays he immediately after,* “ *If there were any Chronicles of thoſe Times, ſeeing* Florence *lived about the Year* 1148. *they muſt ſtill remain in the Archives, which hitherto no Engliſh Author did ever alledg, or hath been able to demonſtrate; for that Chronicle, as is obſerved by the Prologue, did only ſet down the number of Years. And ſo he proceeds to invalidate the Credit of* Florence *of* Worceſter, *as if he had had no Voucher to warrant his Chronicle.*

BUT I hope this Tranſlation I here preſent you with, will ſatisfy all ordinary Readers, that the Saxon Annals *do contain much more than the bare numbers of Years, and the Edition firſt publiſhed by Mr.* Wheelock *in* Saxon *and* Latin *from two Copies in Sir* Robert Cotton'*s, and* Bennet College *Libraries, have long ſince convinced all Learned Men, that we really had ſuch Monuments in our* Archives, *which have been alſo farther confirmed as to the Truth of it, from two other Manuſcript Copies, given by Arch-biſhop* Laud *to the* Bodleian *Library at* Oxford, *and lately publiſhed together with thoſe abovementioned, by the aforeſaid Mr.* Edmund Gibſon; *moſt of which Copies belonged to ſeveral antient Monaſteries, and I doubt not but many more of them were loſt at their Diſſolution in* Henry *the* Eighth'*s Time, or carried over Seas; for we find* Lazius *in his Book* de Migratione Gentium, *quotes ſeveral of them. And it's evident that our* Annals *ſometimes follow not Tradition only, but alſo old written Hiſtories, and perhaps* Latin *Writers, as may appear by the Actions of* Athelſtane *and* Eadmund, An. 938, *and* 942. *But for the ſupport of their Authority I refer the Reader to this Author's own Country-man* John Fordun, *where he tells us in his Prologue to his* Scotiſh *Hiſtory,* “*He had heard it was very well ordered in* England, *that every Monaſtery of Royal Foundation ſhould have its particular Writer, who was Chronologically to ſet down all the Memorable things which happened in each King's Reign, either in their own or Neighbouring Kingdoms; and that at the next Great Council after the Death of every reſpective King, each of thoſe Chronographers met there, and produced whatſoever they had ſo remarked; and that ſome of the moſt diſcreet Perſons in the ſaid Council who were beſt skilled in ſuch Matters, being choſen for that purpoſe, ſhould examine thoſe Memorials, and by comparing them together ſhould extract a brief Chronicle from them all, which was to be preſerved in the Libraries of thoſe Monaſteries, as Authentick* Annals *to be relied on by Poſterity, that ſo the remembrance of thoſe publick Affairs of the Kingdom might not be loſt, or devoured by the Ruſt of Time.*

WHICH Paſſage had Sir Thomas Craig *but carefully conſidered, he would have had no reaſon to doubt whether we had had* any Chronicles of thoſe times remaining in our Archives, *and whether* William *of* Malmesbury, *and all the reſt of our Hiſtorians, have blindly followed* Florence *of* Worceſter *into an Error,* as Cattel do their Leader that break over a Ditch. Id. p. 47.

BUT if our Saxon Annals *were not a good Foundation for ſucceeding Hiſtorians to build upon, I deſire to know what Credit the Antient* Greek *and* Roman *Authors can claim with Men of that ſcrupulous Temper, ſince they had nothing but ſuch ſhort* Annals *or Chronicles preſerved in their Archives, (beſides Traditions, and the common Fame of their Anceſtors) from whence to compoſe the particular Hiſtories of thoſe Common-Wealths they treat of; ſuch as were the* Libri Lintei *preſerved in the Capitol, from whence* Livy *drew the moſt antient Memorials for the writing his* Roman *Hiſtory.*

AND tho there is ſome difference to be found between the ſeveral Copies of theſe Annals *as to the Calculation of Years, and ſome particular Matters that are ſometimes inſerted in one, and omitted in another; yet the Ingenious Author of the Preface before it, has given the World a ſatisfactory Anſwer as to this Matter, which is,* “*That as to the general Affairs of the whole Kingdom they all agree well enough, tho indeed as to foreign Tranſ-*

“ *actions, or ſome few Paſſages relating to their own private Monaſteries,* “ *there may be ſome Additions that are not to be met with in the reſt; as may be obſerv'd from thoſe called the* Canterbury *and* Laudean *Copies in the* Bodleian *Library.*

SO I ſhall leave it upon the whole Matter to the Reader to conſider, whether the Author has made good his Challenge, viz. *That the* Engliſh *were not able to produce one approved Writer of their own Countrey, who compoſed any Story or Hiſtory from the Death of* Bede, *to the Time of* Henry *the* Second; *tho I ſuppoſe he meant the* Firſt, *however it is unluckily printed twice the* Second *in one Page.*

BUT to come to this Author's ſecond Objection againſt our Engliſh *Hiſtorians, the ſubſtance of which is, “ That the Writers as well before as af-* “ *ter the Conqueſt were Monks, who being dead to the World, have no right* “ *of giving a Legal Evidence, it being expreſly forbid by the Canon Law to* “ *concern themſelves in ſecular Matters; and alſo that by reaſon of their ſo-* “ *litary Lives, they ought very ſeldom to be entruſted in publick Affairs,* “ *ſeeing they are no competent Judges concerning them: for it was not very* “ *probable that either the Secrets of Princes, or things belonging to the State,* “ *were ever communicated to them, otherwiſe than by common Report,* “ *ſeeing they were kept at the greateſt diſtance from all manner of Action,* “ *and do oftentimes embrace things doubtful as certain, and Fictions for* “ *Matter of Fact; and that therefore this feigned* Homage *muſt of neceſ-* “ *ſity fall to the Ground, for which there is no better Evidence than that of* “ *a Monk; for it will not be admitted as a good Concluſion, that becauſe a* “ *Monk ſays ſo, therefore it is true.*

THIS Argument may as eaſily be retorted upon him thus, That as a thing is not true becauſe a Monk writes it, ſo neither is it falſe for that reaſon alone; for tho Monks are by the Canon Law forbid medling with Secular Affairs, and may not perhaps be admitted for good Witneſſes in Civil Cauſes, yet is this but a meer Cavil as to the Point in Queſtion, ſince that was not the intent of the Canon to forbid them the writing either of Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories; and Bede *himſelf (whoſe Credit this Author ſays he will not impair) was a Monk, as were alſo* Marianus Scotus *(whom he alloweth and would have to be taken for his own Countrey-Man)* Sigebertus, Hermannus Contractus, *and almoſt all the Famous Chronographers of thoſe Times, who flouriſhed in our Neighbouring Nations as well as our own; and that they were not of ſuch retired Lives as not to have Memorials ſent them of publick Actions, appears by the aforeſaid Citation out of* Fordun, *concerning the manner of writing our* Engliſh Annals *in the Monaſteries, which, as he tells us, were ſuperviſed afterwards by ſome appointed of the Great Council of the Kingdom. And that ſome of the Monks after the Conqueſt were in great Reputation for their faithful Accounts, appears by the great Credit given to* Florence *of* Worceſter *and* William *of* Malmesbury *in thoſe times; the laſt of whom dedicated his Hiſtory to* Robert *Earl of* Glouceſter *Natural Son to King* Henry *the* Firſt: *and* Matthew Paris *was of ſo great Eſteem, that we learn from himſelf, that King* Henry *the* Third *gave him particular Directions for inſerting into his Hiſtory ſeveral conſiderable Paſſages relating to his own Reign: ſo far were the Princes of that Age from being of this Author's Opinion, that Monks were no wiſe fit to write Hiſtory, nor to be credited when they had done.*

BUT if no Credit muſt be given to the Memorials of Monks, I deſire to know, what will become of the ſo much talked of Scotiſh Annals *that were kept in the Iſle of* Jona *or* Ilcomhil, *and of their famous Book of the Abbey of* Paſely, *from whence* Hector Boethius *pretends to have derived the principal Matters that make up the firſt part of his Hiſtory? Nay, what will become of their moſt creditable Writer* John Fordun, *who bottoms much of his Hiſtory on the Legends of* S. Brendane, *and others?*

NOR is there any difference that I know of between theſe Books now mentioned and our Saxon Annals, *but that theſe are to be ſeen (I mean the Originals) in our Libraries, and are alſo publiſhed both in* Saxon *and* Latin, *and are here tranſlated into* Engliſh *in this enſuing Hiſtory, whilſt theirs are not; and if* Hector Boethius *ever ſaw them, is more than we can be ſure of, ſince a moſt Reverend Doctor (and now Biſhop of our Church) hath produced very good Reaſons to render it highly ſuſpicious, that there never were any ſuch Books at all; and if ſo, I wonder what will become of the Credit of all their Antient* Scotiſh *Hiſtory, and their long Bedroll of Kings before* Fergus *the Second.*

Vid. *Dr.* Stillingfleet *Antiq. of the Britiſh Church.* Pref. Pag. 39, 40.

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AS for the reſt of this Author's Objections, I ſhall be very ſhort in my Anſwers to them.

THE third of which is, that our Authors are not to be credited, becauſe they are Engliſh-men. *If this were of any weight, I might turn his own Cannon upon him, and tell him, no more are his Writers who deny this* Homage, *becauſe they are* Scots-men: *and if neither are to be believed, I would fain have any Learned Gentleman of that Nation to ſhew me a Foreign Hiſtorian who lived near thoſe Times, that denied there was any ſuch thing.*

AS for his laſt, that they were Enemies, *it is yet more trivial; ſince I have here made uſe of no Authorities but what were written before the Conqueſt, when there was no War at all between the two Nations, but rather a ſtrict Amity or League againſt their Common Enemy the* Danes; *or elſe from* Florence *of* Worceſter *and* William *of* Malmesbury, *Authors that lived and wrote (as hath been already ſhewn) in the very Times when thoſe Homages they mention were done; which whether they were for* Scotland *it ſelf, or elſe for* Northumberland *and* Cumberland, *which they then held of the Kings of* England, *ſhall be further conſidered in my next Volume, if God ſhall permit me to finiſh it.*

BUT I deſire the Reader to take notice, that finding the Engliſh-Saxon *Chronicle to be very dry in many places, it giving us only an account of the Succeſſion of their Kings, and the Battels they fought againſt one another, without ever telling us what were the Grounds of their falling out; the Monks of thoſe Times, for want of Civil Affairs, or (as we call them)* thoſe of the Cabinet, *filling up their* Annals *only with Fighting and Devotion, I ſaw it neceſſary for me to purſue in great part the Method that* Bede *had laid down throughout the whole Work, and to inſert ſome things relating to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, to make this Hiſtory more uſeful, as well as diverting, to all ſort of Perſons.*

AND therefore being ſenſible of the near Conjunction of the Civil with the Eccleſiaſtical State, which were often united into one Mycel-Synod, *or Great Council of the whole Nation, wherein were made not only Civil Laws, but alſo Eccleſiaſtical Canons or Conſtitutions, reſpecting Religion and Diſcipline, as well as Reformation of Manners, I have ſet down both the*

the one and the other whenever I thought they contained any Matter of more than ordinary Notice: and as for thoſe Synods or Councils which were wholly Eccleſiaſtical, though I have not always expreſly given you all the Canons they made, yet I have not failed to refer the Reader for his farther Satiſfaction, to that rich Treaſury of this kind of Knowledg, Sir Henry Spelman'*s firſt Volume of Councils.*

TO which I have likewiſe not only added the Succeſſion of ſome Biſhops, and Abbots, as far as I have found them in the Saxon Annals, *but have inſerted from* William *of* Malmesbury *and other Writers, whatever I could find relating to them, or any other of the ſame Order, remarkable for Learning or Piety; eſpecially the Arch-biſhops of* Canterbury *and* York, *whoſe Succeſſions I have often ſupplied from other Authors, wherein the* Annals *were ſilent.*

NOR have I omitted the Foundations of the greater Monaſteries, as I met with them in the Annals, ~~*ne*~~ *more than the other Foundations of the ſame kind ſet down in* Monaſticon Anglicanum, *yet ſtill confining my ſelf to ſuch of them as were valued at* 500 l. per annum *or more, at the time of their Diſſolution. And I hope no Man that is a Lover of Antiquity, or the Honour of his Nation, will look upon this as needleſs, any more than the Foundations of our two* famous Univerſities, *of which I have here given you the earlieſt Accounts I can find.* any

NEITHER do I ſuppoſe it will prove tedious, if I have here likewiſe put down the Stories of ſome Miracles related by Bede *and other Monks, ſince I have done it with Moderation, and where the Contexture of this Work would have ſeem'd Lame and Imperfect without it; and I only give them you juſt as I find them, leaving every one to make what Judgment he pleaſes of them.*

I confeſs I am not ſatisfied that divers of thoſe Relations ſwallowed by Bede *and other Authors of Note, are true, they having been ſince diſcovered by Men of great Learning and Judgment, to carry evident Marks of Forgery along with them; ſuch as is that of* Joſeph *of* Arimathea *his Preaching the Goſpel in* England, *which hath been examined with great Accuracy by the Reverend and Learned Dr.* Stillingfleet, *now Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter, *in his* Origines Britannicæ; *ſo that though I have both from him, and others, ſaid ſomewhat upon that Subject, yet I muſt ſtill refer the Reader to the Book it ſelf, if he deſires farther Satiſfaction either in gratifying his Curioſity, or informing his Judgment.* Chap. 1.

BUT to the foregoing Relations, I muſt needs here add that of the Martyrdom of St. Alban, *which though the Learned Author laſt named, in his ſecond Chapter of his ſaid Book, hath with great Learning proved it, if not true, yet at leaſt probable; I hope he will not take it amiſs if I farther examine the Certainty of this Story: for notwithſtanding it be ſet down in the old* Roman *Martyrologies, and his Suffering here is alſo mentioned by* Conſtantius, *Presbyter, who lived above one hundred Years before* Bede, *from whom I have borrowed this; yet I muſt Ingenuouſly confeſs, I do not ſee how it can conſiſt with the Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Hiſtory of thoſe Times, in which it is ſuppoſed to have happened. For* Bede *places the Suffering of St.* Alban *during the Perſecution of* Diocleſian, *and after the Recovery of* Britain *from the Vſurpation of* Allectus. Lib. 1. c. 6.

WHEREAS it is evident from Chronology, that Carauſius *the Vſurper, having* Anno Dom. 286. *rebelled againſt the* Roman *Emperors, held*

Britain *under his Power for near ſeven Years, and then was murdered by the Uſurper* Allectus, *who alſo governed near three Years longer, till about the middle of the Reign of the Emperor* Diocleſian; *who having conſtituted* Conſtantius Chlorus, Cæſar, *ſent* Aſclepiodotus *as his Lieutenant into* Britain, *(being then part of his Share, as were all the Provinces on this ſide the* Alpes) *in the Year* 295. *and he having ſlain* Allectus *in Battel, governed here ſome ſhort Time, till* Conſtantius *himſelf coming over in Perſon, reigned as* Cæſar *or* Auguſtus *ſo long as he lived: During all which Revolutions we do not read of any Perſecution in* Britain, *as the Learned Mr.* Dodwell *in his* Diſſertationes Cyprianæ *has very well obſerved, and conſequently St.* Alban *could not ſuffer Martyrdom between the Years* 303. *and* 305. *or at any other Time where the* Roman *Martyrologies place it.* Diſſert. Cypr. 11. de paucitate Martyrum, §. 75.

AND this I think is clear from the Teſtimonies of two Authors of unqueſtionable Credit, who lived in the very Time when this (if at all) muſt have happened. The firſt of theſe is Euſebius, *who in his eighth Book of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, giving a Character of* Conſtantius *the Emperor, hath theſe words,* viz. "*He always ſhewed himſelf moſt benign and affable* "*towards all Men, which appeared by this, that he was no ways partaker of* "*the Perſecution raiſed againſt us* (i. e.) *Chriſtians: but having pre*"*ſerved the Worſhippers of the true God free and unhurt from all Accu*"*ſations, and not having ſo much as deſtroyed the Buildings of our* "*Churches, or acted any thing againſt thoſe of our Religion, he at laſt* "*attained a quiet and happy End. To which we may alſo add another Paſſage in his firſt* Book, cap. 8. *but it being more tedious, and not ſo expreſs and full as the Place now cited, I therefore omit it.* Cap. 13.

TO whom we may alſo ſubjoin Lactantius, *who in his Treatiſe* de Mortibus Perſecutorum, *differs indeed from* Euſebius *about his demoliſhing the Chriſtian Churches, yet he agrees with him in the main, that no Chriſtians ſuffered Death in* Conſtantius *his Diviſion or Share of the Empire. This Author's words I have thus tranſlated.* "*But* "Conſtantius, *leſt he ſhould ſeem to diſſent from the Edicts of the* "*greater Emperors, tho he permitted the Meeting-places of the Chri*"*ſtian Aſſemblies, that could be rebuilt, to be pulled down, yet he ſtill* "*preſerved the true Temple of God, which is in the Bodies of Men, ſafe* "*and inviolate. And this is farther confirmed by* Optatus de Schiſmate, *as alſo by* Zozomen *in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, who both reciting the Addreſs of the* Donatiſts *to the Emperor* Conſtantine, *do acknowledg that* his Father never ſhed the Blood of any Chriſtian. Lib. 1. Lib. 2.

AND even this ſmall difference between theſe two Authors may be thus reconciled, by ſuppoſing that tho he connived at the deſtroying of the Chriſtian Churches by the vulgar Pagans, yet he no ways commanded it, much leſs approved of it when it was done. So that there could be no Perſecution in Gaul *or* Britain, *(both which were part of his Province) during the Time that he continued either as* Cæſar *or Emperor, and the Perſecution ceaſed* Anno Dom. 308. *not long before his Death.*

BUT ſince a Learned and Ingenious French-man, Theodorus Ruinartus, *in his Preface to a late Treatiſe, entituled,* de Actibus Martyrum, *put out with a new Edition of this Work of* Lactantius *in* Holland, *hath endeavoured to juſtify the Martyrologies againſt this Opinion of Mr.* Dodwell*'s, I think it very convenient to take ſome notice of what he there alledges; and his chief Argument againſt theſe plain Authorities, is, that the Emperor* Maximian *was in* Gaul *during ſome part of this Perſecution, and that then the Power of* Conſtantius *being only as* Cæſar, *was ſuſpended by the Preſence of the Emperor himſelf; and conſequently the Perſecution was carried on in that part of the Empire, notwithſtanding* Conſtantius *his private diſlike of it, or perhaps oppoſing it as much as he durſt.*

BUT in return to this ſeeming Argument, we ſhall firſt obſerve, that neither Euſebius *nor* Lactantius, *mention any Perſecution in* Gaul *or* Britain *during all this Time, which it is highly probable they would have done, had it been carried on with the like Fury in theſe as it was in the other parts of the Empire. So that I do not find this Author clearly makes out, that the Emperor* Maximian *was in* Gaul *during this Perſecution, by any other Teſtimonies than thoſe Martyrologies themſelves, whoſe Credit we have juſt reaſon to queſtion.*

BUT ſuppoſe I ſhould admit there was a Perſecution in Gaul *at the ſame Time as he affirms, what will this concern* Britain, *where it is certain from the Authority abovementioned, that the Power of* Conſtantius *was never abrogated, or ſuſpended by any of the other Emperors? But if it appears there was no ſuch Perſecution in* Gaul *as he pretends, can one with reaſon believe that there ſhould be any at that Time in* Britain, *which lay ſo much more remote, and out of the View or Notice of thoſe perſecuting Emperors? But* Michael Alford *in his* Britiſh Annals, *being ſenſible of the great Improbability of this Perſecution between the Years* 303, *and* 305. *when upon* Conſtantius*'s being declared Emperor, all Authors agree the Perſecution ceaſed all over the Empire; he therefore antedates the Time of it to the Year* 287, *when he ſuppoſes that* St. Alban, *after he had been kept ſix Months in Priſon, ſuffered Martyrdom,* viz. *in the beginning of the Reign of* Diocleſian *and* Maximian; *and for this he cites an antient Manuſcript Copy of* Bede *which he had ſeen, as alſo the Authority of* Matthew Paris *in his Hiſtory, and* Matthew Weſtminſter, *who both follow an old Martyrologiſt cited by* Capgrave, *as much antienter than* Bede.

An. 1257.
An. 794.

TO this Opinion we reply, that in the firſt place it does not appear by any Authority, but this Writer's bare conjecture, that there was any Perſecution in Britain *or* Gaul *at the beginning of the Emperors Reigns above mentioned, but rather the contrary, ſince* Euſebius *expreſly tells us, that* Diocleſian *was ſo far from perſecuting, that he favoured and employed the Chriſtians in all Offices both Civil and Military, till after the* Perſian *War, which was toward the latter end of his Reign. Nor indeed could this Perſecution have happened under the Uſurpations of* Carauſius *and* Allectus *here in* Britain, *ſeeing they were always engaged in defending themſelves againſt the* Roman *Emperors, and therefore could*

could not be at leiſure to perſecute Men for Religion during ſuch unſettled Times.

AND as for the Authority of theſe Martyrologies which this Author urges for the Truth of this Perſecution, viz. *That they are ſome of them very Antient, the Originals of them being about* 900 *Years old: I doubt this will be ſo far from ſupporting their Credit, that it will rather be inſtrumental to deſtroy it, ſince it is very well known that it was about the end of the fifth, or beginning of the ſixth Century, that this trick of forging the Lives and Sufferings of Saints came firſt in Faſhion, and ſo was carried on in thoſe dark Times for near* 500 *Years following, as the Reverend* Dr. Burnet *(now Biſhop of* Salisbury*) has learnedly proved in his Preface to his Tranſlation of the aforeſaid Treatiſe of* Lactantius.

NOR did the Monks fail of finding their Account in this Deſign, ſince nothing contributed more than this and ſuch like Legends, to the worſhipping of the Reliques of Saints, and going on Pilgrimages to their Tombs: Which Superſtition, how much it advanced the worldly Power and Grandeur of the Clergy of thoſe Times, he muſt be a great Stranger to the Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Hiſtory of thoſe Ages, not to underſtand.

HAVING now, I hope, gone through all thoſe things I thought neceſſary to advertiſe the Reader of, I have little elſe remaining, but to ask his Pardon for not adding in the Margin ſome ſhort Notes or Contents of what is in the Body of the Work; which tho I confeſs ſeveral Hiſtorians have done, yet I thought it might very well be ſpared here: Firſt, Becauſe in my Opinion it ſpoils the Beauty of the Margin; and beſides, this Volume being written in an exact Chronological Order, it will be very eaſy for the Reader, (if he will but pleaſe to remember near the Year about which any thing he would find, happened) to ſatisfy himſelf in the Matter he would know, by turning over but two or three Pages: and further, the Years of our Lord ſtanding in Roman *Figures in the Margin, do in many Places fill that Space which thoſe Contents uſually take up. But if theſe Reaſons by ſome may not be thought ſufficient, a good Friend of mine has been at the Pains, for your ſake, as well as my eaſe, to make an exact Table to the whole Work, by which I am confident you cannot miſs readily finding out any thing whatſoever you have a deſire to be ſatisfied in, that is contained in this Volume, either as to Perſons, Places or Things.*

I have endeavoured to make this Hiſtory as diverting as I could by variety of Matter, as alſo by inſerting into it whatſoever Relations I met with in our old Hiſtorians, that were not utterly improbable; and therefore I hope the Reader will not be uneaſy, becauſe all the parts thereof are not kept up alike pleaſant and agreeable, ſince the dryneſs of the Matter, and the barrenneſs of thoſe few Authors I find in ſome Periods, will not always equally afford it; any more than it can be expected, that in a long Journey it ſhould be alike pleaſant Travelling through dark and narrow Lanes, as over a free and open Champaign.

THERE is one thing more I muſt needs ſtand obliged to you in for your Pardon, and that is, the many Errata's *you will find in the firſt four Books; for being out of Town when near half of it was wrought off, I could not ſuperviſe it my ſelf: and though I committed the Correction of thoſe Sheets to a Perſon on whom I could (as I have done before) ſafely rely for his Ability and Faithfulneſs in the diſcharge of that Truſt; yet no Man is able to judg of the Author's Senſe ſo well as himſelf, nor conſequently to mend it, if any where too Obſcure or Miſtaken; and I cannot, as I would, anſwer ſo well for the Care of my* Amanuenſis *in his Writing or Pointing: and I muſt add this alſo, that ſome Printers are not always ſo careful as they ſhould be to amend their own Faults, tho never ſo exactly Corrected by thoſe to whom their Sheets were entruſted for that Purpoſe.*

THE

THE
General Introduction
TO THE
Whole Work.

SINCE the late Learned Doctor *Howell* and Doctor *Brady*, the former in his Second and Third Parts of his General Hiſtory of the World, and the latter in his General Preſace, and Firſt Book of his Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, have given us a large Account of the Political Government and Laws in this Part of our Iſland we now call *England*, during the time of the *Roman* Emperors, as alſo of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, as far as the *Norman* Conqueſt; this Undertaking of Mine would look very imperfect, if I ſhould not in ſome meaſure follow their Method, and prefix before it ſomething of the like nature.

I have therefore made bold to borrow from Mr. *Selden*, and thoſe other Authors who have written on this Subject, whatſoever I thought was neceſſary to carry on the ſame Deſign; and alſo added thoſe Things that I found they have either omitted or miſtaken, and which required more largely to be treated of, in order to render this Work as uſeful as poſſible I could for a matter of ſo great Importance.

TO begin then with the Government of the *Britains* before the Arrival of *Julius Cæſar* into this Iſland: Of which we have ſcarce any Account but what can be gathered from *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, which is ſo uncertain and fabulous, that there is little reliance upon what he ſays, ſave that in the general it was governed by Kings, and often canton'd into ſeveral Kingdoms: for that it was ever under one Monarch, as he frequently affirms, I have very good reaſon to doubt; it being not only contrary to the *Genius* and Cuſtom of the *Britiſh* Nation, (where all the Male Iſſue inherited alike) to ſuffer the Eldeſt Son to go away with the whole Inheritance, but likewiſe it is directly oppoſite to *Cæſar*'s Account of this Iſland when he came firſt hither, which he ſays he found divided into ſeveral diſtinct Principalities and States.

BUT if any Part of *Geoffrey*'s Relation be true, that is moſt likely to be ſo which he gives us of the Laws of *Molmutius*, viz.

THAT the Temples of the Gods had this Privilege, That whatever guilty Perſons ſhould fly to them, they ſhould be ſecure from their Proſecutors; becauſe we find that Cuſtom very antient, not only amongſt the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but indeed all other Nations, the *Jews* not excepted.

NEXT, That the publick Ways leading to the ſaid Temples, and the Cities wherein they were, ſhould be free and ſafe. And,

LASTLY, That ſuch a Proportion of Land ſhould maintain ſo many Ploughs for the Encouragement of Husbandry; which was very natural in a Countrey, where not only the Soil, but the Lazineſs of the Inhabitants, rendred it more apt for Grazing than Tillage.

[redacted] I cannot forbear obſerving how little ſtreſs is to be laid on *Geoffrey*'s Account of the Laws of thoſe *Britiſh* Princes, ſince he has the Confidence to tell us of another Sett of Laws ſuppoſed to be made by Queen *Martia*, which, he ſays, being afterwards tranſlated by King *Alfred* out of the *Britiſh* Language, were by him inſerted into his Body of *Saxon* Laws, under the Title of *Mearchen-Lage*. The Falſhood of which Derivation Mr. *Camden* has very well diſcovered, by ſhewing, That this Word had not its Original from Queen *Martia*, but from the *Saxon* Word *Mearc*, ſignifying a Limit or Boundary; from whence the *Mercian* Kingdom had its Name, and was ſo called from its Situation, as being circumſcribed by the other Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*.

[redacted] As for the *Britiſh* Government that ſucceeded upon the *Romans* deſerting of this Iſland, we can ſay no more of it, than that it was Regal; but that it was all ſubject to one Monarch, I no where find. For tho it appears from *Gildas* and *Nennius*, that *Vortigerne* was made King not long after the *Romans* leaving it, yet does it not follow from thence, that there were no more Kings than he at the ſame time; ſince it ſeems very unlikely, that all *Britain* (properly ſo called) which in the time of the *Romans* was divided into ſo many diſtinct Provinces, each of which had their particular *Præfects* or Deputies, ſhould ſo unanimouſly agree in the Choice of this *Vortigerne*, whom *Geoffrey* prepoſterouſly relates to have been then Count of the *Gewiſes*, when indeed there were no ſuch People of that Name in Being, till the erecting of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom; thoſe People being then (and not before) ſo called from one *Gewis*, an Anceſtor of *Hengiſt*. And *Gildas*, who lived within fourſcore Years after the Reign of this *Vortigerne*, tells us of no leſs than four diſtinct Kings reigning together in this Part of the Iſland, and mentions not a Word of its ever being otherwiſe.

BUT that the Titles of thoſe Kings who reigned here during the firſt Wars between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*, were oftner by Election than Succeſſion, may appear not only from *Geoffrey* himſelf, but alſo from *Gildas* and *Nennius*, who are Authors of better Credit; and they relate *Vortimer* the eldeſt Son of *Vortigerne*, to have been elected upon his Father's Depoſition, King of the *Britains*; and after his Death, and the ſecond Deſertion of *Vortigerne*, that *Aurelius Ambroſius* was elected firſt General, and ſome time afterwards King of the *Britains*.

NOR can we believe that theſe Kings were Abſolute or Deſpotick Monarchs, ſince we find that Government unſutable to the Temper of the *Britiſh* Nation, both then, and in ſucceeding times; having not only frequently caſt off the Government of the *Roman* Emperors, but alſo of their own Kings, for their cruel Tyranny and Oppreſſion.

AND that this way of the Election of one ſupream King over the reſt, was after often uſed by the *Britains*, you will find in the Hiſtory it ſelf; not but that it muſt be confeſſed, that the ſeveral petty Kingdoms or

Principalities which the *Britains* ſtill poſſeſſed, and that go under the Name of *North* and *South-Wales*, did commonly deſcend, and were diviſable among the ſeveral Sons of the deceaſed Prince, tho it was with great Inequality and Confuſion; which often produced frequent Civil Wars between the Contending Competitors, and became the Ruin of them all at laſt.

BUT to paſs from theſe *Britiſh* Princes, and the manner of their Government, as well before the coming in, as after the Deſertion of the *Romans*, and which (tho not in its due order of Time) I have here put together, that the Reader might have a full View of it all at once. I proceed now to the Civil and Military Adminiſtration of the *Romans* whilſt they continued Maſters of this Part of *Britain*.

JULIUS Cæſar, when he had rather view'd than conquer'd this Iſland, left it, upon the Delivery of ſome Hoſtages, and the Promiſe of ſending over more into *Gaul*, together with a certain Tribute to the Senate and People of *Rome*, neither of which the *Britains* ever perform'd; but during the Civil Wars, which not longer after enſued, they recovered their antient Liberty, ~~which~~ for divers Years ~~they~~ enjoyed, and & it till the Emperor *Claudius*, at the Inſtigation of one *Bericus* a Fugitive, and upon a Pretence of their denying the *Romans* to trade here, ſent over firſt *Aulus Plautius* as his Lieutenant, and then following preſently afterwards himſelf in Perſon, made the *Britains* (I mean the greateſt part of them) partly by Force, and partly by Fear, ſubmit themſelves to his Empire; tho in a great meaſure under the Regiment of their own Kings, who only paid Tribute, and received *Roman* Gariſons, and ſuffered them to erect Colonies where they pleas'd: during which time the Government of the *Romans* was rather Military than Civil, the People living after their own Laws.

NOR were the *Britains* wholly ſubdued by them, till ~~upon~~ their Inſurrection under Queen *Boadicia* in the Time of *Nero*, when *Paulus Suetonius* being Legate or Lieutenant here, reduced them (tho with great difficulty) under the *Roman* Yoke.

BUT the Civil Wars that afterwards happened upon the Death of *Nero*, hindred their entire Conqueſt, until ſuch time as the Emperor *Veſpaſian* ſent over that famous Commander *Agricola* to be his General here; who in a few Years, having laid aſide their petty Kings, brought it into the Form of a Province under the *Roman* Governours, ſometimes ſtiled *Preſidents*, ſometimes *Conſulares*, and ſometimes *Legati* or *Procuratores*, as the Emperor's Commiſſion, or the various Appellations of the *Roman* Hiſtorians are pleaſed to entitle them.

AND then it was, I ſuppoſe, this Part of the Iſland was firſt divided into ſeveral *Præfectſhips* or Governments, tho how many they were, cannot be aſcertained; only we find from the Breviary of *Sextus Rufus*, that in the Reign of *Conſtantine* it was parcell'd into theſe four for its better Adminiſtration, *viz. Britannia prima*, which is conjectured to have been that Part of the Countrey lying from the *Gallic* Sea to the River *Thames* and the Mouth of the *Severn*; *Britannia ſecunda*, which reached from the *Severn* to the *Iriſh* Sea; *Flavia Cæſarienſis*, which was encloſed by the Rivers *Thames*, *Severn* and *Humber*; and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, lying betwixt *Humber* and *Hadrian*'s Wall; to which was afterwards added by *Theodoſius* the Elder,

De his Nominibus, vid. Pancirol. ad Not. Imperii Occident. & Camden. Brit.

the Province of *Valentia*, ſo called from the Emperor *Valentinian*; and which, having been taken out of *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, lay betwixt the Wall of *Hadrian*, and the Friths of *Glotta* and *Bodotria*, which now are thoſe of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*.

EACH of which Provinces were under their particular Magiſtrates, ſome whereof had the Title of *Conſulares*, and others of *Præſides*: all which, according to the *Notitia Romani Imperii*, were by *Conſtantine*'s new Conſtitutions, made ſubject to the *Vicarius* of *Britain*, as he was to the *Præfectus Prætorii* of *Gaul*, who was one of the Four *Præfecti* of *Conſtantine*'s Erection.

THIS Vicar of *Britain* had alſo ſeveral inferiour Officers under him for the Civil Adminiſtration; as firſt, he had his *Princeps* or Lieutenant out of the *Agentes in rebus*, that is, from the Chief of the Agents, Solicitors, or Attorney-Generals: he had alſo from the *Ducenarii*, or Society of the Emperors Purſuivants, a *Cornicularius*, i. e. one that wrote and publiſhed the Sentences and Decrees of the Preſidents and other Magiſtrates, and had his Name from *Cornu* a Horn, by the ſounding whereof he is ſuppoſed to command ſilence in the Court; then two *Numerarii*, i. e. Clerks Accountants, who did ſet down all the Sums of the publick Revenues; then a *Commentarienſis*, i. e. the Jailor or Keeper of the Priſon, and was ſo called from the *Commentaria*, or Kalendars which he kept of the Priſoners, and delivered to the Judges: then certain Officers called *ab Actis*, who were Publick Notaries, that wrote Teſtaments, Contracts and other Inſtruments, which were ſigned before by the Judg or Preſident, and atteſted by him, that ſo after the Death of the Party they might remain Authentick: then other Clerks or Secretaries *de Curâ*, or *de Curâ Epiſtolarum*, who wrote and ſent the Letters and Diſpatches of the Governours of Provinces to the Emperor, or to each other.

BESIDES whom, the *Vicarius* himſelf, (and, I ſuppoſe alſo, each of the Preſidents) had his *Adjutorem*, i. e. his Coadjutor, in caſe of Sickneſs, or neceſſary Abſence; as likewiſe *Subadjuvas*, Under-Aſſiſtants, or Aſſiſtants to the Adjutor: and, in ſhort, certain other Officers called *Singulares*, from the particular Civil Imployments they had, who ſeem'd to have been Proſecutors, Informers, or Serjeants; not to mention others of more inferiour Rank, as Apparitors, Summoners, or Meſſengers. This was the Civil Court of the *Vicarius*, or Deputy of *Britain*, under the *Præfectus Prætorii* of *Gaul*, who had the Power to reverſe his Judgments and Decrees.

Vid. Pancirol. in Notit. Imperii.

THE Enſigns of his Government were a Draught of thoſe Five Parts of *Britain* before-mentioned, expreſſed in the Forms of ſeveral Buildings, with the Superſcription of their Names placed on the Triangular Form of the Iſland, as if they had comprehended the whole Iſland; the Book of their Inſtructions covered with Green, and the Commiſſion in a gilt Cover, with ſeveral Letters inſcribed on the Book, the Signification of which is unneceſſary to be here inſerted; but you will find this, as alſo a Draught of theſe *Inſignia* themſelves, in the above-cited *Pancirollus*.

BESIDES theſe general Preſidents, there were likewiſe Courts in all the great Cities, *Municipia*, or Colonies of each Province, which had their ſeveral Officers and Magiſtrates according to the Model of *Rome* it ſelf, who heard Cauſes, and adminiſtred Juſtice to the particular Diſtricts belonging to them, much after the ſame manner as the Parliaments in *France* do at this day.

HAVING thus concluded their *Civil* Adminiſtration, we now come to the *Military*, which was executed by Three Chief Officers under the *Magiſter Militum* of the *Weſt*, and they were theſe, *viz.* the *Comes Britanniarum*, *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, and the *Dux Britanniarum*; whoſe ſeveral Charges, and the Tracts ſubjected to each of their Commands, may be beſt diſcerned by the Names of thoſe Towns where their Under-Officers and Forces are ſaid to have had their Head-quarters. The firſt of theſe, *viz.* the Count of *Britain*, is thought to have had his Command over the *Inward* or Middle Part of the Iſland, becauſe the two others are known to have had theirs over the *Northern* or Maritime Parts thereof; but the *Notitia* aſſigns not any Forces to the former, nor mentions any Places under his Command, becauſe, as *Pancirollus* writes, the whole Iſland was then almoſt overrun by Barbarians.

BUT as for the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, ſo called in the Declenſion of the *Roman* Empire, from the charge or Care he had to ſuppreſs the *Saxon* Pirates, who often landing on the *Eaſtern* Parts of *Britain*, (lying over againſt *Germany*) committed great Ravages there; he had eight *Præpoſiti*, and one *Tribune* under him, that were Leaders of divers Cohorts, conſiſting of *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other Foreign Nations, who quartered in ſeveral Towns all along the Coaſts, from *Suſſex*, as far as the remoteſt part of *Norfolk*: for the Names of whom, with the Places where they lay, I ſhall refer you to the *Notitia Imperii Occidentalis*, or (if you had rather have them in *Engliſh*) to Mr. *Selden*'s Titles of Honour, and Dr. *Howell*'s ſecond Part, and third Chapter, of his General Hiſtory.

THE like I may alſo ſay of the Forces under the *Dux Britanniarum*, or General of *Britain*, whoſe Army, had it then been really in being, was ſufficient to have ſuppreſſed both the *Picts* and *Scots*; for they conſiſted of no leſs than fourteen *Præfects* or *Præpoſiti* of Horſe and Foot, whoſe Names, and Places where they quartered (extending from *Lincolnſhire* through all the *Northern* Counties, as far as the *Pictiſh* Borders, and ſo round about by *Lancaſhire* into *North-Wales*) you may find in the Authors abovementioned.

~~BUT~~ As for the ſeveral Enſigns of theſe three chief Military Officers, they being much what the ſame with thoſe of the *Vicarius Britanniæ*, *viz.* The Figures of certain Towns, with their Names ſet over them, together with their Commiſſions, contained in Books of different coloured Covers, with the Emperor's Images ſet by them on Pillars, I will leave it to thoſe who take more Pleaſure than I do in ſuch Curioſities.

ALL theſe *Comites* and *Duces* were equal in Power, and only ſubordinate to the *Vicarius Britanniæ*; the Forces under their Command were not only diſperſed through the *Municipia* or Free Colonies, which the *Romans* planted here, and were governed by their own Civil Magiſtrates in Imitation of *Rome* their Mother-City, but were alſo gariſon'd in divers Towns, Caſtles and Forts, all along the *Roman* Limits, thereby to diſcover the Motions of the Neighbouring Nations; ſeveral of which being intended only at firſt for their Military Camps, by degrees grew up into Cities, and are known at this day by the Name of *Cheſters*; ſuch as are *Weſt-Cheſter* on the River *Dee*, *Portcheſter* in *Hampſhire* (now deſtroyed,) *Cheſter in the Street* in *Northumberland*, with ſeveral others of leſs note near the *Picts* Wall; as alſo in the Inland Parts of *England*, ending in the word *Ceſter*, as *Leiceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, &c. all which owe their Original to the Latin Name *Caſtra*.

The Heptarchy.

HAVING now diſpatched the *Britiſh* and *Roman* Polity, I come to the main part of my Deſign, which is, to give a brief Account of the Civil Government that the *Engliſh Saxons* eſtabliſhed in this part of our Iſland, which they called *England*, who conſiſting of ſeveral Tribes or Nations inhabiting different Countries, yet all ſpeaking the ſame Language, came over hither at ſeveral Times under their particular Leaders; and as ſoon as they had expelled the *Britains*, they did within the ſpace of about a hundred Years, erect ſeven diſtinct Kingdoms, though not of equal Extent; the Names of which, (notwithſtanding they are ſet down in the Hiſtory it ſelf, yet having not given you the particular Catalogue of the ſeveral Counties they contained, becauſe their Dominions were not then divided into thoſe Diſtricts as they were afterwards,) I have reſerved to this place.

1*ſt*. Kingdom. THE firſt Kingdom, being that of *Kent*, conſiſted only of that County and *Surrey*.

2*d*. Kingdom. THE ſecond, *viz.* that of the *South-Saxons*, contained *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, or at leaſt great part of it.

3*d*. Kingdom. THE third was the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and contained *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire* and *Berkſhire*. But as for that Countrey called *Cornwall*, I ſhall not reckon it here, becauſe it was ~~for a long Time after~~ then governed by its own Princes, and not brought under the *Weſt-Saxon* Dominion till long after.

4*th*. Kingdom. THE fourth was that of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, which contained *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and part of *Hertfordſhire*.

5*th*. Kingdom. THE fifth was that of the *Northumbers*, which contained *Lancaſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, *Northumberland*, and part of *Scotland*, as far as *Edinburgh Frith*.

THIS Kingdom after the Death of *Ida*, was divided into two parts; the firſt whereof, containing all the Countries lying on this ſide the River *Tyne*, was called the Kingdom of *Deira*; and that on the other ſide of it was called *Bernicia*, and ſo continued for ſeveral Deſcents, till King *Oſwy*, about the Year 643. upon the Murder of King *Oſwin* his Couſin, again reduced them into one; and they continued thus united till ſuch time as the *Southern* Provinces were overrun by the *Danes*, as the more *Northern* were by the *Scots*, and have ever ſince remained part of that Kingdom: and hence it is that the Low-Lands of *Scotland*, (that is, all the Countrey from the River *Tyne*, to the *Friths* of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*,) antiently ſpoke the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue, which in ſucceeding Times was changed into that *Engliſh* Dialect they call the Modern *Scotch*; and conſiſts of the old *Saxon*, with no little mixture of the *Daniſh* Language: this, I ſuppoſe, proceeded from the great Conqueſts, and ſettling ſo many of that Nation in thoſe *Northern* Parts.

THIS is in great meaſure confirmed by *John* of *Wallingford*, (publiſh'd by the Learned Dr. *Gale*) where he relates, that *Keneth* King
545. of *Scots* received *Lothian* from King *Edgar*, under the Condition of

of a Homage from himſelf and his Succeſſors Kings of *Scotland*, to the King of *England*, as alſo that the People of that Countrey ſhould enjoy their Laws and Cuſtoms, as alſo the uſe of the *Engliſh* Tongue.

BUT as for the true and genuine *Scotiſh*, which they now call the Speech of the *Highlanders*, becauſe by them only ſpoken at this day, it is no other than the antient *Iriſh*, which the *Scots* brought over with them from thence, when they firſt came over to inhabit there, as you will find in the Beginning of *Bede*'s Hiſtory.

THE ſixth Kingdom was that of the *Eaſt-Angles*, which contained *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgſhire*, with the Iſle of *Ely*. *6th.* Kingdom.

THE ſeventh was that of the *Mercians*, containing *Glouceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, Derbyshire *Cheſhire*, and part of *Hertfordſhire*. 7th. Kingdom.

~~BUT~~ As for the Names of the Kings who reigned in each of theſe Kingdoms, till they were all brought under that of the *Weſt-Saxons*, I ſhall refer you to the Tables at the end of the third, fourth and fifth Books of this Volume, wherein you have at one view all the Kings that ſucceeded in each of thoſe Periods, as alſo thoſe of that part of *Britain* we now call *Wales*; and for the more exact Chronology of the firſt *Britiſh* Princes, I muſt own my ſelf obliged to the ~~exact~~ faithful account of the Right Reverend the preſent Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*, who I hope one day will let the World ſee ſome of his Learned Labours on that Subject.

THIS is a ſhort Scheme of the ſeveral Kingdoms, into which that Part of *Britain* we now call *England*, was divided in the *Saxon* Times.

I ſhould next proceed to the particular Laws and Forms of Government in each reſpective Kingdom; but ſince we have no Remains of thoſe left us for want of Letters, before the Preaching of Chriſtianity here, we can only ſay in the general, that without doubt each of theſe Kingdoms had its own particular Laws and Cuſtoms; and tho they might perhaps differ one from the other in ſome Points, yet they all agreed in the main, as to the moſt Material and Fundamental Conſtitutions of their Government, and long received Laws and Cuſtoms before ever they arrived in *England*, as proceeding from the ſame Common Anceſtors.

AND tho the *Engliſh-Saxons* were not immediately derived from the *Germans* but *Goths*, as you will find in the third Book of this Volume; yet ſince even the *Germans* themſelves were derived from the ſame *Gothick* Original, with all the reſt of thoſe Northern People, as the *Sweeds*, *Danes* and *Norwegians*, as appears by the Agreement of their Language, Cuſtoms and Laws; I ſhall therefore ſuppoſe that in the main likewiſe they agreed with the Antient *Germans*, as they are deſcribed by * *Tacitus*, in their Laws, Manners, and Religion; and therefore I ſhall from him give you ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them, as they are collected by Mr. *Selden* in his Learned Treatiſe, called, *Jani Anglorum Facies altera*. * De moribus Germanorum.

THE firſt of which is, *In conciliis Rex vel Princeps, prout Ætas cuiq; prout Nobilitas, prout Decus Bellorum, prout Facundia eſt, audiuntur, Auctoritate ſuadendi magis quàm jubendi poteſtate. Si diſplicuit* 1.

Sententia, fremitu aſpernantur; *ſin placuit, frameas concutiunt. Honoratiſſimum aſſenſûs Genus eſt Armis laudare.* Which for the Benefit of the Common Readers, I will take upon me to tranſlate into Engliſh, *viz.*

“ IN their Councils the King, or ſome principal Perſon, according to every one's reſpective Age, Nobility, Reputation in Arms, or Eloquence, are heard, rather by the Authority of Perſwading, than the Power of Commanding: if their Opinions diſpleaſed them, they ſhewed their diſlike by their Clamour; but if they approved of what was ſpoken, they ſtruck their Launces one againſt another. This was thought the moſt Honourable way of giving their Aſſent to approve by Arms.

2. THE ſecond is, *Eliguntur in iiſdem Conciliis Principes, qui Jura per pagos vicoſq; reddunt. Centeni ſingulis ex plebe Comites Conſilium ſimul & Auctoritas adſunt*, viz.

“ IN thoſe Councils ſuch chief Men are Elected, as judge Cauſes in Towns and Villages. A hundred Aſſeſſors choſen out of the common People are added to each of them, as well for Counſel as Authority. From whence Mr. *Selden* here ſuppoſes our Hundreds had their Original; which antiently conſiſted of the Maſters of one hundred Families.

3. THE third goes on thus, *Nihil publicæ vel privatæ Rei niſi Armati agunt, ſed Arma ſumere non antè cuiquam moris, quam Civitas ſuffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipſo Concilio, vel Principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus, ſcuto frameâq; Juvenem ornant: hæc apud illos Toga, hic primus juventæ honos: ante hoc Domus pars videntur, mox Reipublicæ*, viz.

“ THEY tranſact nothing either of Publick or Private Concern without their Arms: but it was not a Cuſtom for any to aſſume thoſe Arms, before the Common-Wealth had approved of his Ability. Then in this very Council, either one of the principal Men, or his Father, or his near Kinſman, adorned the Youth with the Shield and Lance. This ſerved them inſtead of a Gown, and was the firſt Honour of their Youth: before they only ſeemed as part of the Family, but now they became a Member of the Common-Wealth. And here Mr. *Selden* diſcovers the firſt Footſteps of Knighthood.

4. THE fourth is, *Inſignis Nobilitas, aut magna patrûm merita, Principis dignationem, etiàm Adoleſcentulis aſſignant*; viz.

“ EMINENT Nobility, or the ſignal Merits of their Anceſtors, do advance even theſe young Men to the Degree and Honour of being a chief Man.

FROM hence we may obſerve, that all Nobility among the antient *Germans* was at firſt Military, as being derived from the Noble and Valiant Acts of their Anceſtors in War; and thence proceed all the preſent Enſigns of it, *videlicet*, the Shield, on which our Coats of Arms are now depicted; as alſo the Helmet and Creſt that ſtand for an Ornament over them: for until ſome Brave and Worthy Act was performed, it was not lawful among the *Germans* for a young Warriour to paint any *Device* upon his Shield, which was only Perſonal to himſelf, and extended not to his Poſterity.

5. THE fifth is, That *Dotem non Uxor Marito, ſed Uxori Maritus offert*, viz.

“ THE Husband ſettles a Dower upon the Wife, and not, *vice verſa*, “ the Wife upon the Husband. Which ſhews the Antiquity of Dower among the *Germans* and *Engliſh-Saxons*; and as Mr. *Selden* upon this Law obſerves, it was called antiently *MORGANGHEB* among them.

6. THE ſixth ſhews, that *Acciſis Crinibus, nudatam adulteram coram propinquis expellit domo Maritus, ac per omnem vicum verbere agit*, viz.

“ FOR Adultery, the Husband turned the Wife out of his Houſe in “ the preſence of her Relations, having firſt cut off her Hair, and be- “ ing then ſtrip'd, whip'd her through the Town.

BUT the Severity of this Puniſhment, if ever it was in uſe here, was quite aboliſhed by the *Engliſh-Saxons*, as you will find from the Laws about it.

7. THE ſeventh is, that *Hæredes, ſucceſſoreſq; ſui cuiq; Liberi: & nullum Teſtamentum*, viz.

“ EVERY Man's Heirs and Succeſſors are his Children; and no “ Teſtament is allowed.

BUT in this the *Engliſh-Saxon* Law differed much from thoſe of the *Germans*; for it was lawful in *England* for Men of Quality to diſpoſe of their Land by Will (if they pleaſed) provided it were *Bocland*, (that is Free-Tenure grantable by Deed) as you may find by ſome Laws in the enſuing Volume; otherwiſe in Lands held in *Socage*, every Man's Sons inherited all alike: But this Law was changed after the Conqueſt, and no Will could be made of Lands held by Military Service, but they deſcended entirely to the eldeſt Son: which Law continued ſo low as the Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*, when the Statute was firſt made, which gives the Tenant by Knights Service, Power to bequeath his Eſtate by Will, provided there were enough left to perform the Service. 32 Hen. VIII. Cap. 1.

8. THE eighth ſays, that *Suſcipere Inimicitias, ſeu patris, ſeu propinqui, quàm amicitias, neceſſe eſt*, viz.

IT is abſolutely neceſſary to continue the Enmities of a Father, or near Kinſman, as well as Friendſhips.

FROM whence, as Mr. *Selden* well obſerves, aroſe thoſe Family-Quarrels, called in the North of *England*, DEADLY FEUDS, (which you will alſo find mentioned in the enſuing Collection of *Saxon* Laws) and which are continued in *Scotland* even to this Day.

BUT to proceed with *Tacitus*, he ſays, *Nec implacabiles durant: Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo Armentorum ac Pecorum numero, recipitq; ſatisfactionem univerſa Domus*, viz.

“ THAT they do not remain implacable; for the Homicide is re- “ compenſed with a certain Number of great and ſmall Cattel, and “ the whole Family thereupon receives Satisfaction.

THIS Cuſtom continued long not only among the *Germans*, but alſo *Engliſh-Saxons*; the Price of Blood being to be redeemed at a certain Rate, according to each Man's Condition, which you will hereafter often find in the ſaid Laws to be mentioned under the Title of *WIREGILD*: and in the Laws of King *Æthelſtan* you will meet with the particular Prices of each Man's Head, from the Clown even to the King himſelf; the Eſtimation of whoſe Life is likewiſe there ſet down, thô at a much higher Rate (as it ought to be) than that of other Mens. But of this we ſhall ſpeak more anon.

9. THE ninth Law bears, that *Frumenti modum Dominus, aut pecoris, aut veſtis Colono injungit*, viz.

“ THE Lord of the Soil preſcribes to the Husbandman, what “ quantity of Corn, Cattel, or Clothes he ſhall pay him.

FROM whence we may take notice of the Antiquity of Rent reſerved upon Farms, which was chiefly in Proviſion, and not in Money, as it continued for a long Time after the Conqueſt here in *England*, and remains ſo in *Scotland* even to this Day.

Adam. Bremenſ. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brem. & Hamburg. cap. 5. ex Bibliothecâ Henric. Ranzovii.
**Nithard*. p. 4.

HAVING thus done with the Laws, we ſhall next deſcend to the People who practiſed them. The antient *Saxons*, as *Adam* of *Bremen* from *Einhardus* relates, were like the *Germans*, divided into theſe four ſorts, *viz.* Noblemen, Freemen, Slaves that were Manumized, and laſtly, thoſe that continued Slaves: But * *Nithardus* ſpeaking of his Time, makes them but of three ſorts, *ſcilicet*, *Ethelings*, *Frilingues*, and *Lazzi*, that is, Noblemen, Freemen, and Slaves: and it was eſtabliſhed as a Law among them, that none of theſe ſhould tranſgreſs the Bounds of their own Condition, by matching with thoſe who were either a Degree above, or below them.

Vid. Mag. Charta, C. 6. &Merton.C.7.

THIS Cuſtom was alſo long obſerved in *England* after the Conqueſt, and gave Original to thoſe Statutes of *Mag. Char.* and *Merton*, by which the Lord was to loſe the Benefit of his Wardſhip, in caſe he married the Ward to his Diſparagement, that is, *To the Daughter of a Villain, or a Tradeſman, in caſe that the Kindred complained of it.*

BUT before we come to treat of the ſeveral Degrees of People abovementioned, it is fit we ſhould ſay ſomething of the Head of the *Saxon* Common-Weal, *viz.* their King; who though he was choſen in all the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, out of the Blood-Royal of *Woden*, their firſt Leader of this *Gothick* Colony into *Europe*, as appears by their Pedigree at the end of the Book; yet were they at firſt no better than Generals in War, and in time of Peace they had little or no Power, as we may ſee in *Bede*.

Bede Eccleſ. Hiſt. Li. 5. Cap. 12.

FOR he ſpeaking of the Province of the Hither (i. e. *Eaſt*) *Frizeland*, (from whence he ſuppoſes our *Saxon* Anceſtors to have come, and to which the two *Hewalds*, the White and the Black, went to preach the Goſpel, and were there martyr'd for their Pains) he hath this remarkable Paſſage, *Non enim habent Regem iidem antiqui Saxones, ſed Satrapas plurimos ſuæ Genti præpoſitos, qui ingruente Belli Articulo mittunt æqualiter ſortes, & quemcunque ſors oſtenderit, hunc tempore Belli Ducem omnes ſequuntur, & huic obtemperant*; *peracto autem Bello, rurſum æqualis potentiæ omnes fiunt Satrapæ*: i. e. “ For the Antient *Saxons* “ (ſays he) have no King, but ſeveral Noblemen of their own Nation “ ſet over them, who on the breaking out of any War, caſt Lots, and on “ whomſoever the Lot happened to fall, all the People during that War, “ follow and obey him as their General; but when the War was over “ and at an end, all theſe Lords again became of equal Power.

AND it is likewiſe very obſervable, that neither *Bede* nor any other *German* Author, who relates the Story of the *Saxons* being invited by the *Britains* over hither, ever mention their being ſent by any of their Kings, but only by the *Saxon* Nation in general: and if it continued thus in *Bede*'s Time, it ought reaſonably to be concluded, that it was likewiſe ſo before their coming over, unleſs any Man can ſhew me ſome better Authority than ever I have yet met with to the contrary.

AND that this likewiſe continued ſo, not only in *Bede*'s Time, but many Years after, may appear from this Teſtimony of *Johan. Pomarius* in his Saxon Chronicle, which, tho written in Latin, yet not being able as yet to procure the ſight of it, I ſhall give you what he ſays almoſt to the ſame effect out of *Verſtegan*'s *Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence*; "As for "the General Government of the Countrey, they ordained twelve "Noble-men, choſen from among others for their Worthineſs and "Sufficiency. Theſe in the Time of Peace rode their ſeveral Circuits, "to ſee Juſtice and good Cuſtoms obſerved; and they often of Courſe, "at appointed Times, met all together, to conſult and give Order in "Publick Affairs; but ever in Time of War one of theſe twelve was "choſen to be King, and ſo to remain as long only as the War laſted; "and that being ended, his Name and Dignity of King alſo ceaſed, "and he became as before: and this Cuſtom continued among them "until the Time of their Wars with the Emperor *Charles the Great*, at "which time, *Wittekind* one of the Twelve as aforeſaid, a Nobleman "of *Angria* in *Weſtphalia*, bore over the reſt the Name and Authority "of King; and he being afterwards by the means of the ſaid Emperor "converted to the Faith of Chriſt, had by him his mutable Title of "King turned into the induring Title and Honour of Duke; and the "eleven others were in like manner by the ſaid Emperor advanced "to the honourable Titles of Earls and Lords, with Eſtabliſhment "for the continual remaining of theſe Titles and Dignities unto them "and their Heirs; of whoſe Deſcents are ſince iſſued the greateſt "Princes at this preſent in **Germany**.

Verſtegan. Chap. 3. pag. 68, 69.

FROM what now I have given you, I think nothing is more evident than that the Government of the Antient *Engliſh Saxons* was rather Ariſtocratical than Monarchical: and admitting they allowed the King they had ſet over them ſomewhat more Power than thoſe Noblemen abovementioned, by whom they where governed in their own Countrey in time of Peace; yet was this Power of theirs far ſhort of that abſolute Dominion which Dr. *Howell* in his Diſcourſe of the Polity of the *Engliſh-Saxons* ſuppoſes, (tho without any juſt Ground,) that theſe Kings enjoyed, and therefore he would have it, "That the Government was Monarchical, and that not only in reſpect of the particular Kingdoms during the *Heptarchy*, which had their peculiar Kings, "but even of the whole Body of the Nation, which was uſually "commanded by one of the Seven; of all which *Bede* takes notice in "his Time.

Dr. Howell's *General Hiſtory, Part.* 4 *Fol.* 272.

BUT if every one of theſe Kings were no more a Monarch, than he [illegible] was ſometimes Supream or Chief above the Reſt, I doubt he will fall very ſhort of that Title, which is not found either in *Bede*, or in the *Saxon* Annals, or yet in any other Antient Writer before the Conqueſt, until the Time of King *Edred*.

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BUT I have ſaid enough to confute this Notion, I hope, in the Preface.

THE Doctor's next Argument is from the Nature of the Monarchy, which he ſays, "We muſt believe at the firſt followed the Condition "of the Tenure, abſolute Conqueſts and Territories, both got and "held by the Sword alone, uſually producing abſolute Governments, "which

Id. ibid.

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“ which many times either by reaſon of the infirm Foundation laid by
“ the Conquerors themſelves, the Humour of the People not induring
“ ſuch Subjection, or other Accidents, change into more Moderate
“ and leſs Arbitrary. That *Hengeſt*, *Ælla*, and the other Captains,
“ where they firſt erected their Dominations, governed their Souldiers,
“ whom now being Kings they called Subjects, with as great Authority,
“ and as full Command as formerly, we little doubt.

IN anſwer to this, and to ſhew you, that notwithſtanding what this Author hath alledged, we have ſtill great reaſon to doubt the Truth of it, as being founded on no Authority, but rather the quite contrary appears; I ſhall therefore only deſire the Reader in the firſt place to take notice, that it is no good Argument at all to ſay, that becauſe the *Saxon* Princes were Conquerors by the means of their Followers, therefore they muſt have ſubmitted themſelves abſolutely to their Dominion, when the War was over.

FOR the better Proof of which, I would farther intreat the Reader to obſerve;

FIRST, That thoſe Princes or Generals over the *Engliſh-Saxons*, (thô all of them were deſcended from *Woden* their Common Anceſtor,) knew no ſuch Power as that of Kings at Home, (according to *Bede*;) or if we believe *Pomarius*, the Title of King laſted at the moſt no longer than the War: nor could thoſe Princes be made Kings by their own Nation before they came over, ſince being only meer Souldiers of Fortune, they had as yet conquered no Dominions, from whence they could receive that Denomination: ſo that then it muſt fall out, that they could only be ſo by the *Election* of their Souldiers and Followers, that came over along with them; which may be alſo proved from the enſuing *Annals* themſelves.

FOR firſt they call *Hengeſt* and *Horſa* the two Brothers, who came over hither only *Heretogan*, i. e. Leaders or Captains of the *Jutes* that accompanied them, as you may ſee *An.* 449. of theſe *Annals*.

NOR ſecondly, do they begin the Reign of *Hengeſt* till the Death of *Horſa* his Brother, *Anno* 455. ſix Years after his coming over: ſo that it is plain he could have no other Right to his Kingdom of *Kent*, but *the free Election of the People* that came over with him, or elſe followed him not long afterwards.

THE like I might ſay of all the reſt of the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy* for the ſame Reaſon, were there no expreſs Authorities to prove it, which yet alſo are not wanting.

FOR as to the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, (which afterwards ſwallowed up all the reſt) our *Annals*, *Anno* 495. tell us “ Of *Cerdic*,
“ and *Cynric* his Son, their landing in *Britain* with five Ships, and having
“ fought with the *Britains*, they about ſix Years after their coming over,
“ upon their conquering the Countrey of the *Weſt-Saxons*, became
“ their firſt Kings: which is further confirmed under *Anno* 519.
“ where it is expreſly related, that *Cerdic* and *Cynric* then began their
“ Reigns over the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom. So likewiſe in *Anno* 547.
“ it is there ſaid, that *Ida* began firſt to reign; from whom is derived
“ the Royal Stock of the *Northumbrian* Kings.

AND yet we find from *Nennius* and *Malmesbury*, and all our other Hiſtorians who treat of this Matter, that *Octa* and *Ebuſa*, Son and Nephew to *Hengeſt*, had landed in the Northern Parts of *England* not long after

Hengeſt himſelf; and having conquered thoſe Countries, they and their Deſcendants ruled there for near 100 Years, tho without the Title of Kings, but only as ſubordinate Lords or Earls under the Kings of *Kent*, till this *Ida* obtained the Kingdom; but whether by Succeſſion or Election, *William* of *Malmesbury* cannot tell us, but rather inclines to the latter: and tho it be true, that theſe *Annals* mention no other Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy* than theſe three laſt; yet it appears from very good Teſtimonies in the enſuing Hiſtory, that *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Cambridgſhire*, being the Countrey of the *Eaſt-Angles*, were conquered by them under ſeveral petty Princes, that ruled there long before *Uffa*, who was made the firſt King of that whole Countrey.

THE like I may ſay for the *Mercian* Kingdom, where *Creoda*, or *Crida*, began his Reign about *Anno* 585. above 60 Years after the *Eaſt-Angles* firſt ſettled in thoſe Parts.

HAVING now, I hope, ſufficiently proved this Point againſt the Learned Dr. *Howell*, I think it will plainly follow, that all thoſe Kings above-mentioned could have no other Title to their Crowns beſides *Election*, who from Captains and Generals in time of War, became Kings in time of Peace over the Countries they had conquered.

I will here therefore leave it to the Impartial Reader, to conſider, whether what Dr. *Howell* aſſerts is at all likely to be true, *viz.* "That "the Power of theſe Kings commencing by the Sword, was as abſo-"lute in Time of Peace as in that of War: for we plainly ſee, that theſe were a free People, and it is in no ways probable that they ſhould, contrary to the Genius of ſo noble and free a Nation, ſubmit themſelves to the abſolute Dominion of one Man, who owed his delegated Power to themſelves.

BESIDES this, the original Conſtitution of all theſe ſeveral Kingdoms ſpeaks the quite contrary; for we find in the following Hiſtory, frequent mention made of great Councils of the *Wites*, i. e. the chief, or wiſe Men of the whole Kingdom, which Councils were eſtabliſhed to curb the exorbitant Power of their Kings; ſince by theſe they were *elected*, and by theſe too they were likewiſe often *depoſed*, when ever their Tyranny rendered them inſupportable; as you will ſee in ſeveral Inſtances when you peruſe the following Books in this Volume.

AND thus having traced as far as we are able the Original of the firſt *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, we ſhall now in the next Place treat of the manner of their Succeſſion to the Crown, which ſome of our Modern Authors fancy to have been by a Lineal Succeſſion, becauſe we find the Son to have often ſucceeded the Father in moſt of theſe Kingdoms for ſeveral Deſcents. But if this ſhould be granted, yet is it no good Argument to prove a Lineal Succeſſion by Blood: for tho I am ſenſible that the *Saxon* Annals, as well as all other Hiſtorians, are very obſcure in this Point, not declaring which way thoſe Princes came to the Crown, whether by Succeſſion or Election, becauſe it was omitted in the old *Saxon Annals* out of which they wrote, and which we find very ſhort in that particular; yet this will by no means warrant thoſe Kingdoms to have been only Succeſſive, as ſome Men fondly ſuppoſe; ſeeing we may obſerve, that in the *German* Empire, (which every one knows to be Elective) the Son hath ſucceeded the Father, or a younger Brother the Elder, for above 150 Years, ever ſince the Time of the Emperor *Ferdinand* Brother to *Charles* the *Fifth*; however I hope no Body will have the Confidence to affirm, that the Empire hath been only Succeſſive, and not Elective all this while.

THE ſame I may ſay concerning the Succeſſion of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, in which tho we find the Son often ſucceeded the Father, or one Brother another, yet does not this prove that the Succeſſion went by right of Inheritance, as it does at this day.

I MAY ſay the like as to *Denmark* and *Sweden*, the latter of which has been by Succeſſion but little above fourſcore Years from *Charles* the *Ninth*; and as for the former, it has become ſo even in our own Memories: and yet for many Succeſſions in both theſe Kingdoms, he that was the next Heir by Lineal Deſcent, was moſt commonly choſen King after the Death of his Father, Uncle or Brother; but before this Election he could claim no Legal Right to the Crown by the Laws of theſe Kingdoms, of which I ſhall give you divers Inſtances. And I think we may affirm this of all the Kingdoms of the *Saxon Heptarchy*; where tho the *Mycel-Gemots* commonly obliged themſelves to chooſe one of the Blood-Royal, and the next Heir rather than any other, provided he were equally fit to govern, eſpecially if he were recommended or deſigned for Succeſſor by the Will of the laſt King; however in this they took a great Latitude, as will evidently appear in the purſuit of this Diſcourſe.

BUT I muſt confeſs the manner how the *Saxon* Kings came to the Throne is but darkly expreſſed by the words *FENG to RICE* in *Saxon*, in Latin *Regnum capeſſit*, which we have commonly rendered, *ſucceeded in*, or *to the Kingdom*: yet thoſe words do not ſignify any Lineal Succeſſion, but are often promiſcuouſly uſed, when the next Succeſſor could have no Title but Election, as ſhall be farther ſhewn by and by.

NOW the beſt way to prove this, I think, will be briefly to ſurvey the Succeſſions of each Kingdom, and the ſeveral Breaches and Alterations that were made therein, upon this ſuppoſed Lineal Succeſſion. 1. Kent. And firſt, to begin with the Kingdom of *Kent*, of which we indeed have ſcarce any more than the bare Names of the Kings, with but very little of their Actions, for about four Deſcents, till *Ethelbert* the firſt Chriſtian King there began to reign, only that the Son ſtill ſucceeded the Father.

SO likewiſe from this *Ethelbert* to *Earcombert* his Grandſon, for two Deſcents more we find the like ſeeming Lineal Succeſſion; yet for all this doth it not therefore follow, that there might not have been either elder Brothers, or the Sons of them, who were excluded during that Time; ſeeing that we only meet with the next Succeſſor mentioned, without telling us whether there were not ſuch Heirs put by: for under the Year 640. we learn from our *Annals*, that *Earcombert* King of *Kent* ſucceeded *Eadbald* his Father abovementioned, who yet left an elder Son named *Ermenred*, that according to the Courſe of Lineal Deſcent ought to have ſucceeded to the Kingdom before his younger Brother *Earcombert*: but whether he was diſinherited by his Father, or rejected by the People, our *Annals* mention not, only that this *Ermenred* left two Sons, who afterwards were made away by one *Thunor*, Servant to King *Earcombert*.

Vid. Florence of Worceſter's *Genealogy of the* Kentiſh *Kings at the end of his Chronicle*, pag.689. *and* Will. *of* Malmesbury, *Lib.*1.p.10,11.

AFTER him *Egbert* his Son ſucceeded, leaving a Son called *Eadric*, yet he did not ſucceed as he ought to have done (according to our Modern Opinions) by Hereditary Right, but *Lothaire* his Uncle, that kept the Kingdom twelve Years from him: But whether he came in by the Teſtament of his Brother, or Election of the People, or by both, neither *Bede* nor any other Author give us an Account; tho it muſt be confeſſed, that this *Eadric* was diſcontented at his being thus put by, and therefore fled to the *South-Saxons*, and joined with them who were then in actual War againſt *Lothaire*; who happening to be worſted in the Fight where this *Eadric* commanded, and dying of the Wounds he therein received, *Eadric* ſucceeded, but whether by Right of Lineal Deſcent, or Election, is no where ſaid: Nor doth his thus making War upon his Uncle prove his Right, ſince we find that King *Edward* the *Elder* ſuffered the like Diſturbance from Prince * *Ethelwald*, the Son of King *Ethelred* his Father's elder Brother, as you will ſee in the beginning of the Reign of that King, which ended not but with the Life of the ſaid Prince *Ethelwald*, who pretended to the Crown.

* *Vide* Saxon Annals, *Anno* 901, 502.

NOR were Foreign Princes any better ſatisfied with *Eadric*'s Right; for *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, that *Ceadwalla* made War upon him, and deſtroyed his Countrey, to revenge the Death of King *Lothaire* his Predeceſſor.

Ibid.

BUT after this *Eadric*, two Princes, called *Webba* and *Seward*, held the Kingdom, which muſt certainly have been by Election, becauſe it is not related, whether they were of the Royal Family or no; but they reigned not long, for *Whitred* Brother to *Eadric* ſucceeded them: after whom this Kingdom ſeems to have gone in a Lineal Succeſſion for three Deſcents, as far as to his Sons *Eadbert*, *Ethelbert*, and *Alric*; tho theſe Princes might have been alſo elected, for ought we know to the contrary, for they all reigned ſucceſſively after each other: But whether any of theſe left Sons is uncertain, for *Malmesbury* tells us, "That after them the *Kentiſh* "Royal Family decaying, any bold Aſpirer, whom Wealth or Faction "made formidable, obtained that Crown, but how?— Moſt likely by the Election of their Great Councils, for Uſurpations by Force could not well be practiſed in Kingdoms where (there being no ſtanding Army) the King in great meaſure depended on the general good Will of the People.

2. South-Saxons.

BUT as for the next Kingdom, *viz.* that of the *South-Saxons*, there is ſo little ſaid of them by any of our Hiſtorians, and they were ſo ſoon ſwallowed up by the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, that we can only gueſs they ſucceeded to the Crown, but it is moſt probable, that it was after the ſame manner as the Kings did in all the other Kingdoms.

I ſhould next treat of the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, according to the courſe of Time wherein it begun, but I intend to reſerve that to the laſt, becauſe it is from them that all our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings deſcended, till the Conqueſt.

3. Eaſt-Saxons.

Bede *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 5. & Flor. Wig. *pag.* 690.

AND therefore I will now give you a brief Succeſſion of the Kings of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, where they ſeem to have followed in a Lineal Deſcent, till *Sebert*, the firſt Chriſtian King; and he dying, as *Bede* relates, left his three Sons joint Heirs of his Kingdom, tho we can find no more than the Names of two of them, *viz. Sexred* and *Seward*, who being both ſlain in a Battel againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Sigbert*, the Son of *Seward*, ſucceeded him.

THIS I remark to ſhew you, that this Kingdom did not always go according to a Lineal Succeſſion, for all the three Brothers were Heirs alike: and that the Teſtament of the King alone had not the Power to do this without the concurring Aſſent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, I ſhall prove when I come to diſcourſe of the Succeſſion of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings; ſince it is moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe the ſame General Laws or Conſtitutions concerning it to have been in uſe among them all, until any one can prove the contrary.

Ibid. Cap. 12.

I have no more to ſay concerning theſe Kings of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, but that after the Death of King *Sebbi* or *Sebba*, we are informed by *Bede*, that *Siggard* and *Swithered* his two Brothers, reigned jointly after him, which I obſerve only the further to make good the former Inſtance, of more Heirs than one at a Time.

4. Northumbers.

AND now I come to the Kingdom of the *Northumbers*, the Lineal Succeſſion whereof being ſo often broken, and ſo very perplexed, it would be tireſome to give you all the particular Inſtances in which the next Heirs by Deſcent were put by, and other Princes of the Blood more remote choſen by the People in their Rooms: ſo that from *Ida* their firſt King for near three hundred Years, we ſhall ſcarce ever find that Crown ſettled in any one Family for above three Deſcents, but that it was ſtill tranſlated to ſome other Prince of the Blood Royal, which ſeems to have been the moſt general Rule they obſerved, as any one may ſee, who will pleaſe to conſult their Pedigree at the end of *Florence* of *Worceſter*.

Vid. *The Genealogies of the* Saxon *Kings at the end of* Florence *of* Worceſter.

AND indeed the frequent Rebellions of this Nation againſt their Kings, and the Depoſing of them ſo as they did, being not only obſerved, but frequently blamed by *William* of *Malmesbury* and our other Antient Hiſtorians, I ſhall not draw any Precedents from thence, but ſuch as we find in the very beginning of this Kingdom, and before that People were infected with that turbulent Humour of caſting off their Kings whenever they diſpleaſed them.

Lib. 1. Cap. 3.

TO begin with *Ida* their firſt King, 'tis true *William* of *Malmesbury* will not affirm, whether he made himſelf King by his own Power, or elſe became ſo by Conſent of the People, becauſe he owns it to be very much in the dark; yet *Henry Huntington* is poſitive, *that he was choſen to this Dignity by the Conſent of the Great or chief Men*: but after his Death, tho a Prince of great Merit, the Kingdom became divided, and *Adda* his Son only obtained the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, whilſt *Ælla*, the Son of *Yffi*, of the ſame Royal Lineage, ſucceeded him in that of *Deira*, which how it could be unleſs by Election, I do not underſtand.

See Florence *in the Place above cited.*

NOR did any of the Sons of *Adda* ſucceed him in that Kingdom, but three other Princes, *viz.* *Glappa*, *Theodulf*, and *Frethulf*, whoſe Relation to the *Northumbrian* Blood Royal, our Authors do not declare, nor yet how they ſtood in Conſanguinity to each other; only they ſay that after them, *Thedorick* firſt, and then *Ethelrick*, the Sons of *Ida*, ſucceeded in the *Bernician* Kingdom, which how they could do otherwiſe than by Election I do not find.

Flor. Ibid.

AND note, that theſe ſix Princes laſt mentioned, governed *Bernicia*, whilſt *Ælla* being yet alive ſtill reigned in *Deira*; nor did he, for all he ruled above thirty Years, long ſecure the Kingdom to his Son *Eadwin*; for he was ſoon expelled by *Ethelfrith*, the Son of King *Ethelrick*, who forced him to fly his Countrey, whilſt he commanded both Nations for ſeveral Years, till being at laſt overcome and ſlain in Battel by *Redwald* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*; *Eadwin* again recovered not only his own Kingdom, but that of *Deira* alſo.

BUT yet he did not enjoy what he had thus obtained many Years, for he loſt his Life in a fight with *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, and then *Oſric* his Couſin-German ſucceeded him in *Deira*, whilſt *Eanfrid*, the Son of *Ethelfrith*, was made King of *Bernicia*; but he ſoon after being killed by *Cadwallo* King of the *Britains*, *Oſwald* his Brother ſucceeded him, who being alſo ſlain by the ſaid *Penda*, *Oſwin* his younger Brother was made King, whilſt *Oſwy*, the Son of *Oſric*, reigned in *Bernicia*, and having cruelly murdered *Oſwin*, made himſelf Maſter of both Kingdoms; but whether it was done by the Power of the Sword, or by Election, ſince our Authors are ſilent in this Matter, I will not determine. I have only ſet down the Succeſſion of theſe firſt Kings, to ſhew that there was not often any Hereditary Lineal Right to the Crown obſerved among them.

5. Eaſt-Angles.

AS for the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, the Antient *Annals* and Hiſtories of that Countrey having been all deſtroyed by the *Danes*, we have little more than the Names and Succeſſions of their Kings left us, nor yet of thoſe higher than *Uffa*, (tho it is certain the *Eaſt-Angles* had fixed themſelves in thoſe Parts long before he began to reign) and thoſe but very lame and defective: For from *Ethelbert* who was murdered by King *Offa*, for above threeſcore Years, we have no Account of what Kings reigned in that Kingdom; and it is certain, that upon the Death of *Offa* and his Son *Egfert*, the People of the *Eaſt-Angles* freed themſelves from the *Mercian* Yoke; but about the Year 855. (as *Aſſer* in his *Annals*, and *Florence* of *Worceſter* aſſure us) *Edmund*, (after called the Martyr) being then but fifteen Years old, was Elected and Crowned King of the *Eaſt-Angles* by the general Conſent of the People of that Kingdom; but they do not inform us who was his Father; yet if we may give Credit to *John* of *Tinmouth* in his *Sanctilogium*, he makes him to be the Son of one *Alcmond* a Nobleman of the Blood Royal.

I have given you this Inſtance, to let you ſee that they were no Strangers to Elective Kings; for if his Blood alone would have fixed in him any Title, there would have been no need at all of his Election: but this King being afterwards murdered by the *Danes*, they alſo ſeized on his Kingdom, and held it till it was reconquered by King *Edward* the Elder.

6. Mercians.

NOR have we much to remark of the manner of the Succeſſion of the *Mercian* Kings; for tho the Son very frequently ſucceeded the Father, or one Brother or Couſin to another, yet it is as certain that it muſt have been chiefly by an Elective Right, notwithſtanding the *Annals* and our Hiſtorians do not expreſly mention it: * For *Beornred* having in the Year 755. treacherouſly ſlain *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, *Offa* a young Man of the Blood Royal, raiſing Forces againſt him, and having driven him out of the Kingdom, he was, as † *Ingulph* relates, made King in his room by the General Conſent of the Nobles of *Mercia*; or as || *Matthew Weſtminſter* words it, “He was by the unanimous “Conſent of the Clergy and Laiety of that Kingdom, Elected and “Crowned King; which without doubt was done in a Great Council of that Nation, for we find that to ſecure the Crown to his own Family, * *Matthew Paris* in his Life of King *Offa*, tells us, that in a Great Council aſſembled at *Calcuith*, *Anno* 787. he cauſed *Egfrid* his eldeſt Son, a comely and valiant Youth, to be crowned King, who

* Florence Wig. *p.* 691.

† Pag. 852. *printed at the end of* Script. poſt Bedam.

|| Anno 758.

* Page 26.

jointly reigned with him as long as he lived: and that this could not be done without the Conſent and Election of this Great Council, appears by the twelfth Law or Decree made therein, entituled, *De ordinatione Regum*, *viz.* "That at the Election or Ordination of Kings, no Man ſhould "permit the Aſſent or Vote of evil Men to prevail, but Kings ſhall be "*lawfully Elected* by the Clergy and Elders, (*i.e.* chief Men of the Kingdom) "and not begotten of Adultery or Inceſt, becauſe an Adulterer, "according to the Canons, cannot arrive to the Prieſthood; ſo neither "can he be the Lord's Anointed and Heir of his Countrey, or King of "the whole Kingdom, who is not begot of Lawful Matrimony.

Vid. Sir Henry Spelm. Concil. *Vol.* 1. Anno 787.

FROM hence the Reader may obſerve, that he who is appointed to be Elected, is alſo called *Hæres Patriæ*, to let us ſee, that he who was to come in by an Elective Right, was alſo accounted the Right Heir of the Kingdom.

AFTER *Egfrid* ſucceeded *Kenwulfe*, who certainly came in by Election, being himſelf very remote from the Crown; for *William* of *Malmesbury* ſays, he was in the fifth Deſcent from *Cenwalch* the Brother of *Penda*, one of the firſt *Mercian* Kings; a Title too ſtale in that Age to give a Right without a new Election, ſince his Predeceſſor King *Offa* could not be admitted to obtain the Crown without it, tho he was in Blood almoſt as near to it, being in the fifth Deſcent from *Wibba* or *Wippa*, who was the Father of the aforeſaid *Penda*.

Lib. 1.

Vid. Chronicon Saxonicum, *Anno* DCCLV. *where his Pedigree is ſet down.*

BUT were there no other Proof of this, the Decree of the Council abovementioned ſufficiently evinces this Kingdom to have been elective at that Time.

TO *Kenwulf* abovementioned, ſucceeded *Kenelme* a Child, and he is the firſt Example of an Infant's ſucceeding when there was a Male Heir of full Age alive, *viz. Ceolwulf* the Brother of the ſaid *Kenwulf*; which I ſuppoſe proceeded from the great Love they bore to their late deceaſed King, and ſome Averſion they had to his Brother, as you will ſee by and by.

Vid. William Malm. Lib. p. 33.

BUT if *John* of *Tinmouth* in his *Hiſtoria Aurea*, (ſtill in Manuſcript in ſeveral Libraries) may be credited, tho he wrote long after thoſe Times, yet out of antient Manuſcripts not now extant, he ſays expreſly, *Kenelmum ætate parvulum, ſed animo & pietate magnificum, ad Regem elegerat Amor Populi ſui*, i. e. the Love of the People had *elected Kenelm* to be their King, tho an Infant in Years, yet remarkable for Spirit and Piety.

BUT King *Kenelme* being murdered by his Siſter *Quendride*, and ſhe fruſtrated in her expectations of the Crown, our *Annals* tell us, that then *Ceolwulf* was advanced to it, (without making any mention at all of King *Kenelme*) and the next Year expelled his Kingdom by the Faction and Contrivance of *Bernulph* a potent Nobleman, but however no way related to the Blood-Royal, and ſo conſequently could have no other Title or Pretence but Election, however unjuſtly he came by it.

THE like I may ſay of his Succeſſors *Ludican*, *Wiglaff*, *Bertwulf*, and *Burhed*; the former of whom was only a remote Kinſman of *Bernulph*'s, and the three latter were all of them of quite different Families: but as for *Ceolwulf*, who was the laſt that bore the Title of King of *Mercia*, he deſerves not to be mentioned, being only for a Time made King by the *Danes* to ſerve their turns, and was quickly after depoſed by them. I have but lightly run over the Succeſſion of theſe

Kings, and refer you for the farther Proof to the following Hiſtory, where you will find all the Authors fairly quoted.

BUT now I come to the Succeſſion of the Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*, from whom our *Engliſh* Monarchs derive their Pedigree to this Day: and therefore I ſhall be the more particular in my Quotations out of the Antient Authors concerning the Right which thoſe Princes had to the Crown, and the manner how they attained it.

7. Weſt-Saxons.

AS for *Cerdic*, and his Son *Cynric*, the firſt Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*, it is certain that they had not the title of Kings before they came over, which the *Annals* place under *Anno* 495. as we have already obſerved: nor is it likely that they claimed by any other Title than the Election of their Followers, becauſe we find by the ſame *Annals*, that it was above twenty Years before they took upon them the Name of Kings; for *An.* 519. they ſay, *Hoc Anno Cerdicus & Cynricus Occidentalium Saxonum Regnum ſuſceperunt; à quo uſque die regnavit Occidentalium Saxonum proles Regia.* This Year *Cerdic* and *Cynric* began to reign over the *Weſt-Saxons*, and from that Time the Royal Race of the *Weſt-Saxons* have reigned to this day.

BUT it muſt be confeſſed, that the Crown from *Cerdic* to *Ceawlin* went lineally in three Deſcents from Father to Son; however this doth not prove but that it might alſo have been Elective for the Reaſons at firſt given.

THE ſame may likewiſe be ſaid for *Ceolric* and *Ceolwulph* the Nephews of *Ceawlin*: but that the former of theſe came in by Election is apparent; for upon *Ceawlin*'s being expelled the Kingdom, *Cwithelme* * his Brother ought to have ſucceeded him in caſe he had no Sons, as we do not read he had: and yet notwithſtanding *Ceolric* was made King, and this *Cwichelme* died in the ſame Year with his Brother, *viz.* DXCIII. as you may ſee in the *Annals*.

* *Vid. Rad.* de Diceto, *Anno* 593.

AND to *Ceolwulf* ſucceeded *Cynegils*, Son of *Ceol*, Brother to the King laſt mentioned; and that he alſo came in by Election is highly probable, becauſe another *Cwichelme* who was his Brother was made Partner with him in the Kingdom, which could not have been done by his ſole Authority, his own Power at that Time not being abſolute.

Vid. Annal. Saxon. *An.* 611.

THIS *Cwichelme* * William of *Malmesbury* makes to be his Brother; but *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Matthew Weſtminſter*, call him his Son: but let him have been whether you pleaſe, it is certain here was no Monarchy, the Kingdom being divided between two who had equal Power. But *Cwichelme* dying before *Cynegills* his Brother or Son, the latter left the Kingdom to *Cenwalch* his Son; tho if *Cwichelme* was his Son, then *Cuthred* his Nephew, the Son of * *Cwichelme*, ought by right of Blood to have ſucceeded his Father.

*Lib. 1. cap. 2.

* *Vid.* Flor. Wig. *An.* 666. *and the Pedigree at the end of the 4th Book.*

BUT this King dying without any Iſſue, || left the Kingdom to *Sexburge* his Conſort by his Teſtament.

||*Vid.* William Malmesb. *Lib.* 1. *pag.* 13.

AND tho this Example may ſeem to make good Dr. *Brady*'s aſſertion, *viz.* that the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings might bequeath the Crown to whom they would, yet that they could not do this without the Conſent of the Eſtates of the Great Council of the Kingdom, I hope I ſhall fully make out before I have done.

BUT this Queen *Sexburge* dying, or being depoſed, as * *Matth. Weſtminſter* relates, after ſomewhat more than a Year's Reign, *Æſcwin* a remote Kinſman ſucceeded her, tho he was ſix Degrees off from *Cerdic* the firſt

* Flor. *Hiſt.* Anno 672.

firſt King; and therefore he is not likely to have had any better Title than his Predeceſſors, for the Reaſon already given under the Kings of *Mercia*; and if that will not ſatisfy, then I ſay *Centwin* his Succeſſor was much nearer to the Crown than he, being younger Son to *Cynegils*, who had reigned within two Succeſſions before, as you may ſee by the Pedigree at the end of the fourth Book, where are exactly ſet down either from the *Annals*, or Antient Manuſcripts, in what manner theſe ſeveral Kings ſtood related to each other.

BUT before the Death of *Æſcwin*, it ſeems by the *Saxon Annals*, *Anno* 785. That *Ceadwalla*, a Prince of the Blood Royal, taking Arms, began to contend for the Crown of that Kingdom, tho he was very far removed from it, being deſcended from *Cutha* the younger Son of *Ceawlin*.

Vid. Annal. Saxon. *Anno* 693.

TO *Ceadwalla* ſucceeded *Ina*, to whom that King upon his going to *Rome* left the Crown, tho he was no nearer to it than his Predeceſſor, being deſcended from *Cuthwin*, the youngeſt Son of *Ceawlin* abovementioned, and could for certain have had no other Right than that of Election, becauſe *Cenred* his Father was alive at the ſame time, as you may ſee in the * Preface to this King's Laws, where he is expreſly ſo called.

*Vid. 1ſt *Vol. of Sir* Henry Spelman's *Councils, as alſo the enſuing Hiſtory.*

BUT as for the five next Princes, *viz. Athelhard*, *Cuthred*, *Sigebyrht*, *Cynewulf*, and *Bryhtric*, it is moſt probable that they neither could have any other Title than *Election*, ſince being only Kinſmen and not Sons to each other, it is very unlikely that ſo many of them ſhould have died without leaving any Son to ſucceed them: which is alſo as good as confeſſed by *William* of *Malmesbury*, in theſe words, *Nam & ipſe* Brihtricus, *& cæteri infra* Inam *Reges, licet naturalium ſplendore gloriantes, quippe qui à* Cerdicio *originem traherent, non parum tamen à linea Regiæ ſtirpis exorbitaverant*; i. e. For tho *Brihtric* himſelf, and the reſt of the Kings ſince *Ina*, tho boaſting of their Royal Lineage, as drawing their Origine from *Cerdic*, yet did they not a little deviate from the right Royal Line, that is, they were not Lineal Heirs by Blood: and if ſo, what other Right could they have except that of Election by the People? Therefore ſince neither our *Annals*, nor any other Author that I know of, have given us their Pedigrees, I have been forced to ſet down the Names of theſe laſt five Kings by themſelves, without being able to ſhew you what Relation they had to each other.

BUT as for *Cynewulf*, that he could have no Title to the Crown but what Election gave him, it is certain; for our *Annals* inform us under *Anno* 755. “That he with the Wiſe and Noble Men of the “*Weſt-Saxons*, deprived King *Sigebert* of the whole Kingdom for his “Cruelty and Injuſtice. And certainly then the ſame Authority that Depoſed the one, muſt alſo Elect and ſet up the other; ſince he could by no means ſucceed him as his Heir, becauſe we find in the ſame *Annals*, “That *Cyneheard* the Brother of the late King *Sigebert*, conſpiring againſt King *Cynewulf*, ſet upon him in a certain Woman's “Houſe at *Merton* in *Surrey*, and there ſlew him; and was at laſt “alſo killed himſelf: after whom *Bryhtric* began to reign, who was “in a Right Line deſcended from *Cerdic*.

Anno 755.

BUT we are now come out of the Dark into clearer Times; for K. *Egbert* ſucceeding *Bryhtric*, came in by Election, being, as our *Annals* likewiſe inform us, four Deſcents removed from *Ingilds* the Brother of King *Ina*; and that his beſt Title was Election, appears from the Teſtimonies of our moſt antient Hiſtorians, viz. *Ethelwerd*, who ſays expreſly, *Itaq; ordinatur Egberht ſuper Occidentales Saxones in Regnum*; this muſt ſignify, that he was ſet over the Kingdom. And further to confirm that, *Ordinatur* here ſignifies the ſame with *Eligitur*: ſee the Law abovementioned concerning the Election of the *Mercian* Kings; the Title of it in Sir *Henry Spelman*'s firſt Volume of Councils, is, *de Ordinatione Regum*, i. e. of the Election of Kings.

Ethelwerdi *Hiſt.* Lib. 3. cap. 2.

Fol. 292.

AND that by this word *Ordinatur*, cannot be meant any Lineal Succeſſion in *Ethelwerd*, will further appear from him, where he ſays, *Poſt Obitum Athulfi Regis, ordinati ſunt filii ejus in Regnum*; which muſt be underſtood either an Appointment by the Father's Will, or elſe a new Election, ſince theſe Sons of King *Æthelwulf* could never be thus appointed or ordained Kings by the Law of Lineal Succeſſion, becauſe each of theſe Brothers, except the Eldeſt, left Sons.

Lib. 4. Cap. 1.

BUT *William* of *Malmesbury* does likewiſe as good as own, that King *Egbert* came in by Election, when he ſays, that upon the Death of *Brytrich*, *Egbert* at the frequent Solicitations of his Countrey-men coming over into *Britain*; *Moxq; imperare juſſus, Patriæ Deſideriis ſatisfecit*, being immediately commanded to reign, did thereupon ſatisfy the Deſires of his Countrey. Now I would fain know, if he had come in by virtue of a Lineal Deſcent, why he ſhould have needed the being commanded to reign, ſince he ought rather to have commanded their Allegiance as his Due?

Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

AND either to this Time, or rather to the latter end of this King's Reign, (as you may find in the enſuing Hiſtory) I ſuppoſe may be referred what the Author of the *Mirror of Juſtices*, in the very beginning of the Book, ſays concerning the firſt Election of a King to reign over the reſt of the *Saxon* Sovereign Princes, *viz.* “That forty of them made him to ſwear, that he would maintain the Holy Chriſtian Faith with all his Power, and govern his People according to Right, without regard to any Perſon: and that he ſhould be liable to ſuffer Right, (*i. e.* Judgment) as well as others of his People.

THIS Paſſage, tho it be accounted by ſome of but a doubtful Authority, becauſe of the forty Princes abovementioned, whereas we never read of above ſeven or eight *Saxon* Kings to have reigned at once, and thoſe too were by this *Egbert* reduced to three beſides himſelf, *viz.* the *Eaſt-Angles*, *Mercia*, and *Northumberland*; yet if by the Princes here mentioned, we underſtand not Sovereign Princes, but Ealdormen of Counties and Great Cities, who (as Mr. *Selden* ſhews us in his *Titles of Honour*) are commonly ſtiled in the old *Saxon* Charters *Principes*, and by this Author in his *French* Original, rendred *Princes*; theſe meeting together in a Great Council, did, as the chief Magiſtrates of the Cities and Counties from whence they came, injoin the King this Oath which was taken at the General Council mentioned in the enſuing Hiſtory under *Anno* 803, or elſe 828. This Paſſage in the *Mirrour of Juſtices*, if it were taken out of ſome old *Saxon* Monument now loſt, (as I have great reaſon to believe it was, ſince the Laws which he here relates concerning King *Alfred*, are admitted by the Learned Author of the Notes upon his Life, printed at *Oxford*, to have been tranſcribed by him from ſome Antient Commentaries of that King,

Selden. *Tit. Hon.* Fol. 502. *laſt Edition.*

The Diviſion of England *into Counties was much more antient than King* Alfred.

Ælfredi Magni Vita, Fol. 82.

which Laws he there a little after recites:) I ſay, this Paſſage may ſerve as a great Proof, not only of this King's Election to be the Chief or Supream King of all *England*, but alſo it gives us the Original Contract, if I may ſo call it, which he then entred into with this Nation, at the time of his Election and Coronation.

TO *Egbert* ſucceeded *Athelwulf* his Son; who, though I grant it is no where ſaid that he was Elected, yet if his Father were ſo (as it is moſt evident he was) it is not likely that the Kingdom ſhould become Succeſſive in one Deſcent, eſpecially if we conſider the manner of all his five Sons coming to the Kingdom, either in his Life-time, or after him.

Vid. Annal. Saxon.& Flor. Wig. *An.*636. * Flor. Hiſt. *Anno* 637.

FOR as to *Athelſtane* his eldeſt Son, on whom he beſtowed (almoſt as ſoon as he came to the Crown) the Kingdom of *Kent*, with the *South* and *Eaſt-Saxons*, I have proved in the enſuing Hiſtory from * *Matthew Weſtminſter* and other Authors, that he was Illegitimate, and ſo could have no Legal Right of Succeſſion: nor does it ſeem probable, he ſhould be ſet over thoſe Kingdoms by his Father without any previous Election, or Conſent of thoſe People.

* *Vid.* Annal. Aſſerii, *Anno* 855. pag. 56. edit. per Doct. *Gale*, & De Geſtis *Ælfredi*, pag. 3.

AND as for his other four Legitimate Sons, *Ethelbald*, the Eldeſt of them, did by the General Conſent of the King and the whole Nation, (which amounts to an Election) * divide the Kingdom with his Father, he himſelf enjoying that of the *Weſt-Saxons*, whilſt his Father ruled over the reſt. And by the virtue of his Teſtament, confirmed likewiſe by the General Conſent of the Kingdom, *Ethelbald* remained only King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, whilſt *Ethelbert* his ſecond Brother reigned in *Kent*, as alſo over the *Eaſt* and *South-Saxons*, which had been his Brother *Æthelſtane*'s ſhare, who died without Iſſue for ought we can find.

BUT, after King *Ethelbald*'s Death, *Ethelbert* ſucceeded in the whole Kingdom; and he likewiſe dying, *Ethelred* his Brother ſucceeded him, after whoſe Death alſo *Alfred* the youngeſt Brother came to the Throne.

THIS ſhort Account is the Truth of the Matter of Fact; yet there requires a great deal to be ſaid to have it well underſtood; ſince Dr. *Brady* in his true and exact Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of the Crown, *Vol.* 1. of his *Introduction*, will needs derive the whole Right which theſe Princes had to the Kingdom, from the Entail of it by their Father's Will abovementioned; and if the Teſtament of a King then Regnant could diſpoſe of the Crown to the prejudice of the Right Heirs by Lineal Deſcent, I deſire this Learned Antiquary to ſatisfy us how this could conſiſt with his ſuppoſed Right of Lineal Succeſſion at the ſame Time?

BUT the Truth is, this worthy Doctor, as well as the Author of *the great Point of Succeſſion diſcuſſed*, here deal with us like ſome crafty Witneſſes, who indeed ſpeak the Truth, but not the whole Truth, if they find it will make againſt them. For the Doctor in the firſt Place conceals, and the nameleſs Author of the other Pamphlet, either wilfully or ignorantly, poſitively denies, that King *Alfred*'s three elder Brothers, who reigned before him, left any Iſſue Male; whereas it is moſt certain that two of them, if not all Three, left Sons behind them: for *Athelm* and *Æthelwold*, (to whom King *Alfred* by his Teſtament bequeaths divers Lands therein mentioned, under the Title of his Brother's Sons) are ſuppoſed by the Learned Author of the Notes upon his Life, to have been the Children of King *Ethelbald* his eldeſt Brother,

Vid. Teſtament. *Alfredi* Regis.

er, tho whether they were ſo or no I will not be ſo confident as to ffirm. But that they were either the Sons of *Ethelbald* or *Ethelbert* is oſt certain, and conſequently they ought to have reigned before him who was but their Uncle.

AS for King *Ethelred*, he had alſo two Sons if no more, *viz. Alfred*, uppoſed to be Grandfather to *Elthelwerd* the Hiſtorian, and *Oſwald*, whom Mr. *Speed*, in the Reign of this King, ſays was a Witneſs to his Father's Charter to the Abbey of *Abington*: but the Author of the Notes to King *Alfred*'s Life being convinced of this, to ſolve an Ob- ection ſo directly contrary to the received *Hypotheſis* of a Lineal Succeſ- ſion, is feign to take refuge in a ſuppoſed Arbitrary Power the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings had of diſpoſing of their Kingdom as a *Fee-Simple*: which is ſuch a Conceit, that if he would but have been pleaſed to put down the firſt ſeven or eight Lines of King *Alfred*'s Teſtament, inſtead of that Scrap he has there given us of it, it would have ſufficiently confuted that Aſſertion. Therefore ſince he has been ſo fair as to give us this Teſtament at full length in the ſecond Appendix to the ſaid Life, I will make bold to tranſcribe ſo much as will be enough to evince the contrary, and leave the Reader to conſult the reſt at his leiſure.

Fol. 19.

Teſtamentum Alfredi Regis.

* *EGO Ælfredus Divino Munere, labore ac ſtudio Athelredi Archiepiſcopi, nec non totius* Weſt-Saxoniæ *Nobilitatis Conſenſu paritèr & Aſſenſu, Occidentalium Saxonum Rex, quos in teſtimonium meæ ultimæ Voluntatis complementi, ut ſint advocati in diſponendis pro ſalute Animæ meæ, Regali Electione confirmo, tàm de hereditate, quam Deus at Principes cum ſenioribus populi miſericorditèr ac benignè dederunt, quàm de hæreditate, quam pater meus Æthelwulfus Rex nobis tribus fratribus delegavit, videlicet Æthelbaldo, Ætheredo, & Mihi; ità quod qui noſtrum diutiùs foret ſuperſtes, Ille totius Regni Dominio congauderet.*

* *Printed alſo at the end of* Aſſer deGeſtis Alfredi.

See the Tranſlation of this Will at the end of K. Alfred's *Life.*

NOW I would gladly be ſatisfied from the Author abovementioned, in theſe three Points, if King *Æthelwulf* had full Power to bequeath the Kingdom to his Sons, and to turn it from a *Fee-Simple* into a *Fee-Tail*;

FIRST, Why K. *Alfred* in the very firſt Line of this Teſtament calls himſelf King of all *Weſt-Saxony* by the Divine Donation, and the *Aſſent* and *Conſent* of the whole *Weſt-Saxon Nobility*, if he had not been *Elected*, or at leaſt *Confirmed* by them in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, ſo bequeathed to him by his Father?

SECONDLY, When he here ſummoned them to be Witneſſes to the compleating and confirming of this his laſt Will, why he diſtinguiſhes that private Inheritance which he had given him by the Grace of God, and the Favour and Bounty of his Nobility and People, from that publick Inheritance which his Father had beſtowed on him and his two Brothers, ſo that the longeſt Liver of them ſhould enjoy the whole Kingdom? But,

THIRDLY, if his Father's Teſtament alone could have given his Brothers and him an abſolute Right to the Kingdom, how came it to paſs that he ſtiles himſelf King by the Aſſiſtance of Arch-Bp *Athelred*, with the Aſſent and Conſent of the whole *Weſt-Saxon* Nobility? and what neceſſity was there for him to ſummon them only to be Witneſſes thereof, if their Confirmation were no ways neceſſary thereunto? I fear he will not be able to anſwer theſe Queries, unleſs he will grant that this laſt Will of King *Alfred* wanted as much their Confirmation, as that of his Father had done before.

AND this may be plainly proved, not only from the beginning of the Will it ſelf, but alſo from an Agreement therein recited to have been “ made between the three Brothers abovementioned; by Virtue of “ which they dying, the whole Inheritance of King *Ethelwolf* his Fa- “ ther was *devolved* upon him by a certain Charter made in the *Mycel* “ *Gemote*, or General Council of the Kingdom, at *Langdene*; which “ being read before the Witneſſes, (*i. e.* all the Eſtates) of all *Weſt-* “ *Saxony*, they unanimouſly declared, that they knew of none who had “ a juſter Title than himſelf. And yet you muſt not forget, that both his ſaid elder Brothers had left Children behind them.

WHEREUPON the ſaid Eſtates farther declared thus, *Ecce jam habes tuam hæreditatem iterum in Manibus tuis. Nunc de Bonis & Poſſeſſionibus conde Teſtamentum tuum; lega, & dona tuo proximo ſanguini vel Amicis tuis & Cognatis ſicut tibi placuerit.* To which the King replied, *Et Omnes illi firmitatem irrevocabilem mihi fecerunt, & ſubſcripſerunt, ipſos nunquam hereditatem meam alicui homini aliter pervertendo daturos, præterquam cui Egomet legabo die proximo jam inſtante.*

FROM whence it is moſt evident, that it was to the Conſent of the Eſtates of the Kingdom that King *Alfred* owed the Power of making this his laſt Will, and of bequeathing only the private Inheritance which his Father and Brothers had left him; and where, tho he diſpoſes of the ſeveral Lands therein mentioned, firſt to his eldeſt Son *Edward*, then alſo to his younger Son, whom he does not name, and his two Nephews and others; yet he pretends to make no Bequeſt of the Crown, which one would think he would by no means have omitted, had he had any ſuch unlimited Prerogative abſtracted from the Conſent of the Kingdom, to have diſpoſed of, or entailed it, as his Father had done before him, tho not without or againſt the ſaid Conſent, to which it appears every one of his Predeceſſors chiefly owed his Title.

NOW give me leave to draw two Concluſions from the whole Will, which I have almoſt tranſlated *verbatim* at the end of King *Alfred*'s Life in the following Hiſtory.

FIRST, That it was then indeed in the Power of the King to make his Will, and bequeath his Kingdom; but how? with the Conſent and Aſſent of the Eſtates; and the Perſon or Perſons to whom it was thus entailed, came in ſucceſſively by virtue of ſuch Deſignation: and therefore * *Aſſer* very well and juſtly calls King *Athelwolf*'s Will, *Hereditariam, vel Commendatoriam Epiſtolam*, i. e. a recommendatory Letter to the Eſtates of the Kingdom to elect his Sons; but if no ſuch Bequeſt was made, and ſo confirmed as aforeſaid, then the Eſtates of the Kingdom were at liberty to chooſe the Eldeſt Son, or next Brother or Kinſman, if he were of fit Age and Capacity, for their Sovereign; nay, the King's Teſtament or Adoption preceding, a meer Stranger to the Royal Blood might be capable of ſucceeding, provided he alſo had the Election or Confirmation of the Great Council of the Kingdom, as I ſuppoſe Queen *Sexburgha* the Wife of King *Cenwalch* had; and as you will further find *Harold*, the Son of Earl *Godwin*, obtained, towards the end of this Volume.

* De Geſtis Alfredi.

SECONDLY, That the Perſon ſo deſigned was called the *Heir* of the preceding King, and enjoyed the Inheritance thus acquired *Jure Hæreditario*, i. e. by Hereditary Right, tho he was not the next Heir in Blood to him that went before him, as is clearly manifeſt from this Teſtament it ſelf, wherein King *Alfred* plainly diſtinguiſhes between the Dominions which he and his Brother King *Ethered* were to conquer, and thoſe that came to him *Jure Hæreditario*, i. e. by Hereditary Right, *viz.* by Virtue of his Father King *Ethelwulf*'s Will; therefore when the Crown fell to King *Alfred* by virtue of that Entail, Abbot *Ailred* expreſly ſays, *ad Eum totum Regnum jure Hæreditario tranſiit*, &c. And yet King *Alfred* could not be Lineal Heir to his Brothers, ſince they both left Sons behind them, as hath been already obſerved.

De Genealog. Regum Ang. Col. 351.

AND in the ſame Senſe King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, in the Preface to his Charter to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter* (which you may find at large in *Monaſt. Anglican.*) having recited the Miſeries the Nation had undergone from Wars raiſed by Strangers, which were to that extremity, *Adeo ut pene periclitata ſit hæreditaria Regum Succeſſio, magnúmq; eſſet interſtitium inter fratrem meum Edmundum, qui Patri meo ſucceſſit, méq; habitum ſit; invadentibus Regnum Sweyno, & Cnuto filio ejus*, &c. where you may obſerve he calls his own Succeſſion to his Brother, *Hæreditaria Succeſſio*; and yet his Brother left a Son behind him, who was Living when he was choſen King. Thus alſo *Eadmerus* relates, that Duke *William* claimed the Crown of *England*, *Jure Hæreditario*, from King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*'s Teſtament; but certainly the Duke could have no pretence to it by Right of Blood, being no ways deſcended from the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings.

1 Vol. pag. 59.

Hiſt. Eccleſ. Pag. 5.

SO that it is a manifeſt Errour in ſome of our Modern Writers of the Succeſſion, who will needs underſtand theſe words, *jus Hæreditarium*, to have been uſed in the ſame Senſe in thoſe, as they have been taken in later Ages, ſince the Crown came to be claimed by a Lineal Deſcent of Blood: But indeed *Eadmerus* his Senſe of theſe words is moſt agreeable to the *Civil Law*, wherein he is called *HÆRES EX ASSE*; who comes in as Heir by Teſtament to the whole Inheritance, tho no way related to the Teſtator; for that Law deſcribes an Heir thus, *Hæredis ſignificatione, omnes ſignificari Succeſſores, etſi verbis non expreſſi*: And therefore our *Bracton* derives the word *Hæres, ab Hæreditamento*; for ſays he, *Inheritance is a Succeſſion to all the Right which the Predeceſſor* (he does not ſay Anceſtor) *enjoyed*: from whence you may obſerve, that in *Bracton*'s Time, this word *Hæres* was not even by our Law limited only to an Heir by Blood or Deſcent.

HAVING ſaid thus much of our *Saxon* Kings Acceſſion to the Throne, as far as King *Alfred*; I ſhall in the next Place proceed to give you the Succeſſion of all the reſt, down to the pretended Conqueſt, from the moſt Antient Authors who lived either a good while before, or elſe not long after that Time, before Men's Minds became prejudiced by thoſe Notions of Lineal Succeſſion, which began to be in Vogue about the Time of *Edward* the *Third*, when the Crown had deſcended from Father to Son for four Deſcents, tho not without ſomewhat that was tantamount to an Election in that Prince himſelf.

TO King *Alfred* ſucceeded his Son King *Edward* the *Elder*, who, not having the Crown bequeathed to him as his Father had, *viz.* by Will, confirmed by an Act of the Great Council, was fain to be Elected, as Chron. Ethelwerdi. Lib. 3. Ca. 3. An. 901. *Ethelwerd* expreſly tells us in theſe words, *Succeſſor equidèm Monarchiæ poſt filius ſupra memorati Regis coronatur, ipſe Stemmate Regali, à Primatis ELECTUS Pentecoſtis in die*: that is, afterwards *Edward* the Son of the abovementioned King, being Succeſſor of the Monarchy, was Crowned; and being deſcended of the Blood Royal, was *Elected* by the Chief Men of the Kingdom on the day of *Pentecoſt*, (i. e. *Whitſunday*).

AFTER this *Edward*'s Deceaſe, *Æthelſtan* his Son ſucceeded him, whom moſt Antient Writers, as well in Print as Manuſcript, relate to have been begot of a Concubine, and therefore could have no Legal Right: and tho *William* of *Malmesbury* endeavours to palliate it, yet he is almoſt forced to confeſs it at laſt by ſaying, *Sed Ipſe præter hanc Notam (ſi tamen vera eſt) nihil ignobile habuit*, i. e. that he had no other Mark of ill upon him but this, if it were true.

BUT tho Dr. *Brady* will have this Prince to have ſucceeded wholly Lib. 2. Cap. 6. by virtue of his Father's Will, and cites *William* of *Malmesbury* for it, who, he ſays, has theſe words in the Hiſtory of *Edward* the *Elder*, *Juſſu Patris in Teſtamento* Æthelſtanus *in Regem acclamatus eſt*; by the Command of his Father, in his Will, *Æthelſtan* was proclaimed King; yet he might have been ſo fair and ingenuous as to have given us the words that are in the very beginning of this Chapter in the ſame Author, *viz. Itàq; magno Conſenſu Optimatum ibidèm* Athelſtanus *ELECTUS, apud Regiam Villam quæ vocatur* Kingſton *Coronatus eſt*; i. e. That thereupon by the General Conſent of the Chief Men or Eſtates of the Kingdom, *Athelſtan* being *Elected*, was Crowned at the Royal Town of *Kingſton*: but this did not agree with the Doctor's Hypotheſis, and ſo I ſuppoſe he thought it beſt to leave it out.

THIS Paſſage was borrowed by *William* of *Malmesbury* from a much Antienter Author, *viz.* the Compiler of the *Saxon Annals*, who under *Anno* 925. expreſly tells us, That he was *Electus in Regem, & apud* Cingeſtune *Conſecratus*, Elected King, and Anointed at *Kingſton*: from both which it appears, that the Election and Conſecration were then two different Actions.

AFTER *Athelſtan*, ſucceeded *Edmund* his Brother, and indeed ought to have been King before him, he being Legitimate, whereas the other was only a Natural Son.

BUT he dying, and leaving two Sons behind him, *Edwy* and *Edgar*, neither of them, but *Edred*, King *Edmund*'s younger Brother, was advanced to the Throne; which how it could be done unleſs by Election, I confeſs I do not underſtand: and therefore this might be omitted as to this Prince, as well as the Coronation of King *Edgar*, and other of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings are both by our *Annals* and Antient Hiſtorians; for I muſt own I cannot find that the word *Electus* is uſed in his Advancement to the Throne: for *Ethelwerd* tells us expreſly, *ejus Succeſſor extitit* Ethelwerdi Hiſtor. Cap. 7. Eadred *in Regnum, ſuus quippe frater*; that *Eadred* his Succeſſor obtained the Kingdom, becauſe he was his own Brother.

AND in this he is followed by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, who expreſſes it thus, Edredus *proximus hæres fratris ſuccedens, Regnum ſuſcepit*; Edred ſucceeding as next Heir to his Brother, enjoyed the Kingdom.

Dr. *Brady* in his above-cited Treatiſe, will needs ſolve this open Breach of a Lineal Succeſſion, by the Nonage of King *Edmund*'s Sons, and the Nation's then being under great Difficulties. The former of theſe

I grant to be a good Excuſe, but as for the latter it was not at all true; ſince King *Edmund*, by ſubduing both *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, driving the *Danes* out of the one, and delivering the other to the King of *Scots*, to be enjoyed as his Vaſſal, had thereby ſufficiently ſettled the Peace of the Nation: ſo that let the Doctor take his choice, and either allow this King to have ſucceeded by Election, or elſe if by Succeſſion, it was no Lineal one, as the Doctor would maintain, becauſe theſe Hiſtorians tell us, he ſucceeded his Brother as *next Heir*, when at the ſame time they confeſs too, that he left two Sons behind him; and if the Nation's lying then under great Difficulties, will be a good Warrant to ſet by a Right Heir, I deſire he would be pleaſed to ſatisfy me, why it may not always be a juſtifiable Reaſon to make a Breach upon the Succeſſion in the like Caſes?

AS for *Edwy*, Nephew to this King, indeed I do not find any thing mentioned in the *Annals* or other printed Authors of his Election; yet the Antient Manuſcript Life of Arch-biſhop *Odo*, now in the * *Cottonian* Library, and which ſeems to have been written by ſome Monk not long after that Time, ſays expreſly, *Edwigus* Filius *Ædmundi in Regem ELECTVS eſt*. Nor indeed could he ſucceed as Heir to his Uncle, for his Lineal Right was before him: nor does the Expreſſion commonly uſed in the *Saxon Annals, viz.* FENG *to* RICE, (which is rendered in the Latin by *capeſſit Regnum*) ſignify any thing concerning the manner of this or any other King's coming to the Crown, "Theſe being, as the "Doctor himſelf acknowledges, *the uſual* Saxon *and* Latin *words, by* "*which the Succeſſion is expreſſed*, being variouſly rendered by Tranſlators, by *Regnum capeſſit*, *ſucceſſit*, or *Electus eſt*: and thus we likewiſe find the ſame words are uſed in the *Annals* to expreſs King *Æthelſtan*'s and *Eadred*'s, nay *Harold*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, tho it is evident none of them could claim by any Lineal Succeſſion.

* Otho.D.12.

True and exact Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of the Crown, fo. 3,9.

AND theſe are not the only words made uſe of in the *Saxon* Chronicle when an Election is ſignified; for *An.* 1015, we find theſe words concerning the Election of K. *Edmund Ironſide*, that the *Wites* or *Wiſe* Men who were at *London*, and the *Citizens*, *Gecuron Eadmund* to *Cynge*, i.e. choſe *Edmund* King. So likewiſe *Anno* 1036. concerning the Election of *Harold Harefoot*, that all the Thanes North of *Thames*, and the Seamen of *London*, *Gecuron Harold*, to rule over all *England*: the ſame word we alſo find *Anno* 1066. where after the words *FENG to RICE* abovementioned, theſe likewiſe follow, *and eac men Hine hær* to *Gecuron*; i.e. all Men Elected him, *viz. Harold*, to the Crown.

AND that there may be no diſpute about the meaning of this word *Gecuron*, we find it often uſed in theſe *Annals* for the *Election* of the Pope, as, *e.g. Anno* 1054. upon the Death of Pope *Leo*, *Victor wæs gecuron to Papan.* So likewiſe *Anno* 1057. upon the Death of *Victor*, *wæs Stephanus Gecoren to Papan*; and I think the Doctor might with as much appearance of Truth have maintained, that the *Saxon* word *Gecuron* here rendred by the Latin *Electus* in theſe *Annals*, ſignified not the *Election*, but Recognition of the Pope; as to aſſert (as he does) with ſo much Confidence, that *Eligerunt* in all Hiſtorians ſignifies no more than *Recognoverunt*, when uſed concerning our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings; *i.e.* the Subjects acknowledged, owned or ſubmitted to him as their King, as he ſays concerning King *Edgar* and others.

Vid. *Exact Hiſtory of the Succeſſion*, p. 7,9.

BUT King *Edwy* being caſt off by the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, our *Annals* inform us, that *Eadgar Ætheling (FENG to RICE,* i. e.) ſucceeded to the *Mercian* Kingdom, which yet was no otherwiſe than by Election; for an Antient Manuſcript Life of Arch-biſhop *Dunſtan*, written before the Conqueſt, and now in the * *Cottonian* Library, ſhews us plainly, that both the *Mercians* and *Northumbers* Elected him for their King: the words are theſe, *Hoc itàq; Omnium Conſpiratione relicto, eligêre ſibi, Domino dictante,* Eadgarum *ejuſdem Germanum in Regem*; i. e. This King *Edwy* by the Conſent of all Men being thus deſerted, they choſe, the Lord directing them, *Eadgar* his Brother for their King.

* Cleopatra. B. 13.

x n.b. [illegible] related in [illegible] ancient MS life of St. Dunstan [illegible] [illegible] fratre illius Edgaro optimae indolis adolescente [illegible] illum Regem super omnes Provincias [illegible] [illegible] usque flumen Thamesiam

AND hereupon the Kingdom becoming divided between him and the King his Brother, that Diviſion was alſo confirmed by a publick Act of the Eſtates, as the ſame Author teſtifies; *Sicq; Univerſo populo teſtante, Publica Res Regum ex Definitione Sagacium ſegregata eſt, ità ut famoſum Flumen,* Thamenſis *Regnum diſterminavit Amborum*; *tunc* Edgarus *à prædicto populo ſic ſortitus ad Regnum, &c.* i. e. So that all the People being Witneſſes, each of theſe King's ſhares were apportioned and ſet out by the Decree of the *Wites* or Wiſe Men; and the Noble River of *Thames* was the Boundary of both their Kingdoms; then *Edgar* was advanced to the Kingdom by the aforeſaid People. x

BUT *Edwy* dying not long after, the ſame Author relates of this *Edgar*, that *Regnum illius velut æquus hæres ab utròq; populo ELECTUS, ſuſcepit*; that is, that upon his Death *Edgar* as Right Heir being Elected both by Clergy and Laity, ſucceeded to his Kingdom. x

x n.b. [illegible] confirmed by the ancient [illegible] of the kingdom [illegible] [illegible] where we find [illegible] coronacion of his king [illegible] Rege Edwio [illegible] ejus Edgarus a cunctis Regni primoribus Rex constituitur i.e. King Edwy being dead [illegible] shall be chosen [illegible] of the kingdo[m] ordaind King.

FROM whence we may obſerve, that the ſame Perſon who is here called the Right Heir, yet needed an Election upon his Brother's Death to confirm his Title, and gain him an Admiſſion to the Throne of the whole Kingdom; which is alſo confirmed by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, whoſe Citation the Doctor himſelf here makes uſe of thus, *Ab omni Anglorum populo Electus, Regnum ſuſcepit*; which ſhews that a new Election by all the People of *England* was neceſſary, tho he was King of part of it before.

AFTER the Death of King *Edgar*, our Hiſtorians tell us, there was a Conteſt between Prince *Edward*, and his Brother *Ethelred*, concerning their Succeſſion to the Crown; which, ſays *William* of *Malmesbury*, was ſet on foot by *Elfrida* the Wife of King *Edgar*, and Mother-in-Law to *Edward*; which divers of our Authors tell us, was becauſe thoſe of her Faction pretended that *Egelfrida*, the Mother of Prince *Edward*, was never married to King *Edgar*; for otherwiſe there could have been no Colour why the elder Son ſhould not be preferred before the Younger, eſpecially ſince he was alſo recommended by his Father's Will: and indeed it is left very much in the dark, whether the Lady laſt mentioned were ever *Edgar*'s lawful Wife or not: For the *Annals*, and more Antient Hiſtorians, are wholly ſilent in it; nor does any Writer make mention of that Lady as King *Edgar*'s Wife, till *John* of *Wallingford*, who lived in the Reign of King *Henry* the *Third*.

BUT be it as it will, whether Prince *Edward* was Legitimate or not, his Father however had left him (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* ſays) *Heir of his Kingdom, as well as of his Vertues*; yet we alſo learn from *Simeon* of *Durham*, that *Quidam Regis filium* Edwardum, *Quidam illius fratrem eligerunt,* Ethelredum; *quam ob cauſam Archipræſules* Dunſtanus *&* Oſwaldus *cum Co-epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Ducibuſq; quamplurimis in unum convenerunt,*

Sim. Dunelm. 975.

convenerunt, & Edwardum, *ut pater ejus preceperat, eligerunt, electum conſecrarunt, & in Regem unxerunt.* "Some Elected *Edward* the King's "Son *Edmund*, ſome his Brother *Ethelred*; wherefore the Arch-Biſhops, "*Dunſtan* and *Oſwald*, with the Biſhops, Abbots, and very many No-"blemen being gathered together, Elected *Edward*, (as his Father "had commanded) then Conſecrated and Anointed him King.

THIS ſhews it ſo plain from the Doctor's own Tranſlation of the words, that Prince *Edward* (notwithſtanding his Father's Will) was firſt Elected, and then Anointed King, that I needed not have added any further Remark to it, had he but faithfully rendred the Latin Text as he ought to have done; but he has unhappily left out one material ſmall word, and that is *Electum*, that ſo the unwary Reader might not obſerve that thoſe Kings were firſt Elected, before they could be Anointed.

BUT I have not yet done with this Prince, nor with the Doctor, for *John* of *Tinmouth* in his *Hiſtoria Aurea* (now in Manuſcript in the *Lambeth* Library) tells the Story of this Election thus:

EDGARO Rege mortuo, & Edwardo *ad Regnum relicto, dum quidam principes acquieſcere nollent*, Dunſtanus *arrepto Crucis Vexillo in medio conſtitit*, Edwardum *illis oſtendit, elegit, ſacravit*; that is, King *Edgar* being Dead, and *Edward* left Heir of the Kingdom, whilſt ſome of the Chief Men would not Conſent to it, Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan* taking up the Banner of the Croſs, placed him in the midſt, and ſhewing him to them, he Elected, and then Conſecrated him.

SO that I will leave it to the impartial Reader to judg, whether theſe words *Eligerunt* and *Electum*, here ſignify no more than *recognoverunt*; "As the Doctor will have them, *i. e.* they acknowledged, owned, "ſubmitted unto him as their King, as his Father had commanded, and "by Will appointed, as the Doctor has been pleaſed to Paraphraſe it. But I would adviſe him in the next Edition of this Treatiſe, or any other he writes upon this Subject, to ſhew us an Example out of any Antient *Roman* Authors, nay, any Gloſſary of the more barbarous Ages, where the word *Electus* or *Eligerunt*, ſignifies *Recognition*.

True and exact Hiſtory of the Succeſſion, &c. Fol. 7.

MSS. life of St Dun- [illegible] particularly these [illegible] reptus, Edwardum filium [illegible], Regni et [illegible] haeredem reliquit; in [illegible] electione [illegible] Principes [illegible]

FOR as to all his Inſtances out of his own Gloſſary at the end of his *Introduction*, inſtead of Preſidents, I may boldly ſay they are only meer Cavils againſt the Right and Manner by which the Kings or Biſhops he there mentions came to obtain their Thrones or Sees; for that the Monks who wrote of them, ever meant by ſuch their expreſſions that they were truly Elected, he himſelf cannot deny, which alſo proves the Falſhood of that his Aſſertion, wherein he affirms, "That the old "Monks ſaid every one was ELECTED, that had not an HEREDI-"TARY Title; and tho he was ſet up by the ART or VIOLENCE "of a Faction, or *obtained* the Crown by *Force* and *Arms* without Ti-"tle, yet according to them he was ELECTED, when as the PEOPLE "only *received* and *ſubmitted* unto them when they could not help it, "and it may be becauſe there was much Shouting, and many Accla-"mations at his Reception.

Pag. 37.

Ibid pag. 38.

BUT I hope the Preſidents I have here now given will evince the contrary, ſince of all the Kings that have been already mentioned to have been *Elected*, I deſire him to ſhew me one, concerning whom the word *Election* can mean no more than a bare *Recognition* or *Acclamation* of the People, when they firſt received and ſubmitted to them; whereas indeed they were then ſolemn and deliberate Acts of Choice by the whole Eſtates of the Kingdom.

BUT ſince the Inſtances that the Doctor brings for this his Opinion are all after his Conqueſt, when he fancies the Nation totally ſubdued, and their Liberties loſt; I ſhall reſerve the Conſideration of the Force of thoſe Authorities till my *Introduction* before my next Volume, if God ſhall grant me Life to finiſh it.

BUT to return from whence ſome perhaps may think this too long a Digreſſion.

Bibliothec. Cotton. Nero. cap. 7.

KING *Edward* being murdered by the Inſtigation of his Mother, *Ethelred* his Brother ſucceeded him; and tho the Doctor again ſeems to put ſome ſtreſs on the words *FENG to RICE*, as if he had come in by Lineal Succeſſion, yet that he was alſo *Elected* as well as his Brother, I deſire he would conſult the Antient *Annals* of the Monaſtery of *Thorney* in the *Cottonian* Library, great part of which is written in *Saxon* Letters, and either ſome time before, or elſe not long after the Conqueſt, and there under *Anno* 978. he will find theſe words, *Eadwardus Rex occiditur, Atheldredus eligitur*, that King *Edward* was killed, and *Ethelred* Elected.

Id. ſub Effigie Claudii. *A*.3.

AND for a Proof of this, there is in the ſame Library the form of the Coronation of that King and his Queen, which hath theſe words in it.

* i. e. *the Ld. or Prince to be elected; whence the Spaniſh and Italian Titles of* Seignior.

* *SENIOREM per manus producant Duo Epiſcopi ad Eccleſiam, & Clerus hanc decantet Antiphonam, duobus Epiſcopis præcinentibus.*

FIRMETUR manus tua, ut ſupra verſic.

GLORIA Patri, &c. *perveniens Rex ad Eccleſiam proſternat ſe coram Altare, ut hymnizetur.*

TE Deum Laudamus; Te Dominum confitemur.

QUO finito tenus ymnizato, Rex erigetur de Solo, & AB EPISCOPIS ET A PLEBE ELECTUS. *Hæc tria ſe ſervaturum jura promittat, & clara Voce coràm Deo omniq; Populo dicat. Hæc tria populo Chriſtiano, & mihi ſubditis in Chriſti promitto nomine,*

IMPRIMIS, ut Eccleſia Dei, & omnis populus Chriſtianus veram pacem noſtro arbitrio in omni tempore ſervet.

SECUNDO, Ut Rapacitates, & omnes Iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdicam.

TERTIO, Ut in omnibus Juditiis æquitatem & miſericordiam præcipiam, ut mihi & vobis indulgeat ſuam miſericordiam clemens & miſericors Deus, qui vivit, &c. *His peractis omnes dicant,* Amen.

AND for a farther Confirmation of the Truth of this Oath, there is alſo an Antient *Saxon* Copy of it, together with a Latin Verſion which differs but little from that now cited, and is ſaid to be that Oath which Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan* adminiſtred to this King at *Kingſton* on the Day of his Coronation; at the end of which Oath it is alſo ſpecified, *that ſo long as the King obſerves it, he will thereby obtain both Earthly Glory, and alſo God's Mercy; ſo if he breaks it, he will ſtill paſs from bad to worſe, as well in reſpect of himſelf, as People, unleſs he repent.* This you will find printed both in *Saxon* and *Latin*, in the ſecond Book of King *Alfred's* Life, printed at *Oxford* from an Antient Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library.

Cleopatra. B. 13.

I ſhall not trouble you with a verbal Tranſlation of all this long Oath; only obſerve thus much, that hereby it appears plainly that King *Ethelred* had been before *Elected* by the Clergy and Laity, in order to be *crowned* King; which is further confirmed by that old *Saxon* imperfect Ritual of the Coronation of the *Engliſh Saxon* Kings and Queens, part of which Mr. *Selden* hath given us in his *Titles of Honour*, where Seld. *Tit. Hon.* pag. 116. in the Prayer upon the Anointing we find theſe words, *Reſpice propitius ad preces noſtræ humilitatis, & ſuper hunc famulum tuum illum quem ſupplici Devotione in Regem* ANGLORUM *vel* SAXONUM *pariter* ELIGIMUS, *Benedictionum tuarum Dona multiplica*; as alſo what Id. pag. 140. follows in the ſame Chapter, in the Bleſſing after the Coronation, in giving him the Scepter. *Benedic, Domine, hunc* PRE-ELECTUM *Principem, qui Regna omnium Regum à ſæculo moderaris.* Amen.

NOW from both theſe Places above quoted, we may ſafely conclude, that an Election did moſt commonly precede the Coronation of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings; which I think is made ſo evident by theſe Authorities, that it needs no farther Enlargement; nor ſhould I trouble my ſelf about it were it not to expoſe the Obſtinacy of ſome Men, as well as to continue the Series of this Succeſſion (which perhaps would ſeem lame to others without it) down to the Conqueſt.

TO go on therefore where we left off, after the Death of King *Ethelred*, the *Saxon Annals* tell us, that *Omnes Proceres, qui in* Londonia *erant, & Cives, eligerunt* Eadmundum *in Regem*, i. e. All the Chief Men, (or *Witan*, as it is in the *Saxon*, i. e. Wiſe Men) that were at *London*, and the Citizens, choſe *Edmund* for their King; and yet he was his Father's eldeſt Son, tho whether Legitimate or not is uncertain: for we do not find any antient Author till after the Conqueſt, that mentions *Ethelred*'s being married to the Mother of this Prince; and if he was not, this Son of his could have no other Title but Election. This is alſo confirmed by *Ingulph*, who ſays, *Cui* (Ethelredo) *ſucceſſit in Regnum*, Londonenſium & Weſt-Saxonum *Electione, Filius ejus primogenitus* Ingulph. fol. 507. *b. lin.* 5. Edmundus, *&c.* i. e. *Edmund* his eldeſt Son ſucceeded his Father *Ethelred*, by the Election of the *Londoners* and *Weſt-Saxons*, in the Kingdom.

BUT tho our *Saxon Annals* are ſilent of it, yet an Antient Manuſcript Chronicle, wrote about the Time of the Conqueſt, now in the *Cottonian* Library, relates, that about the ſame Time that King *Edmund* Otho. D. 7. was thus Elected, *Epiſcopi, Abbates, quiq; Nobiliores* Angliæ Canutum *in Regem eligere*, the Biſhops, Abbots, and ſeveral of the Chief Men of *England* choſe *Cnute* for their King; which is alſo confirmed by *Florence* of *Worceſter* in theſe words under this very Year. *Poſt cujus mortem maxima pars Regni tàm Clericorum quàm Laicorum in unum congregati, pari conſenſu Cnutonem in Regem eligerunt, & ad eum Suthamptoniam veniens pacem cum eo pepigerunt, & fidelitatem jurabant*; i. e. after whoſe Death (*viz.* of King *Ethelred*) the greateſt part of the Kingdom, as well of the Clergy as Laity, being met together, choſe *Cnute* for their King; and coming to *Southampton* made Peace with him, and ſwore Fidelity; but he there ſays nothing of his Coronation.

THESE Teſtimonies concerning *Ethelred* and *Edmund* being thus plain, I confeſs Dr. *Brady* has been ſo juſt as to cite them, and fairly to tranſlate that Paſſage in *Ingulph* by the word *Election*, whereas it ſhould have been *Recognition*, if it had ſuited with his Hypotheſis; as he does alſo that of *Florence* of *Worceſter*, rendring the word *Eligerunt*, by *choſe* him King: if therefore it were a true Election in one caſe, then ſurely it muſt be ſo in the other, for the ſame Reaſon.

Page 5.

BUT the nameleſs Author of *the Great Point of Succeſſion diſcuſs'd*, tho he does wilfully conceal all the printed Authorities above mentioned, yet being hard preſs'd with this Paſſage of King *Cnute*, has no other way to evade it, but by ſaying, "That *Canutus*, by the Terror "of his Arms, having the greateſt part of the Iſland at his Devotion, "forced them to acknowledg and receive him for their King, which "they being under an apparent Force, could not refuſe to do.

THE falſeneſs of which Aſſertion I will not go about to prove in this Place, but refer the Reader to the enſuing Hiſtory, where he will find that the Perſons abovemention'd, were not ſo forced by the Terror of his Arms, as to acknowledg him for their King, ſince *London* (then, as ſtill) the Capital City of the Nation, with many others of the Nobility, had before Choſen King *Edmund*, who by their Aſſiſtance was ſtrong enough immediately after his Election to fight the *Danes* at the great Battel at *Aſſendune*; and therefore if voluntarily, yet it was treacherouſly done of them, to quit the Prince who ought to have been Elected, and to chooſe a Stranger and an Invader over his Head: and whether the Gentleman this Author writes againſt, had *ridiculouſly* called King *Cnute*'s Acceſſion to the Throne an *Election*, as he would have it, I ſhall leave to the impartial Reader's Judgment.

AFTER the Death of King *Cnute*, our *Annals* relate, that at a *Witena-Gemot* or Great Council being held at *Oxford*, Leofricus *Comes*, & *omnes propè Thani à Boreali parte Thamiſis, & Nautæ de Lundonia* eligerunt Haroldum *in Regem totius Angliæ, dum ejus Frater Hardecnutus eſſet in Denmearcia*, i. e. *Leofric* the Earl, and almoſt all the Thanes North of the *Thames*, and the Sea-men of *London*, choſe *Harold* King of all *England*, whilſt his Brother *Hardecnute* was in *Denmark*; which is alſo confirmed by * *Ingulph*, and † *William* of *Malmesbury*, who farther report, "That the *Engliſh* had a Mind to chuſe *Edward* the Son "of *Ethelred*, or at leaſt *Hardecnute* the Son of *Cnute* by *Emme* his "Wife, the Widow of King *Ethelred*, who was then in *Denmark*.

* Fol. 509. a. Line 2.
† Lib. 2. c. 12.

BUT *Henry* of *Huntington* ſays expreſly, *Haroldus filius Cnuti in Regem Electus eſt*. But *Radulphus de Diceto* is yet more expreſs as to this Election of *Harold*, as appears by this Paſſage under *An.* 1038. *Haroldus Rex Merciorum & Northymbrorum, ut per totam regnaret Angliam, à Principibus & omni Populo Eligitur*, i. e. *Harold* King of the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, that he might reign over all *England*, is Choſen by the chief Men and all the People: whence you may obſerve, that tho he were then King of the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, yet that ſtill needed a new Election to make him King of all *England*.

NOW if this were ſo, as the Doctor himſelf has ingenuouſly cited it in his ſaid Treatiſe; I deſire he would let us know, where was then the Right of Lineal Succeſſion, when the People of *England* would fain have choſen *Edward*, who could not be Right Heir of the Crown ſo long as the Children of his Elder Brother were alive, tho then in Exile? nor could *Hardecnute* have any Right ſo long as *Harold* his Elder Brother was alive; whom alſo, as our Hiſtorians relate, his Father had appointed Succeſſor at his Death, tho whether that be true or no, is much to be doubted.

BUT the Author of the aforementioned *Great Point of Succeſſion, &c.* (to evade this Proof of *Harold*'s Election) will have all this Point in Controverſy to have been, who had the moſt Right, and beſt Title to the Crown of thoſe two, *Harold* or *Hardecnute*, and that Earl *Godwin* objected *Harold*'s Illegitimacy, and the Will of the deceaſed King; of all which there is not one word mentioned in any of our moſt Antient Hiſtorians, only he cites a Scrap in the Margin, as he thinks, out of *Brompton*, (but it ſhould be *Simeon* of *Durham*, for no ſuch thing is to be found in the former Author) *viz.* That *Harold* ——— *quaſi juſtus hæres cœpit regnare, nec tamen ità potentèr ut Canutus, quia juſtior hæres expectabatur* Hardicanutus, *i. e.* as juſt Heir, but yet not ſo abſolutely as *Cnute*, becauſe the juſter Heir *(Scil. Hardecanute)* was expected, which he is pleaſed to call him, becauſe he falſly ſuppoſes that none could have a Right to the Crown but one of Queen *Emma*'s Children. But this Writer cunningly leaves out the preceding Words with a daſh, becauſe they make againſt him, which I ſhall here add, *atq; conſentientibus quamplurimis MAJORIBUS natu Angliæ, quaſi Juſtus hæres*, &c. So that it ſeems his Right to reign, proceeded from the Conſent of the Eſtates of the Kingdom.

SO that granting, as this Author ſuppoſes, That *Hardecnute* had been left Heir by his Father King *Cnute*'s Teſtament, yet you ſee this could only give him a Precedency of being firſt Propoſed, and Elected.

HAROLD dying after a few Years Reign, *Hardecnute* was ſent for out of *Flanders* to ſucceed him; yet this could not be as his Heir, being but of the half Blood, and his ſuppoſed Brother only by his Father's ſide: and therefore *Henry* of *Huntington* ſays expreſly, that *Poſt Mortem Haroldi Hardecnute filius Regis Cnuti illicò ſuſceptus eſt, & ELECTUS in Regem ab Anglis, & DACIS*, i. e. After the Death of *Harold*, *Hardecnute* the Son of King *Cnute* was preſently received, and *Elected* King by the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. †

Lib.6. p.365.

† which is also related by y book of Abingdon above mentioned, wher after the death of King Cnut he proceeds thus, post eum in Regem constituitur Haraldus filius ut ferebatur ipsius Regis ex concubina progenitus &c. i.e. after him Harold his son (as 'tis reported) by a Concubine is ordained King.

HARDECNUTE dying ſuddenly after, about two Years Reign, the abovecited Antient Chronicle in the *Cottonian* Library, proceeds to tell us, that *Mortuo* Hardecanuto, Eadwardus *Annitentibus maximè Comite* Godwino *&* Wigornenſi Livingo, *levatur* Londoniæ *in Regem*, i.e. that *Hardecnute* being dead, *Edward* by the Aſſiſtance chiefly of Earl *Godwin*, and *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, was advanced to the Throne at *London*.

Otho D. 7.

WILLIAM of *Malmesbury* words it thus, ſpeaking of Earl *Godwin*, *Nec mora, congregato concilio* Londoniæ, *rationibus ſuis explicitis, Regem effecit*. From whence it appears, that by *Godwin*'s means he was made King at a Common-Council of the Kingdom.

Lib.2.cap.13.

BUT *Ingulph* is yet more expreſs, who ſays, *Poſt ejus (Scil.* Hardecanuti) *obitum, Omnium Electione in* Edwardum *concordatur, maximè cohortante* Godwino *Comite*. i. e. that after the Death of *Hardecnute*, it was unanimouſly agreed upon to Elect Prince *Edward*; Earl *Godwin* chiefly adviſing it.

Pag. 895.

AND *Henry Huntington* goes yet a ſtep higher, and writes thus, Edwardus *cum paucis venit in* Angliam, *& Electus eſt in Regem ab omni populo*. Prince *Edward* coming into *England* with but a few Men, was Elected King by all the People: which is alſo confirmed by an Antient Manuſcript Chronicle of *Thomas* of *Cheſterton* Canon of *Litchfield*, in the *Cottonian* Library, who under *Anno* 1042. ſays thus, Edwardus

Lib.6. p.365.

Cleopatra. C. 3.

dus *filius Athelredi Regis, ab omni Populo in Regem Electus, & Conſecratus eſt.*

BUT the Doctor very cunningly conceals all this concerning his Election, Lib.6. cap.9. and only gives us a ſhred out of *Guilielmus Gemeticenſis* in theſe words, Hardecanutus Edwardum *totius Regni reliquit hæredem*; that is, left *Edward* Heir of the whole Kingdom: but ſo far indeed the Doctor Page 8. is in the Right, “ That he could be no other than a Teſtamentary Heir, “ there being other Heirs of the Right Line, both of *Saxon* and *Daniſh* “ Blood before him. But it may well be doubted, whether the Author laſt mentioned, being a Foreigner, may not be miſtaken, if he means the words *hæredem reliquit*, for a Bequeſt by Will, ſince no *Engliſh* Hiſtorian that I know of mentions any ſuch thing: and indeed it is highly improbable that this Prince made any Will at all, ſince all Writers agree that he died ſuddenly at a Drunken Feaſt, in the very Flower of his Age; and as it is not likely he made any Will before, ſo it was impoſſible he could do it at his Death.

BUT this Election of King *Edward* farther appears, from the mean and abject Carriage which this Prince ſhewed, (as you will find in *William* of *Malmesbury*) towards Earl *Godwin*, when he was ſo far from claiming the Crown, that he only deſired he would ſave his Life, till the Earl encouraging him, put him in hopes of obtaining the Kingdom upon Promiſe of marrying his Daughter; which he would never have done, had he had ſo fair a Pretence as the laſt Will of his Brother *Hardecnute* to recommend him to the favour of the Eſtates of the Kingdom; and if that alone would have done, to what purpoſe ſhould he need afterwards to be Elected?

THIS is in part acknowledged by the Doctor; but to palliate it, he “ will have *Godwin*, (a Council being immediately called) by his Reaſon “ and Rhetorick to make him King; (it ſeems then he was to be made ſo) but he dares not ſay one word of his *Election*, for fear it would betray “ the Cauſe which he has ſo ſtrenuouſly laboured to advance.

AND therefore he thinks he has now nothing more to do, but to expoſe and ridicule the Legend of the Abbot of *Rievalle* in making *Edward* the *Confeſſor* to be elected King in his Mother's Womb: which tho I grant to be as abſurd as to drink a Prince of *Wales* his Health before he is born, yet the Abbot had certainly no ground for this Story, unleſs he had been ſufficiently convinced that this was an Elective Kingdom in the Time of King *Ethelred* his Father.

BUT if the Reader deſires further Satisfaction concerning the Circumſtances of this King's Election, I ſhall refer him to the Antient *Annals* of the Church of *Wincheſter*, which I have faithfully tranſcribed out of the firſt Volume of *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, and inſerted into this Volume under *Anno* 1041. where he will find the whole Hiſtory of this Prince's Election and Coronation, written by a Monk of that Church not long after the Conqueſt; theſe *Annals* are alſo in Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library, to which I muſt likewiſe by the Favour of its honourable Poſſeſſor, own my ſelf highly obliged for ſeveral conſiderable Remarks in this Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of our *Saxon* Kings.

BUT to draw to a Concluſion upon this Subject; King *Edward* (as appears by our *Annals*) in the Year 957, ſent over for his Couſin Prince Col.189.n.20. *Edward*, ſirnamed the *Out-Law*, Son of King *Edmund*, out of *Hungary*, as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, *Illum ſe Regni hæredem conſtituere*, that he might appoint him Heir of the Kingdom: which had been a very idle Thing had the Kingdom been Hereditary, and that it had been his undoubted Right by Proximity of Blood.

THIS Prince dying ſoon after his coming over, we no where find, that King *Edward* ever offered to do the like for his Couſin *Edgar Atheling*; but on the contrary forgetting his own Family, *Ingulph* tells us, that the Year before his Death, he ſent *Robert* Arch-Bp of *Canterbury* his Fo.512. n.40. Ambaſſadour, to let *William* Duke of *Normandy* know, *Illum deſignatum eſſe ſui Regni ſucceſſorem*, that he had appointed him Heir of his Kingdom: which relation tho I have proved to be falſe as to Arch-biſhop *Robert*, towards the end of this enſuing Hiſtory; yet might it be true in the main, and ſome other Biſhop might have gone over to Duke *William* on that Meſſage; but however, for all this, King *Edward* afterwards adopted Earl *Harold* upon his Death-bed, for which we have very good Authority, ſince our *Saxon Annals* teſtify it in theſe words, Page 172. *Tunc* Haroldus *Comes capeſſit Regnum, ſicut Rex ei conceſſerat, Omneſq; ad id Eum eligebant, & conſecratus eſt in Regem in Feſto Epiphaniæ*, which was the ſame day that King *Edward* was Buried.

THIS is alſo confirmed by the Hiſtory of the Abby of *Ely*, written not long after the Conqueſt, and lately publiſhed by the Learned Dr. *Gale*, *Quo (Scil. Edwardo) tumulato, ſubregulus Haraldus Godwini* Lib.2. cap.43. fol. 515. *Ducis Filius, quem Rex antè ſuam Deceſſionem Regni Succeſſorem eligerat, à totius Angliæ Primatibus ad Regale Culmen ELECTUS eſt, Die eodem ab Aldredo Eboracenſi Archiepiſcopo in Regem honorificè conſecratur*; which alſo agrees with *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Simeon* of *Durham* under *Anno* 1066. almoſt in the very ſame words, and by *Eadmerus* (who Page 5. lived not long after the Conqueſt) in theſe words, *Juxtà quod Edwardus ante mortem ſtatuerat, ſucceſſit HARALDUS.*

FROM all which remarkable Teſtimonies I ſhall draw theſe two Concluſions.

FIRST, That this Teſtamentary Deſignation of *Harold* by King *Edward* for his Heir, was not ſufficient alone to make him King, but it alſo required a ſubſequent Election of the Eſtates of the Kingdom.

SECONDLY, That there is an apparent Diſtinction here made between his Election and Conſecration.

AND I think this enough, had I no more to ſay, to ſettle this Point; but to let the Reader know the utmoſt that may be objected againſt theſe Authorities, I muſt freely confeſs, that divers Writers of good Credit and Reputation, who lived after the Conqueſt, viz. *Ingulph* of *Croyland*, *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Ailred* Abbot of *Rievalle*, and *Henry* of *Huntington*, look upon this Donation of King *Edward* as a meer Pretence, invented by the *Engliſh* in Prejudice of the *Norman* Duke.

BUT how they will be able to anſwer thoſe plain and full Authorities I have before cited, I know not: for *William* of *Malmesbury* himſelf was alſo forced to confeſs, that King *Harold* claimed not only by virtue of *Edward*'s Deſignation, but by the Election of the Great Council of the Kingdom, as appears by this Memorable Paſſage, viz. *Ille* VVill. Malmesbur. de Geſtis Anglorum *Lib.* 2. Fol. 55. *(ſcilicet Haraldus)* in his Anſwer to *William* then Duke of *Normandy*, *de puellæ nuptiis referens, de Regno (addebat) præſumptuoſum fuiſſe, quod abſq; generali Senatûs & Populi Conventu & Edicto, alienam illi hæreditatem juraverit*, i. e. “That *Harold*, ſpeaking of the Mar-

“ riage of the Duke's Siſter, further added, that it was a very preſumptuous thing to ſwear away another's Inheritance to him, without the General Act and Appointment of the Senate and People, that is, the Nobility and Commons.

THIS ſhews, that it would have been a moſt notorious Falſhood for *Harold* thus to have gone about to impoſe upon Duke *William*, had there never been any ſuch thing as a Real and Solemn Election, which our abovementioned Authors have related.

Dr. Brady'*s Anſwer to Argum. Antinorman.* fol.238.

NOR is Dr. *Brady*'s Objection againſt this at all material, in ſaying, that thoſe who thus ſet him up, were only a *Court Faction*, for the *People* all *England* over could never have *notice* to *come* to, or *ſend* their *Repreſentatives* to ſuch a *Solemnity*, as to *elect* and *crown* him *King* in four and twenty Hour's Time; and therefore ſhould his *Election* be *granted*, he could not be *choſen* by the *People*, who had neither *Notice* nor *Knowledg* of it, but only received and ſubmitted to him as their King.

NOW in anſwer to this I need only ſay, that if the Doctor would have been ſo fair as to have conſulted Sir *Henry Spelman*'s firſt Volume of Councils, or the firſt Volume of *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, he would have found in both of them, (in the Charters of the Foundation of the Abby of *Weſtminſter*, and the Hiſtory of that Church printed in the Latter) that it was not (as he ſays) *never to have been imagined*; for it was really true, that the Eſtates of the Kingdom did meet a little before Chriſtmaſs, (*ſecundùm Morem*, according to Cuſtom) and not only ſo, but were expreſly ſummoned to be preſent at the Great Solemnity of the Conſecration of that Abbey, which was, as our *Annals* inform us, on St. *Innocent*'s day, and the King dying on the Tweſth-day following, this Great Council (which certainly was a full one) was ſo far from being then Diſſolved, that it choſe *Harold* for their ſucceeding King, as the ſaid *Annals* relate: The nicety of the Diſſolution of a Parliament upon the King's Deceaſe not being at that time known.

I think this is ſufficient to anſwer all that the Doctor has, or I ſuppoſe can ſay upon this Head; therefore I will now leave it to the Reader to conſider, how far any of his Aſſertions are true.

True and exact Hiſtory of the Succeſſion, Fol. 7.

AS firſt, “ Whether the ſure Rule of Succeſſion was either Right of Blood?

OR Secondly, “ Whether the bare Nomination or Appointment of the preceding King, was then thought and allowed as Cauſe ſufficient for the Father to prefer his Brother's Son before his own, or a Baſtard before his Lawful Iſſue, or that the Inſtances which he hath produced will be able to make it out; or elſe whether thoſe very Inſtances, which I have here ſet in their true Light, do not directly evince the contrary?

Id. Fol. 9.

THIRDLY, Whether from this foregoing Hiſtory of the Succeſſion, it appears alſo to be true what he aſſerts, *viz.* “ That from *Egbert* the firſt *Saxon* Monarch, to *Ethelred* the laſt by Right of Blood, we do not read of many Elections for the ſpace of two hundred and ſixteen Years; and that thoſe we meet with are bound and limited by Proximity of Blood, or Nomination of the Succeſſor by the Predeceſſor, and that where the word *Election* or any thing in that Senſe is uſed, it ſignifies only a Recognition and Submiſſion? And I will now leave it to the Reader's Judgment, if I have not given ſufficient Inſtances to the contrary in every one of theſe Particulars, there being not above two Kings in all this long Series of more than two hundred and ſixty Years, concerning whom I have not brought expreſs Teſtimonies from Authors of undoubted Credit both in Print and Manuſcript, of their *Election* by the Eſtates of the Kingdom. Or,

FOURTHLY, Whether his laſt Aſſertion be any truer than the former, *viz.* “ That the *Daniſh* Kings, after *Sweyn* had conquered the “ Kingdom, (whoſe beſt Title was the Sword) either brought hither “ the Cuſtom of the Predeceſſor, naming or giving the Kingdom to “ the Succeſſor, as probably it might have been practiſed in their own “ Kingdoms, or uſed it as they found it here practiſed by the *Saxon* “ Kings? Or whether the Authorities I have already cited do not expreſly prove, that every one of the three *Daniſh* Kings came in by *Election*, and that *Harold Harefoot* was the only Prince of thoſe Three, who could make any pretence to it by Teſtament? Id. ibid.

AND as for the *Saxon* Kings that reigned before them, how far they by their laſt Wills alone could diſpoſe of, or entail the Crown, without the concurrent Aſſent and Conſent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, I refer the Reader to that part of King *Alfred*'s Will, I have here made uſe of for his farther Satisfaction, if he have ſtill any doubt left about it.

I have now diſpatched this exact and faithful Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, in which I am not conſcious to my ſelf that I have either added or diminiſhed any thing material to, or from the Authors which I have made uſe of; I deſire to be believed that I have not wrote this to prove, that the Succeſſion to the Crown ought at this day to be Elective in the ſame manner as it was before the Conqueſt, but only to obviate and remove the falſe Opinions or Prejudices of ſome Men, who by the plauſible Repreſentations of the Doctor and others, have been ſo far prepoſſeſſed as to believe, that an Hereditary *Succeſſion* to the Crown hath been as Antient as the Monarchy it ſelf; whereas we find that *Sweden* and *Denmark* have from Elective become Hereditary Kingdoms in a much leſs ſpace of Time: And I ſuppoſe no Man of thoſe Countries would aſperſe any Writer there, of being an Enemy to Monarchy for aſſerting ſo evident a Truth; and therefore I hope I may find the ſame fair Quarter at Home, notwithſtanding the Doctor's Inſinuations before his abovecited Hiſtory of the *Succeſſion of the Crown, That none but Papiſts, Fanaticks, or Common-Wealth's Men,* (a Liſt of whoſe Works he there gives us) would dare to write for, or maintain this Opinion. But if *Parſons* the Jeſuit has happened in his Diſcourſe of the *Succeſſion*, to write ſome Truths concerning it, I am no more to be thought Jeſuitical for following (not him, but) the Authors from whom he took them; than I ſhould be if I had wrote a Mathematical Diſſertation founded upon Demonſtrations from *Euclid*, which had been before made uſe of by *Tacquet*, or any other Learned Jeſuit, that has wrote upon that Subject.

AFTER the Election, I ſhall ſay ſomewhat of the Coronation of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, which ſometimes was performed on the ſame Day on which they were Elected, and ſometimes ſeveral Days, nay, Months after, as appears by the Coronation of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*; who tho he were Choſen King in *June* not long after his Brother *Hardecnut*'s Deceaſe, yet was he not Crowned till the *Eaſter* following, as you will find in the *Saxon Annals* under the Years 1041, 1042. But *Harold* his Succeſſor (to make the Crown the ſurer) was Elected and Crowned the ſame Day. This Solemnity of the Coronation, was moſt commonly performed by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, yet was it not at firſt done in the Church, but in the open Air; thus the Kings *Athelſtan*, *Edmund*, and *Edred*, are expreſly mentioned by our Hiſtorians to have been Crowned in the Market Place of *Kingſton* upon *Thames*: and I ſuppoſe the like had been uſed in the Coronation of former Kings, ſince it is not taken notice of as an Innovation.

BUT to ſay ſomewhat of the forms of thoſe Crowns which our Kings then wore, it appears from their Coins that they were at firſt no other than Diadems like thoſe of the Greek Emperors in that Age, and from whom they were borrowed: thus *Offa* King of the *Mercians* is Graven on his Coin with a Diadem of Pearls about his Head; but our great King *Alfred* has no more than a bare Head-band, or Circle, which ſeems to have been tied behind, as you may ſee in his Coins. And tho I confeſs there is alſo a Coin of one K. *Egbert* with a Coronet of Rayes upon his Head; yet that this was not of our K. *Egbert*, but rather of him that was King of *Northumberland*, who began to reign *An.* 867, I rather incline to believe. As for King *Edward* the *Elder*, he has in his Coins only a kind of Diadem upon his Helmet, King *Athelſtan*, *Edmund* and *Eadred* his Brothers being the firſt of our *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, who wore Crowns with three Rayes, or Points higher than the reſt; and therefore I look upon it as a Fiction in them who will needs have it, that K. *Alfred* was Crowned with a Crown wrought with Flower de Lices; becauſe ſuch a Crown was kept among the *Regalia* at *Weſtminſter* before our late Civil Wars, in a Box, upon whoſe Cover was this Inſcription, *Hæc eſt Principalior Corona cum qua Coronabantur Reges, Ælfredus, Edwardus*, &c. Which having been the Crown of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, it was very eaſy for the Monks of that Church who kept thoſe *Regalia* in after times, to inſcribe what they pleaſed upon this Box, ſince it added ſo much to the Antiquity and Reputation of this Crown: and I am the more inclined to this Opinion, becauſe I find King *Cnute*, and *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, to be the firſt Kings who wore Diadems adorned with Flower-de-Lices, as appears by their Coins.

Vid. Ante Vitam Ælfred. R. Tab. 4. & ante Camden. Britan. Tab.

Vid. Vitam Ælfredi. pag. 158.

I ſhall in the next Place ſay ſomewhat of the Titles by which our *Weſt-Saxon* Kings ſtiled themſelves in their Laws and Charters; and to begin with King *Egbert*, (however Supreme he were over all the reſt of the Kings then reigning in *England*, yet we cannot find that he ſtiled himſelf more than, *Rex Weſt-Saxonum* in any of his Charters; for as for Laws we have none of his left us. The like I may ſay for his Succeſſors *Ethelwolf*, and his Sons and Grandſons, as far as King *Athelſtan*, who for ought I can find was the firſt Prince that upon his Victories over the *Danes* and *Scots*, changed his Title of *Rex Weſt-Saxonum*, or *Anglorum* alone, which was uſed by his Predeceſſors, to this that follows, *Ego* Æthelſtanus Rex *Anglorum*, *per omnipotentis Dextram totius Britanniæ Regno ſublimatus*, as you will find it in his Charter in *William* of *Malmesbury*, *de Geſtis Pontif.* as alſo in the ſame Place you will find this King's Title to have ſomewhat varied; for on a rich Box, or Shrine, given by this King to keep the Relicts of the Saints in, was engraven this Inſcription, *Ego Æthelſtanus totius Britanniæ & multarum nationum in circuitu poſitarum*

Lib. 4. pag. 362,364. *publiſh'd by Dr.* Gale.

poſitarum Imperator, &c. which Title was alſo made uſe of by his Brother King *Edmund*, only inſtead of *Imperator*, he ſtiles himſelf *Gubernator & Rector*, as appears by his Charter to the Church of *Glaſtonbury*, ſet down by the ſame Author above-mentioned, in his * Antiquity of the Church of *Glaſtonbury*, which was alſo uſed by King *Edgar*, tho with ſome difference, who inſtead of *Rector & Rex*, ſtiled himſelf *totius Albionis Baſileus* in divers Charters; but this proceeded from the corrupt Stile of that Time, or elſe the particular Fancy of the Clerk or Monk who drew the Charter: And tho inſtead of this word *Baſileus*, King *Ethelred* his Son again made uſe of *Rex*, yet the reſt of the Title remained the ſame, and was alſo continued by King *Knut*; however he ſometimes ſtiled himſelf *Rex totius Albionis Inſulæ, & aliarum Nationum plurimarum*. What Titles his Sons had I do not find, becauſe I have not ſeen any of their Charters; only we may here obſerve, that ſeveral Kings before *Cnute*, ſtiled themſelves Kings not only of *Albion*, or *Britain*, but of ſeveral other Nations round about, by which could only be meant that Superiority they aſſumed at that time over the Kings of *Scotland*, *Wales* and *Northumberland*, before that Country was reduced into the form of a Province, and was governed by Earls.

* Pag. 318. *publiſhed in the ſame Vol. by* Dr. Gale.

I now come, in the next place, to give you an Account of the chief Powers and Prerogatives of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings; ſome of which I find ſet down in our *Saxon Annals* at the end of the Year 693, at the Council of *Becanceld*, where the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* thus defines them in his Decree at the Concluſion of that Council. *Regum eſt*, ſays he, *conſtituere Comites, Duces, Vice-Comites, & Judices*; it is the Office of Kings to conſtitute Earls, Ealdormen, Sheriffs and Judges.

TO which we may alſo add the Power of Coining Money, which being then the Prerogative of the Crown, was granted by Charter to the Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, as likewiſe to the Abbots of *Medeſhamſted* or *Peterborough*, and to ſeveral other Abbies; as may be ſeen in *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, as well as in the *Annals* themſelves. Some Inſtances of which I have given you in the enſuing Hiſtory, not omitting ſome of the Coins which are ſtill preſerved in Cabinets, ſome of whoſe Figures are to be found in the Collection of *Saxon* Coins before King *Alfred*'s Life, as alſo before the new Edition of *Camden*'s *Britannia*.

BUT that any of thoſe Kings had Power by their own Royal Prerogative, to enhance or debaſe the intrinſick Value of the Money, coined either in their own or other Mints, I can no ways believe, ſince ſuch a Prerogative would have highly tended to the Loſs and Defrauding of the Subject, for which that Power was never deſigned; nor do I find our Kings ever aſſumed this Prerogative to themſelves, till later Ages. And in Confirmation of this the † Mirror of Juſtices recites it as an old Law of the *Saxon* Times, that no King of this Realm could change, embaſe, or enhance his Money, or make other Coin than of Silver, *ſan's l'aſſent de touts ſes Counties*, i. e. without the Aſſent of Parliament; as Sir *Edward Coke* in his ſecond Inſtitutes, hath on very good grounds interpreted this Expreſſion, in that Author *Andrew Horne*, who lived in the Reign of King *Edward* I.

† Sect. 3.

Artic. ſuper Chartas, *cap.* 20. *p.* 576.

TO theſe we may further add, that of pardoning Offendors their Lives in ſeveral Caſes, ſuch as ſtriking in the King's Palace, *&c.* which he might alſo take in Caſe of *Homicides*; but ſtill reſerving the *Wiregilds*, or Compenſations that were to be made to the Friends or Relations of the Parties ſlain, which it was not in his Power to releaſe, as appears by ſeveral Paſſages in our *Saxon* Laws, ſome of which I have inſerted in this Volume; whence, I ſuppoſe, are derived the Appeals of the Wiſe, Son, or Brother, in Caſe of Murder at this day.

BUT as for the Power of making War or Peace, ſince I find little ſaid of it in our Hiſtories, I ſhall not be poſitive in aſſerting any thing concerning it: only ſhall obſerve, that in every Peace made by the King upon Payment of Money, the Conſent of the Eſtates of the Kingdom was required; for Taxes could not be raiſed without it, as you will find in our *Annals* under the Years 994, 1002, 1006, 1011, when that extraordinary Tax of *Danegelt* was raiſed to be paid to the *Danes* for purchaſing a Peace of them. And as for the Power of making Foreign War, that could alſo ſignify little, ſince thoſe Kings had not the Prerogative of raiſing Money without the Conſent of their People, any more than our Kings have at this day: nor were their Revenues ſo much in Money, as in Proviſions for their Houſhold.

NOR can I omit here taking notice, that the *Engliſh Saxon* Kings wanted one great Prerogative, which ours exerciſe at this day, *viz.* the power of granting away the *Demeſnes* of the Crown, even to pious Uſes, without the Conſent of the great Council of their Kingdoms: and of this we find a remarkable Inſtance in Sir *H. Spelman*'s firſt Vol. of Councils, where *Baldred* King of *Kent* had given the Mannor of *Mallings* to *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*; but becauſe the chief Men of his Kingdom (*i. e.* the Great Council) had not conſented to it, it was revoked until K. *Egbert* afterwards by the Conſent of his *WITTENA GEMOT* made a new Grant thereof: and this was alſo the reaſon why the Foundations and Infeodations of Abbies were always confirmed and atteſted by all the Eſtates as well Spiritual as Temporal, as you will find by moſt of their Charters in *Monaſt. Anglican.* of which I have inſerted ſome Examples in the Hiſtory it ſelf; ſo that I ſhall leave it to the Reader's Conſideration, whether thoſe Princes that could not diſpoſe of their Crown-Lands without the Conſent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, could without the like Conſent diſpoſe of the Crown it ſelf as they pleaſed, as Dr. *Brady* in his * Hiſtory of the Succeſſion, &c. aſſerts, tho without any juſt Grounds, as hath been already proved.

Pag. 340.

* Pag. 7, 8.

BUT thoſe Kings great Prerogative chiefly conſiſted in giving their Sanction to all Laws that were made, as well relating to Civil as Eccleſiaſtical Matters, that did not concern Doctrines of Faith: but this is ſtill to be ſo underſtood, that this Prerogative could never be exerted without the Advice and Conſent of the *Mycel-Gemot*, or Great Council of the Realm; at which, tho they were often firſt drawn up into Form, and then propoſed by the King, yet was their Authority alſo neceſſary for the enacting of thoſe Laws, without which they could no ways oblige the Subject, as ſhall be further ſhewn towards the end of this Diſcourſe.

BUT ſince I have given you ſo large an Account how our Kings then obtained the Crown, it may perhaps be expected I ſhould ſay ſomewhat now concerning the manner of their loſing it, ſometimes by other ways than Death.

IN order to this I deſire the Reader would obſerve, that not only in *England*, but in all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, that were raiſed upon the

Ruins of the *Roman* Empire after the *Gothic* Model, the ſame mix'd manner of Succeſſion, partly by Teſtament, partly by Election, did in thoſe days chiefly prevail: Of which Monſieur *Mezeray* himſelf is ſo ſenſible, that in his Abridgment of the * Hiſtory of *France*, he freely owns, "That during the Kings of the firſt Race, they were ſtill choſen "out of the Royal Family; but that there were three Conditions re-"quired to it. (1.) Birth, (thô whether they were legitimate or no it "matter'd not). (2.) The laſt Will of the Father. (3.) The Con-"ſent of the Great Men, or Eſtates of the Kingdom; and the laſt of "theſe (ſays he) almoſt ever followed the two former. Moreover, that in all thoſe Kingdoms, where this way of Election was in uſe, their Kings were ſo far from being abſolute Monarchs, that they were accountable for their Tyranny, or Male-Adminiſtration, to the Eſtates of the Kingdom, and were by them liable to be depoſed for the ſame: Of which (were it to my preſent purpoſe) I could give you frequent Examples, not only in *Denmark* and *Sweden*, in both which Kingdoms that Law was in force till within this laſt Century, when they became ſucceſſive in a Lineal Deſcent, by an Act of all the Eſtates; but alſo in *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, and even in that of *France* it ſelf (as much as ſhe takes upon her to be Abſolute at this day): and for the Proof of this I ſhall refer you to any *French* Hiſtory. Thoſe famous Examples of the laſt *Childerick*'s being Depoſed by the great Council, or Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *France*, who elected *Pepin* King in his room; and alſo their ſetting aſide *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, tho the undoubted Heir of the Crown by Blood, only for his ſuppoſed Enmity to the *French* Nation, and their chooſing *Hugh Capet* for their King, from whom all the Kings of *France* from that time have been (ſo far as we know) lineally deſcended, renders this a Truth too notorious to be denied.

THIS I have here mentioned, that ſo you may not wonder if in the enſuing Hiſtory you meet with divers Examples of the *Engliſh Saxons* depoſing their Kings; ſince the ſame Cuſtom did in thoſe Ages prevail in all thoſe Kingdoms, as a part of their Original Conſtitution.

AND for farther Proof of this, tho I could bring ſeveral Inſtances from the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, yet becauſe the latter were look'd upon as of a Rebellious Diſpoſition againſt their Princes; and for the former it may be ſaid, that thoſe they expelled were Uſurpers, and not lawful Kings; I ſhall therefore content my ſelf with mentioning but two Examples concerning our *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, which you will find hereafter more at large: The firſt is that of *Sigebert*, who (as the *Saxon Annals* inform us *Anno* 752.) for his *unryhtum Dædum*, *i. e.* illegal Practices, or (as *Hen. Huntington* paraphraſes it) *for his Oppreſſion, and wreſting the Laws to his own Advantage*, was by all the *Wites*, or Wiſe and Great Men of *Weſt-Saxony*, deprived of his Kingdom, and *Cenwolf* his Kinſman was by them elected in his room. † The next is that of King *Edwy*, who for his looſe and irregular Life (tho chiefly for perſecuting the Monks) being caſt off or depoſed by the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, his Brother *Edgar* was choſen to ſucceed him; but yet the Kingdom was divided, and *Edwy* had only *Weſt-Saxony* for his ſhare: And both this Depoſition and Diviſion were confirmed by an Act of the Eſtates of the whole Kingdom, as I have already ſhewn.

BUT whether this was lawfully and rightfully done for any real Breach of their *Original Contract*, it is none of my Buſineſs here to decide;

* *At the end of the Reign of K.* Clotair II. tit. Moeurs & Couſtumes.

† *Vid.* Hoveden, pars prior, p. 424.

it is ſufficient to ſhew, that the Eſtates of thoſe Countries then judged ſo, not that I maintain the Law is, or ought to be ſo at this day; but that it was ſo before the Conqueſt, pray conſider this Law, which tho found among thoſe that go under the Title of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, yet was certainly much more Antient, as containing not only the Office of an *Engliſh* King, but what he was to ſuffer in caſe he omitted that Duty: I ſhall give it you from the Latin Original in * *Hoveden* and † *Lambard*, in theſe words, *Rex qui eſt vicarius ſummi Regis, ad hæc eſt conſtitutus, ut Regnum terrenum, & Populum Domini, & ſuper omnia ſanctam venretur ejus Eccleſiam, & regat, & ab injurioſis defendat, & maleficos ab ea evellat, & deſtruat, & penitùs diſperdat; Quod niſi fecerit, nec* Regis Nomen *in eo conſtabit, i.e.* not ſo much as the Name of a King ſhall remain to him. Here you ſee not only the Subſtance of this *Original Contract*, but alſo the Penalty annex'd to it, if it were broken.

* Pag. 345.
† Pag. 138.

AND that there was ſuch a thing as an *Original Compact* or *Contract* between the People of *England* and the Anceſtors of thoſe Kings, according to which they were to govern, and upon the non-performance of which, they were liable to forfeit or loſe their Crowns, I think may farther be proved, tho what the particular Heads of it were we cannot now exactly tell, unleſs they were thoſe mentioned in the Oath, recited in the *Mirror* at the Election of the firſt *Saxon* Sovereign, (whether he were *Egbert*, or any other) which indeed amounts to a Contract; but there was alſo a Compact of the like Nature in the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons* before King *Egbert*'s Time as well as after; for how elſe could the Great Council of the Kingdom proceed againſt King *Sigebert* or *Edwy*, if there had not been *then* ſome known Laws or Conſtitutions, upon the Violation of which they were judged uncapable to govern any longer? And tho the chief Heads of that Contract may have been comprized in King *Ethelred*'s Coronation-Oath, which I have already given you; [the firſt Article of which is, to preſerve the Holy Church, and all Chriſtian People in true Peace at all Times; the ſecond, To reſtrain all Violence and Injuſtice in all ſorts of People, (which comprehends any raiſing of Taxes by the King's Officers contrary to Law); and the third, To obſerve Equity and Mercy in all his Judgments, by which the King is withheld from taking away any of his Subjects Lives arbitrarily, as alſo from pardoning notorious Offenders againſt the State at his meer Pleaſure; ſo that the Religion, Eſtates and Lives of his People were by this Oath well ſecured:] I ſay, tho theſe are the chief Heads of this Contract, yet that this was much more Antient than the Ceremony of a Coronation, may appear from hence.

THAT Kingly Government in this Iſland was never Abſolute nor Deſpotical, but always limited by Laws; and if limited, then thoſe Laws muſt have been the Bounds or Conditions of that Limitation; and if there was from the beginning, or firſt Inſtitution of the Government, a conſtant certain great Council ordained, whoſe Buſineſs it was to obſerve, that the King did not tranſgreſs the due Bounds of his Power; that Council (ſo long as the Kingdom continued Elective) had likewiſe Authority to call him to Account for his Male-Adminiſtration.

BUT ſince the Preaching of Chriſtianity did no ways alter the Original Conſtitution of Government in all thoſe ſeven Kingdoms abovementioned, it follows, that there muſt have been an *Original Contract*

precedent

recedent to the entrance of that Religion: And it did not Commence om the Coronation of our Kings, as ſome have imagined, and conſe- uently from their taking an Oath at that Time to obſerve the Laws of e Kingdom; becauſe both the one and the other was much later than e Preaching of the Goſpel it ſelf: for this Ceremony of a Coronati- n, as Mr. *Selden* learnedly proves, began no earlier in the *Weſt* than ith *Charles* the *Great*, his receiving his Imperial Crown from the ands of the Pope; and this Ceremony he alſo ſhews us, was bor- owed from the *Greek* Emperors, who about *Juſtinian*, or his Succeſſor uſtin's Time, firſt introduced their Unction and Coronation by the atriarch of *Conſtantinople*, as he there makes out from a Paſſage of he Learned *Onuphrius* in theſe words, *Conſtantinopoli vel ſub* Juſtinia- no, *vel poſt ejus ſtatim Obitum, Electioni Imperatoris additum, ut quam rimum Imperator renuntiatus eſſet, à Patriarchâ Conſtantinopolitano in agna Bizantii Baſilica* Oleo Unctus, *Diademate Aureo redimeretur.*

Seld. Tit.Hon. c.8. fo.131.

Ibid. fol. 110.

De Comitiis Imperatoriis, c. 2.

AND therefore what we find in our *Saxon* Chronicles, or any other Hiſtorians, concerning the Coronation of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, muſt all of them have commenced ſince that Time.

NOW the Emperor *Charles*'s Coronation above mentioned, ſalling out in the Year 800, it is plain that the Coronation of our Kings could not be antienter than that Time, which was near 450 Years after the Arrival of the *Saxons* in *England*, and ſettling Kingly Government here, and above 200 Years after the Preaching of Chriſtianity; ſo that this Coronation Oath ſeems to have been only a conſtant Renovation or Confirmation of this *Original Contract*, at every new King's firſt Acceſſion to the Throne, and muſt have had (if at all) its Original long before that Time.

AND this alſo appears from the Inſtance of King *Sigebert* above-mentioned, who was deprived of his Kingdom for the Breach of this Contract, above forty Years before there was either any Emperor or King formally Crowned in theſe *Weſtern* parts of *Europe*.

TO all which we may farther add, that if our *Annals* and Hiſtorians may be credited, it does not appear that ſeveral of our *Daniſh* Kings, tho they were ſolemnly Elected, were ever Crowned at all: For as for King *Cnute*, whoſe Election is mentioned in *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and other Authors, to have been by many of the Biſhops and Nobility at *Southampton*, *Anno Dom.* 1015. yet are they all (except Abbot *Brompton*'s Chronicle, which relates, that he was Crowned by *Living* A.Bp of *Canterbury*) ſilent as to his Coronation, only that upon their ſwearing Fealty to him, it is ſaid he likewiſe ſwore to them, *Quod ſecundùm Deum & ſeculum, fidelis eſſet eis Dominus*, i. e. that according to the Laws of God and Man, he would be a faithful Lord to them. So likewiſe after the Death of *Edmund Ironſide*, the Author of *Encomium Emmæ*, ſays expreſly, that he was Elected King by the whole *Engliſh* Nation; but that he was not admitted without a *new Compact*, both *Florence* and *Roger Hoveden* inform us in theſe words, *viz.* That when they had again accepted of him for their King, and had ſworn Fealty to him; he likewiſe again pledged his Faith to them in this Form, *Accepto pignore de manu ſua nuda, cum juramentis à Principibus Danorum*, i. e. they received a Pledg or Promiſe from his bare or naked Hand, together with the Oaths given by the chief Men of the *Danes*; who it ſeems ſwore on the King's behalf, that he would obſerve the Conditions he had made before with them.

BUT as for the Coronation of his Son *Harold Harefoot*, that is expreſly denied by the ſaid Author of *Encomium Emmæ*; for he ſays that *Elnoth* (or *Agelnoth*) Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* flatly refuſed to crown him, becauſe he ſaid he had taken an Oath not to anoint him King ſo long as the Children of Queen *Emma* were alive; and that laying down the Crown and Scepter upon the High Altar, he ſtraitly forbad all the Biſhops to crown *Harold*, which ſo incenſed him, that he thenceforth deſpiſed his Epiſcopal Benediction.

BUT whether this Author (who yet lived in that very Time) might not write this out of Hatred to *Harold*'s Memory, as well as out of Love to Queen *Emma* and her Children, I will not take upon me to determine, ſince no Hiſtorian beſides himſelf makes any mention of it; for the antient Hiſtory of *Ramſey* Abby, written ſome time after the Conqueſt, and now lately publiſh'd by Dr. *Gale*, ſays expreſly in the Title to Chapt. 94. That *Harold* was Conſecrated (*i.e.* Anointed) King.

BUT that the *Engliſh* Nation before the Conqueſt, believed that their Kings were obliged to govern them by Law, (*i.e.* according to the *original Compact*) and that their *Allegiance* to them was then looked upon as wholly due on that Account, our *Annals* ſeem to juſtify, *Anno Dom.* 1014, when the *Engliſh Wites*, or *Wiſe Men*, both of the Clergy and Laity, after the Death of *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, ſent over a Meſſage to King *Ethelred*, being then retired into *Normandy*, whereby they aſſured him, "That no Prince was dearer to them than their own natural "Lord; always provided, *Gif He hi rihtlitor healdan wolde thonne He* "*ær dyde*, (as it is in the *Saxon*) *i.e.* if he would govern them more "rightly (*i.e.* according to Law) for the future than he had done be"fore: whereupon he promiſed to be a faithful Lord to them, (*i.e.* a "Prince keeping his Oath and Promiſe) and redreſs all their Grievances, "if on their parts they would return to their Allegiance. And thus "by giving mutual Aſſurances, he came Home and contracted a new "Friendſhip or League with his People.

HAVING now got over theſe great Points of the manner of Succeſſion, and Deprivation of our *Saxon* Kings; I ſhall next as briefly as I can run through all thoſe Orders and Degrees of Men that did conſtitute this Common-Weal.

Ætheling.

THE firſt Degree of Men beneath that of Kings, was that of *Ætheling*, or Prince of the Blood Royal, being derived from the *Saxon* word *Æthel*, which ſignifies Noble, and *Ing*, which being added to it, ſignifies one derived from Royal Blood, as appears by the Terminations of Names in the *Saxon* Genealogies, ſet down in our *Annals* under *Anno* 449. and in ſeveral other Places, and was common not only to the King's Eldeſt Son, but to all others nearly related to the Blood Royal; and was a meer honorary Title, without any Power or Juriſdiction annexed to it that I know of, unleſs the King was at any time pleaſed to beſtow it. Nor can I here omit giving you the Names of two other principal Offices or Dignities of the Kingdom, the one of which was Military, the other Civil, the former in *Saxon* was called CYNINGS HOLD, in Latin *Princeps Militiæ*, i. e. General of all the King's Forces in times of War: and thus we find King *Alfred* in his Will bequeaths a Legacy to Earl *Ethelred* his Son-in-Law, whom he denotes by this Title, *Ethelredo Principi meæ Militiæ*.

General of the King's Forces.

THE other, *viz.* the Great Civil Officer, was that of *Chancellour*, ſo called from the barbarous Latin word *Cancellare*, from his cancelling or ſtriking out what he pleaſed in Men's Grants and Petitions. And as for his Power, we find it thus expreſſed in *Ingulf*, (upon K. *Edward* the *Elder*'s having made his Couſin *Turketule* Chancellor) *Quæcunq; negotia temporalia, vel ſpiritualia Regis Judicium expectabant, illius conſilio* (tam ſanctæ fidei, & tam profundi ingenii tenebatur) *omnia tractarentur, & tractata irrefragabilem ſententiam ſortirentur*: from whence we may obſerve, that the King did not only in that Age determine Civil, but Spiritual Cauſes too in his own Perſon, and had his Chancellor for his Aſſiſtant in his Judgments; which being ſo given, *irrefragabilem ſententiam ſortirentur*, i. e. they obtained an uncontroulable Sentence, beyond which there then lay no Appeal: and this I ſuppoſe was done in that great Court we now call the King's Bench; for as for the Court of Chancery in Cauſes relating to Equity, Sir *Edward Coke* tells us in his 4*th* Inſtitutes, that there are no Precedents of it before the Reign of King *Henry* VI.

Chancellor.

Hiſt. Ingulph. *Fol.* 36. *Edit.* Oxon.

Page 82.

BUT that it was the buſineſs of the Chancellor to draw up the King's Charters, and alſo to ſign them, before the Conqueſt, you will find at the end of the laſt Charter of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, in the firſt Volume of Sir *H. Spelman*'s Councils, where *Ælſgeat* a Notary ſigns it, *vice Reynbaldi Regis Edwardi Cancellarii.*

THE next Degree was that of *Ealdorman*, which was not only Titular as to the Perſon, but an Office, and ſignified, as you will find all along in our *Annals*, thoſe great Magiſtrates under the King, who being called in Latin *Subreguli, Principes & Conſules*, in ſome of our Antient Charters; and ſometimes in *Saxon*, *Cynings*, i. e. petty Kings, had the ſubordinate Government of Cities, Counties, and often too of whole Provinces, in all Affairs both Civil and Military, and were of much greater Power before King *Alfred*'s Reign than afterwards; for whereas before his Time they had the chief Authority in all Places belonging to their Juriſdiction, they ſeem after the word *Eorle* came in uſe with the *Danes*, to have loſt much of their Power, tho they ſtill retained the Title. And it is obſerved by Sir *Henry Spelman* in his Gloſſary, that he who was called the *Ealdorman* of the County, ſignified in the Laws of King *Athelſtane* ſomething between the Earl and the Sheriff, and therefore ſeems to have been him who under the Earl governed the County or Province, and was his Deputy or Judg in the County Court in his Abſence. For in thoſe Laws the Value of an Arch-biſhop and Earl's Head, is ſet at fifteen thouſand *Thrimſaes*; whereas the Biſhop's and Ealdorman's was but at eight thouſand.

Ealdorman.

Gloſſ. tit. Aldermannus, *Fol.* 25.

YET notwithſtanding this Title did not ceaſe to be eſteemed very honourable many Years after that Time; for we find in *Camden*'s *Britannia*, that the Tomb of *Ailwin*, founder of the Abby of *Ramſey*, was inſcribed with the Title of Ealdorman of all *England*; which, as Mr. *Selden* ſays, could only mean, that he was ſomewhat like the Antient Chief Juſticiary of *England*, or Chief Director of the Affairs of the whole Kingdom, or Viceroy, *Regiæ dignitatis conſors & nominis*, or half *Cyning*, as the * Book of *Ramſey* has it.

Huntingtonſhire.

Titles of Honour, Chap. 5 Fol. 505.

* *Vid.* Lib. de Ramſey *publiſh'd by* Dr. Gale.

NOT but that this word was alſo of a much more inferior Signification, ſeeing we find frequent mention in the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, as well as in thoſe Kings immediately after the Conqueſt, of *Aldermannus Hundredi, ſea Wapentachii*, as alſo of *Aldermannus*

Spelm. *Gloſſ. Tit.* Aldermannus.

mannus Civitatis, vel Burgi, whence the Title of our preſent Aldermen of Cities and great Towns are derived, (tho of a far different Signification, as well as a much later Inſtitution:) and this I ſuppoſe happened by reaſon of the Paucity of words in the *Saxon* Tongue, which called Grave Men, diſtinguiſhed by any Office or Dignity, by the Title of *Ealdormen*, becauſe they were at firſt beſtowed on Men of elder Years; tho afterwards, as the *Auctuary* to King *Edward*'s Laws informs us, they were not ſo ſtiled *propter ſenectutem, cum quidam Adoleſcentes eſſent; ſed propter ſapientiam.* Therefore I cannot forbear taking notice, that whereas *Bede* ſpeaking of K. *Oſwald*'s ſending (*ad Majores natu Scotorum*) to the Elders of the *Scots* for Biſhops, King *Alfred* in his Tranſlation of *Bede*, calls them, the *Ealdormen* of the *Scots*, that is, the Great or Chief Men of that Nation. I muſt here beg the Reader's Pardon, for a Miſtake I have committed in the rendring of that Paſſage into *Engliſh* in the enſuing Hiſtory; for not having the *Saxon* Verſion by me, but only a *Latin* Copy, when I wrote it, nor having then conſulted Mr. *Selden*, to whom I confeſs my ſelf much beholden for this Criticiſm; I have there tranſlated the words *Majores Natu*, *Scotiſh* Biſhops, becauſe I thought it moſt proper for them to be ſent to about an Affair concerning Religion.

Cap. 35. tit. Geref.

Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 3. Cap 3. & Vid. Lib. 1. Cap. 13.

I have no more to ſay on this Head, only that I have left this word *Ealdorman*, ſo often uſed in our *Annals*, untranſlated: for tho I grant he is frequently ſtiled *Dux*, or *Comes*, in Latin, yet it would not bear being rendred Duke or Earl in *Engliſh*, becauſe that thoſe Titles are not only very different, but were unknown in our *Saxon* Tongue, till many Years after that Government was ſetled in *England*.

Eorle.

I come now to the Title *Earl*, or *Eorle*, which being altogether *Daniſh*, was not commonly uſed here till the Reign of King *Cnute*, tho we now and then find it mentioned in our *Annals* before his Time; but as for its Power and Authority, it being much what the ſame with that of *Ealdorman* abovementioned, I think I need ſay no more of it, only that neither of them were then Hereditary, nor deſcended to Sons or Brothers, tho they often continued in the ſame Family, when the King was pleaſed ſo to confer it: And both the Title and the Office were liable to be forfeited upon any great Male-Adminiſtration, as you will find in divers Inſtances in this Book.

Heretoch.

Tit. Holde.

THE next Title and Office I ſhall mention, is, that of *Heretoch*, which was wholly Military; and, as Sir *Henry Spelman* in his *Gloſſary* ſuppoſes, was the ſame with that of the *Holde*, or Commander in War, mentioned in the Laws of King *Athelſtan*; becauſe his *Wiregild* is made equal to that of a *High-Geriſe*, *viz.* four thouſand *Thrymſa's*.

THIS *Heretoch* ſeems to have been ſomewhat like our Lord-Lieutenant of a County at this Day; and was choſen for ſome extraordinary Occaſion, as upon a ſudden Invaſion or Expedition againſt the *Scots* or *Welſhmen*: Which being over, their Commiſſion alſo ceaſed, but they themſelves were ſtill had in high Eſteem and Honour, if they had prudently and couragiouſly diſcharged that great Truſt. And as the ſame Author obſerves, in ſome Antient Charters, (I ſuppoſe whilſt the *Ealdorman* exerciſed the whole Power of the County, as well Civil as Military) the ſame Title of *Ealdorman* ſignified the latter Dignity; of which he gives us this Inſtance, from a Charter out of the Antient Book of the Church of *Worceſter*, where Earl *Ælfhere* is ſtiled *Mercna Heretogan*.

Tit. de Heretochiis.

BUT in the Time of *Edward the Confeſſor* (and I ſuppoſe alſo before) they were certainly diſtinguiſhed, as appears by the Thirty fifth Auctuary of that King's Laws; where after the Offices of the *Ealdormen*, and *Greve*, the Duty of *Heretochs* is thus deſcribed, which I will give you here in Engliſh. "And there were other Powers and Dignities conſtituted through all the Provinces and Counties of the whole "Kingdom, which were by the Engliſh called *Heretochs*, to wit, Noble, Wiſe, Faithful, and Stout Barons. Theſe ſate our Armies in "Battel Array, and raiſed others as they thought fit for the Honour of "the Crown, and Service of the Kingdom. They were elected by "the Common-Council for the publick Benefit of the Realm in all "Provinces and Counties at a full *Folk-mote*, as the *Sheriffs* of the ſame "alſo were, and ought to be: And in every County there was always "one *Heretoch* thus elected, to conduct the *Militia* of his County, according to the King's Orders, for the Honour and Profit of the Crown "of the ſaid Kingdom, whenever there was Occaſion.

FROM whence we may obſerve, That before, as well as ſometime after the Conqueſt, when this Auctuary was made, the King had not the Nomination either of the *Heretoch* or *Sheriff*, which were then the two Great Officers of the County, the one Military, the other Civil.

Sheriff.

Lib. 3. An. 787.

HAVING thus diſpatched the Military, I proceed to the Civil Magiſtrate, *viz.* the *Sheriff*; in Saxon, *Scire-Gereſa*, (or more contractedly *Greve* in the Laws of King *Edward*) who is called by *Ethelwerd*, *Exactor Regius*, (*i. e.* the King's Receiver). This Officer, as *Aſſer* ſhews us in his Life of *Alfred*, before that King made his new Reformation of the Kingdom, was appointed by the *Ealdorman*, and therefore called *Vice-Dominus*, and was much what the ſame with our *Vice-Comes*, or *Sheriff*, at this Day: But whether he had the Title of Sheriff before, as well as after that Alteration by King *Alfred*, I will not determine.

BUT it appears by both theſe Latin Titles, that he was the Officer, who inſtead of the *Ealdorman*, or Earl, ſat as Judge in thoſe we now call the County-Court, and Sheriff's Tourn. But theſe being ſo well known at this Day, I ſhall not further enlarge, only that this Officer was alſo to anſwer to the King's *Exchequer* for all Fines, Amerciaments, and other Duties ariſing out of the County; the third Penny of which the Earl had granted him by the King, *pro ſuſtentatione Dignitatis.*

Thane.

AND now I come at laſt to that great extenſive Dignity of a *Thane*, called in Saxon *Thegne*, being derived from the old word *Theowian*, to ſerve; becauſe they that had this Honour conferred on them, were at firſt the King's Officers or Servants, and in our Antient Latin Charters, ſubſcribed by the Name of *Miniſtri Regis*, and are called in the Verſion of our *Saxon Annals*, as alſo in *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *Miniſtri Regii*; not that they were really always the King's Domeſtick Servants, tho they were ſo originally; on whom he likewiſe beſtowed ſeveral Lands in lieu of thoſe Services, (Wages in Money being not then in uſe) which Lands deſcended to their Heirs, if the King pleaſed.

THIS Title of *Thane* was of two ſorts, the one Spiritual, the other Temporal; the former were called in *Saxon*, *Miſſe-Thegnes*, *i. e.* *Maſs-Thanes*, Prieſts, or Parſons of Churches, and other dignified

Clergy-Men; of whom I ſhall now ſay nothing, but that they were then of ſo great Note, that in our *Saxon* Laws they are ranged before the *Werold-Thegnes*, i. e. Temporal *Thanes*, and their *Weregilds* rated at the ſame Value with them, *viz.* two thouſand *Thrymſa's*.

Tit. of Honours, Fol. 507, 508.

* *Vid.* Notas ad Eadmerum *pag.* 170.

“ AND tho the word denoted a Servant or Miniſter in general, (and ſo divers had the Title as it were meerly Officiary and Perſonal) yet as Mr. *Selden* informs us, thoſe that were the King's immediate Tenants of fair Poſſeſſions, which they held by perſonal Service, as of his Perſon, (or as we ſay by *Grand-Serjeanty*, or Knight's Service in chief) were, I conceive, the *Thanes* that had the Honorary Dignity, and were part of the greater Nobility of that Time; howſoever thoſe Officiary Dignities of *Holde* and *Highgereue*, had then precedence of them: that is, they were all the King's Feudal *Thanes*, and the Land held ſo was called *Tainland* or * *Thaneland*, as afterwards the Lands held that made a Baron were called a *Barony*, as alſo they are called to this day. This Title continued all the *Saxon* times until the coming in of the *Normans*, and it was in ſome uſe alſo after that Time, and then was ſucceeded by that of *Barons*. This Title being of *Norman* Extraction, we rarely meet with it before the Conqueſt.

Cap. 52.

THERE were alſo beſides theſe Chief *Thanes*, others who were called middle or under *Thanes*, being the ſame with the leſs ſort of *Barons*, or Lords of Mannors, who holding of other great Lords, and not of the King, were thoſe that after the Conqueſt were called *Vavaſors*; inferior to whom there were likewiſe a third Sort, who ſeemed to have been made up of the leaſt or meaneſt Degree of Gentry or Freeholders, which were then all one; none but the Gentry or leſs Nobility then enjoying Lands by Freehold Tenure. And in this ſenſe is to be underſtood that Law of King *Cnute*, whereby it is appointed, “ That if the Maſter of a Family (who by that Law was to have all his Houſhold under his Pledg) were accuſed of ſuffering any of them by his Privity to eſcape, being guilty of any Crime, he was then to wage Law with five other *Thanes*, (*i. e.* in Latin *Nobilibus*) himſelf making the ſixth. Now it was impoſſible that there ſhould be ſo many Chief *Thanes*, who held immediately of the King in any one Hundred or Tything, out of which thoſe *Thanes*, or Gentlemen that were to make this Purgation, were to be taken.

BUT of all theſe *Thanes*, or leſs Nobility, I ſhall ſpeak more at large by and by, when I come to conſider the Members that compoſed the *Mycel-Gemot*, or Common-Council of the Kingdom, of which theſe made up the great and principal Part.

Sithcund-Man.

AND next to them I find another Title, tho not commonly uſed, yet as antient as the Laws of King *Ina*, as alſo mentioned in ſeveral other King's Laws, *viz.* a *Sithcund Man*, who if he refuſed his Service in the Army, or a Military Expedition, he forfeited his Land.

THIS Name Mr. *Somner* in his *Gloſſary* derives from *Sith*, or *Giſeth*, *Comes*, *vel Socius*, a Ruler or Governour, and *Cund*, *Kind*, as it ſignifies the Condition and Quality of any one; and *Mon*, *Man*, that is, a ſort of *Comes*, *Governour*, *Judg*, or *Præfect*: he was eſteemed equal to a *Thane*, by the valuation of his Life in *Æthelſtan*'s Laws.

THIS *Comes* is not to be taken in that Senſe, as if he was a Count or Lord, (as now underſtood) being only a *Comes*, or Companion in reſpect of thoſe of his own Rank or Degree, and interpreted by Mr.

Lambard by *Cuſtos-paganus*, and ſo ſeems to have been the chief Man or Captain in a Town or Village, and was to head all thoſe he brought with him from thence into the Field; and therefore the Penalty was the more ſevere on him if he ran away, leſt he ſhould infect others by his bad Example.

Lamb. *Explic. Verb.* pag. 5.

SINCE I have been ſo large in this *Introduction*, I have choſen but ſlightly to mention theſe Dignities and Offices; for they having been ſo learnedly and fully handled by Mr. *Selden* in his *Titles of Honour*, as alſo by Dr. *Brady* in his firſt Part of the *Saxon Hiſtory*, and by Dr. *Howel* in his Diſcourſe of the Polity of the *Engliſh Saxons*, I ſhall refer the Reader to them for his farther Satisfaction, and will only ſpeak of two Degrees of Men more, of whom it ſeems (being below their Notice) they give us but a ſhort Account.

Cap. 5.

Part 4. Ch. 2.

THE firſt is that of *Ceorle*, or Countrey-man, (from whence our word *Carle* or *Churle* is derived); indeed he could not be poſſeſſed of what was called *Bockland*, or Free-land conveyable by Deed; but however he was as free as to his Perſon and Property as the greateſt *Thane* of them all. And therefore we find in the Laws of King *Alfred*, divers pecuniary Penalties enacted againſt thoſe who ſhould commit Adultery with a Country-man's Wife, or ſhould endeavour to vitiate the Chaſtity of his Servant or Slave; or ſhould break the Peace by fighting, either in his Houſe or Yard. And as for his Perſon, by the laſt of thoſe Laws it is appointed, what Satisfaction in Money ſhall be paid by any who wound or maim him, even to the Nail of his little Finger. And this Law as equally extended to him, as to thoſe of the greateſt Quality. And becauſe the Nobility or Gentry were too apt to abuſe theſe poor Countrymen who were their Tenants and Vaſſals, the thirty firſt Law of King *Alfred* ordains, what Satisfaction a Man was to make for any ways injuring and miſuſing a *Ceorle*'s Man, by binding him, beating him, or cutting off his Hair; Frolicks, I ſuppoſe, too often then in faſhion among ſome ill-natured domineering Gentlemen; which made this merciful and good King provide ſuch a neceſſary Law for their future Security.

Ceorle.

AND further to prove their Freedom, it is likewiſe enacted in the Laws of King *Ina*, that if a *Ceorleſman* ſhould refuſe going out to War, he was to forfeit thirty Shillings; which ſhews, that he was ſuch a Man as was to have Weapons of his own for the Defence of himſelf and Service of his Country: Which is alſo required by the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, in Title *Greve*. And therefore Dr. *Brady* is very much out, in limiting the Title of *Freemen*, mentioned in King *Edward*'s * Laws, only to ſuch as were *Tenants* by *Military Service*; for that Law ſays no ſuch thing, but only that all the Freemen in the whole Kingdom, according to their ſeveral reſpective Eſtates, Goods, and Poſſeſſions, and to their Fees and Tenements, ought to have Arms, and keep them ready for the Defence of the Kingdom, *&c.* Where you may obſerve, that all Eſtates, Goods and Poſſeſſions, of what kind ſoever, do hereby capacitate Men to keep Arms, and conſequently give them the Title of *Freemen*; and therefore are not limited to *Tenants* by *Knights Service* alone. As alſo appears from the Aſſize of Arms appointed by King *Henry* the Second.

Compleat Hiſtory, pag. 65.

*LL. Edwardi Cap. 35.

Vid. Hoveden.

Socmen. Cap. 12.

THE higheſt Degree of theſe *Ceorles*, were thoſe called *Liberi Socmanni*, i. e. *Free Socmen*, ſo called from *Soc*, which in the *Saxon* Tongue ſignifies a *Plow*. Of theſe we find no mention till the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, where the *Manbote (i. e.* Satisfaction for a Servant ſlain) is by *Danelage (i. e.* the Daniſh Law) due from a Villane or Villager, and a Socman twelve *Ores*; from a Freeman three Marks: Not that this *Socman* here, put as diſtinct from Freeman, was really a Slave, but only as Freemen were then taken properly for *Gentlemen* or *Freeholders*; for that theſe *Sockmen* were free as to their Perſons, tho not Lands, appears by the old *Natura Brevium,* where it defines a *Socman* to be ſuch a Tenant, who holds of the King, or any other Lord, Lands and Tenements by *Villain or baſe Services*; and was privileged in this manner, that none could eject him from thoſe Lands and Tenements, ſo long as he could do the Services belonging to the ſame.

Cap. de Brev. de Recto.

THIS I have taken notice of, becauſe Dr. *Brady*, in his Preface before his *Norman* Hiſtory, as alſo in divers other Places of his Works, has laboured all he can to make the Condition of the common People of this Kingdom (before the Conqueſt, as well as after) to have been little better than that of Slavery, and ſeems to repine very often that it is not ſo ſtill, as I could eaſily ſhew if I would go about it.

BUT certainly thoſe could not be Slaves who had Slaves under them, and were entruſted with the higheſt Badg of Freedom, not being forced or preſſed thereunto, *viz.* a voluntary Service in War, which the greateſt were alike ſubject to with theſe for the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom, and which was part of the old Oath of Fidelity that was taken, as well before as after his pretended Conqueſt.

Vid. LL. Edwardi Confeſſ. Cap. 35.

BUT before I diſmiſs this Subject, I cannot omit taking notice, that the Laws or Rules of Gentility were not ſo ſtrictly obſerved under the *Engliſh Saxon*, as afterwards they were under the *Norman* Kings; for Mr. *Selden* hath given us a Law of King *Athelſtane*, which he took from an Antient Manuſcript in the Library at St. *James*'s, in theſe words, *Si Villanus excreviſſet, ut haberet plenariè* V. *Hidas terræ ſuæ propriæ, Eccleſiam & Coquinam, Timpanarium, & Januam & Sedem & Sundernotam in Aula Regis, deinceps Taini Lege dignus ſit.* Which is alſo confirmed by Mr. *Lambard*, in his *Itinerary* of *Kent*, concerning the ſame Law, and is there ſet down in *Saxon*, which I ſhall here tranſlate thus; That " if a *Ceorl* or a Country-man ſo thrived, that he had fully five " Hides of his own Land, a Church, a Kitchin, a Bell-houſe, a Borough-gate with a Seat, and any diſtinct Office in the King's Court, " then was he thenceforth of equal Honour or Dignity with a *Thane*. Where by the Church, the Kitchin, the Bell-houſe, the Borough-gate, with a Seat, *&c.* Mr. *Selden* underſtands, " The State or Faſhion of a " Lord of that Time, in having a Church for his Family and Tenants, " in keeping a Court for them, (which may well be meant in the *Burlgate ſetl*, or *Town-gate with a Seat)* and in keeping a Houſe or Entertainment competent to that Dignity, which may be underſtood in " the *Cycenan* and *Belhuis*, i. e. *Kitchin* and *Bell-houſe*. The Bell-houſe " may denote the Hall, which was the place of ordinary Diet and Entertainment in the Houſes of Lords. It may well ſo ſignify, if the " *Saxons* uſed the like Reaſon in impoſing the Name on the Lord's " Hall, as ſome ſay the *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *French* have done, in calling it *Tinello*, *Tinello*, and *Tinel*; which in our Laws alſo is re-

Tit. Honour, Ch.5.Fo.515.

Apud Lambard in Itinerar. Cantii, pag.552,553.

“ tained in *Tinel le Roy*, for the King’s Hall. They would have it “ therefore ſo named, becauſe the *Tin*, or tinkling of a Bell at the “ Times of Dinner and Supper were ſignified by it.

BUT *Sundernota*, mentioned in the Latin Copy of this Law, ſeems to denote the diſtinct Office which he was to hold in the King’s Court to make him equal to a *Thane*. And it is alſo obſervable, that by the ſame Laws of King *Äthelſtane* abovementioned, ſuch a *Ceorlſman* ſo advanced, and having five Hides of Land, *(ad Utwarum Regis)* that is, as Mr. *Selden* in the ſame place interprets, held by Knights Service, *Si occidatur, reddentur 2 Millia Thrymſarum*; ſo that his *Wiregyld* ſhews him to have been every way equal to a *Thane*.

BUT the moſt conſiderable Obſervation that may be made from this Law, is, that V. Hides of Land were at that time reckoned a ſufficient Eſtate to conſtitute a *Thane*. But as to the Quantity of Land that then went to make a Hide, it was ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs, according to the Goodneſs or Quality of the Soil; but was certainly no more than what one Plow could well manure, together with Paſture, Meadow, and Wood, competent for the Maintenance of that Plow, and the Servants of the Family. So that the Eſtate of ſuch a *Thane* could not be much more than what an ordinary Gentleman has at this day.

NOR can I here pretermit what follows in the ſame Law above recited, where after having ſhewn us by what means an Under *Theyn* might come to be a Chief *Thane*, and from thence attain to the Dignity of an *Earl*, it thus proceeds. “ And if a Merchant ſo thrived, that “ he had paſſed thrice over the wide (or broad) Sea, by his own Cun- “ ning, (or Craft as it is in the *Saxon*) he was thenceforth a *Thane*’s “ Right-worthy, *i. e.* was every way equal to him. Where you may obſerve that Wealth and Induſtry conferred Nobility in the *Saxon* Times as well as at this Day.

Slaves.

Vid. Ælfric. Gloſſ. Saxonic

I come now to the loweſt Rank of Men, *viz.* that of *Slaves*, who were called in Latin *Servi*, and in Saxon *Freortorlings*; and there were two ſorts of them, *viz.* ſuch as were *Perſonal*, poſſeſſing no Eſtates, but all that they earn’d was their Lords, by whom therefore they were maintained. The others were *Prædial*, ſuch as were of Servile Condition and Original, but poſſeſſed their ſmall Holdings and Goods at the Will of their Lord, doing all thoſe Servile Countrey Works that were ſet them; and from thence in the more modern *Norman* Dialect were called *Villains*, from thoſe Villages where they lived and wrought: But before as well as after the Conqueſt, that the Latin word *Villanus* did not ſignify a Villain or Servant, I could prove from many Inſtances, both out of Records and Hiſtories, if I thought it would not be too tedious in this Place.

AS for the Original of theſe Slaves among the *Saxons*, there is ſome doubt about them; ſome ſuppoſing them to have been derived from the remainder of thoſe meaner ſort of *Britains*, who were either taken Priſoners, or elſe never forſook the Land, and ſo their Lives being ſaved, they were made ſervile by their Conquerors; or elſe ſuch as were deſcended from thoſe who came over in the nature of Slaves to the *Engliſh Saxons* that firſt landed here: but it is not much material how they began, ſince they might proceed from both, or either of theſe Originals; nor had their Lords Power of Life or Death over them, for if they killed any of them, they were to pay the Value of their Heads to the King.

THESE Slaves, if they were ſet free at any time by their Maſters, were what the *Romans* called *Liberti*, and in Saxon *Freolætan*; but being then reſolved into the Body of *Ceorles*, or Countrey-men, they did not, as among the *Romans*, conſtitute any new Order of Men.

Burh witan, i.e. *Citizens and Townſmen.*

Vid. Ælfric. Gloſſ. Saxonic

I HAVING now gone through all the Sorts and Degrees of Men, who either lived in, or were maintained out of the Countrey; I ſhall in the next Place ſay ſomewhat of another diſtinct Body of Men, called in Saxon *Burh-witan*, or *Burh-wara*, that is, Citizens or Townſmen, who had Privileges peculiar to themſelves, and living in Cities or great Towns, were governed by their own particular Magiſtrates called *Ealdormen*, or *Portgereſan*, i. e. *Port-Reeves*, aſſiſted by the Chief Men of the Place, called in Saxon, *Yldiſt-Burh-wara*, who were much the ſame with what we now call *Aldermen* or *Common-Council* Men; for as for the Title of *Mayor*, it came not in uſe here till long after the Conqueſt.

BUT as for theſe Magiſtrates and Members of Cities and Towns, I ſhall ſpeak more by and by, when I come to treat of the conſtituent Parts of the Great Council of the Kingdom.

Different Courts.

FROM the different Orders of Men, we ſhall now deſcend to ſpeak of the different Courts where theſe Perſons abovementioned, (all except the Villains) were bound to appear, and there either to do or receive Juſtice; for which it will be neceſſary to look back to the Reign of King *Alfred*, who after the firſt Invaſion of the *Danes*, when he began to reſettle the Kingdom, found his Subjects ſo far corrupted by a long and hazardous War, that all Places being full of Robberies and Murders, there was an abſolute neceſſity for the making of more ſevere Laws to reſtrain them; ſo that (omitting the Diviſion of Counties or Shires, which I ſhall ſpeak to hereafter) he Canton'd his Kingdom, 1*ſt.* into *Tribings* or *Lathes*, as they are ſtill called in *Kent* and other Places, conſiſting of three or four Hundreds; in which the Freeholders being Judges, ſuch Cauſes were brought as could not be determined in the Hundred Court: concerning the Proceedings in which Court of the *Tribing* or *Lathes*, you may ſee divers Precedents in Sir *William Dugdale*'s * *Origines Juridiciales.*

1. *The Court of* Trihings *or* Lathes.

Lambard. de priſcis Anglor. Legibus. Fol. 135.

* Chap. 12. Fol. 26.

2. *The Hundred Court.*

NEXT to which there was alſo the *Hundred-Court*, in Saxon *Hundred-Gemot*, and in Latin *Centuriata*, " Becauſe it originally conſiſted
" of an hundred Hides of Land, *as an* Hide *uſually of an hundred*
" *Acres*, or elſe becauſe *ſuper decem Decanos, & centum Friburgos judi-*
" *cabat*, that is, it had Juriſdiction over ten Decennaries, or an hundred
" Friboroughs.

THIS Court before the Conqueſt was held twelve times a Year, and afterwards was increaſed by *Henry* I. to once a Fortnight, and then by *Henry* the *Third* reduced to once in three Weeks.

Dugdale's Origin. Juridic. Cap. 11.

‖ Ex Regiſt. de *Ely*, in Bibl. *Cotton.* ſub Effigie Titi. A. 1. F. 6. b.

" IN this Court antiently, *Unus de melioribus qui vocatur Alderman-*
" *nus*, one of the principal Inhabitants, called the *Alderman*, together
" with the Barons of the Hundred (*id eſt*, the Freeholders) was Judg,
" as may ſeem by the ‖ Regiſter of *Ely*, which ſaith, that *Ægelwynnus*
" *Aldermannus venit ad* Ely, *& infrà Cimeterium ad Aquilonalem portam*

“ *Monaſterii, tenuit placitum cum toto Hundredo:* And the Witneſs of Contracts and Purchaſes, then were *Teſtimonio Hundredi.* Here, not only Temporal Cauſes, but Eccleſiaſtical were handled; the *Alderman,* or principal Judg, being ſuch a one as *Dei Leges & hominum jura ſtudebat promovere, who ſtudied to promote the Laws of God and Man,* the Biſhop or Arch-Deacon ſitting therein, with the ſaid *Alderman:* Which Juriſdiction ſo continued until the beginning of *William* the Conqueror's Reign, that he by a ſpecial Precept did inhibit, * *Quod nec Epiſcopus, nec Archidiaconus de Legibus Epiſcopalibus amplius in Hundredo placitum teneat.*

Ibid. Fol. 5. b. & Fol. 7. a. & Fol. 13. b.

* Cart 2. R. 2. m. 12. n. 5. per inſpex.

The Decennary, or Tything Court.

BUT the loweſt of theſe Inferior Courts, was that of the *Decennary,* or *Tything,* which yet was the greateſt Bridle upon the Inferiour ſort of People; “For by virtue of this Law of King *Alfred,* every *Engliſh* Freeman, as *Ingulph* tells us, ought to be in ſome Hundred or Tything, (I mean, whoſoever was of full twelve Years of Age); and if any one ſhould be ſuſpected of Larceny or Theft, he might in his own Hundred or Ward, being either condemned, or giving Security, (in ſome Manuſcripts it is being acquitted) either incur or avoid the deſerved Penalty. *William* of *Malmesbury* adds to this, “That he that could not find Security, was afraid of the Severity of the Laws; and if any guilty Perſon, either before his giving Security or after, ſhould make his Eſcape, all of that Hundred and Tything ſhould incur the King's Fine.

Vid. Leg. Canut. cap. 19.

HERE we have the Original of *Decennaries,* or *Fribourgs,* in which every Man was to be bound for others as well as himſelf, *viz.* Maſters for their Servants, Husbands for their Wives, and Children, before they had attained the Age of Fourteen; as alſo the Houſholder for his Gueſts. All which ten Perſons being thus bound one for another, were united under one Head, called a *Tythingman,* and in ſome places a *Borſholder*; for *BORGH* ſignifies a *Surety* or *Pledg,* and *FRI* is all one as *Free.* From whence comes our word *NEIGHBOURS,* that is, thoſe that are *Near-Pledges.*

Vid. Leges Edwardi. cap. 27.

BUT that this Law concerning the *Decennaries* or Tythings, was not only made for the meer Vulgar or ordinary ſort of People, but that the Chiefeſt of the Nobility, and even the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops themſelves were alike ſubject to it, will appear by that Law of *Edward* the *Confeſſor,* confirmed by King *William* I. whereby all Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Earls and Barons, and all thoſe that had Courts of *Sac. Soc.* and *Theam, &c.* ſwore to keep their Knights, and all other Servants there mentioned in their *Frithborg,* (*i. e. Franc-pledg*) for whom theſe Lords or Maſters themſelves were to be Sureties: ſo that if any of them offended, their Lords were obliged to do right in their Courts. And by the Laws of *Cnute,* every Thane or Gentleman of Eſtate, was to have his Family under his own Pledg; and if any of them were accuſed, he was to anſwer for him in the Hundred Court, *i. e.* was to compel him to appear. And the Lord was alſo to be anſwerable for him, if he eſcaped; ſo that all the Privilege that Noblemen and Gentlemen had above the common Men, was, that they were not bound one for another, ſo as to be part of any Decennary or Tithing; but each of them was Head of his own *Friburgh,* and his Family was as it were a diſtinct *Tithing* of it ſelf.

Vid. Lambard Ll. Edward. Cap. 16.

Cap. 50

I obſerve this, to let the Reader underſtand, that how ſevere ſoever this Law was, it was no Badg of Slavery or Subjection upon the common People, for even the beſt Men in the Kingdom were alike ſubject to it: Neither was it brought in, or increaſed, in Rigour by the *Norman* Conqueſt, as ſome, with greater Prejudice than Truth, have maintained; ſince the *Normans* as well as the *Engliſh*, were all under one and the ſame Law as to this Point.

THE Laws of this Court of the *Tithing*, were theſe;

FIRST, That if any one offended, and failed to appear, the other Sureties were bound to have him forth-coming to Juſtice.

SECONDLY, But if the guilty Party fled, he ſhould not be any where received without a Teſtimonial from the *Tithing* from whence he came: So that a Man being out of any *Tithing*, if he were received in any Town, the whole Town was in the King's Mercy. But by the Laws of King *Edward*, the *Decennary* was allowed one and thirty Days to bring the Offender to Juſtice, that ſo he might make Satisfaction, either by his Goods or Body.

Cap. 20.

THE third was, that if he could not be found, then the *Tithingman* or *Borſholder*, taking with him two of the beſt of his own *FRIBURGH*, and of the three neighbouring *FRIBURGHS* nine, (to wit, of each the chief *Tithingman*, and two others of the beſt Note) and there before the King's Juſtice (if he could) he was to purge himſelf by Oath of the Offence and Flight of the Criminal: But if he could not, he with his own *FRIBURGH* was to reſtore the Loſs out of the Goods of the Party, if they were ſufficient, or otherwiſe out of his own, and thoſe of his *FRIBURGH*.

LASTLY, If the Neighbouring *FRIBOURGS* would not be their Compurgators, then they were to ſwear for themſelves, that they were therein no ways Guilty; and that ſo ſoon as ever they could find him, they would bring the Offender to Juſtice, or elſe diſcover where he was.

THERE were many other particulars concerning this Matter which I paſs over, that I may not be thought too prolix; but theſe are the moſt material.

The Riſe of Court-Barons.

Vid. Leges Edw. Conf. apud Lamb. F. 132. a.

BUT beſides this Caution concerning *Pledges*, they were alſo the firſt Foundation of *Court-Barons*, who were under the *Thane*, or *Baron*, (i.e.) the Lord of the Mannor, (as their Head) and he was to undertake for every one of his Tenants, and to ſatisfy for the Offences of each Man.

BY theſe *Friburghs* or *Pledges*, together with their *Borſholders*, were all Civil Actions, as of Debt, Treſpaſs, Detinue, or the like, (which aroſe betwixt any of their Townſhip) determined; but when there was a Cauſe that concerned Men reſiding in ſeveral Seigniories, then it was tranſmitted to the next ſuperior Juriſdiction, *viz.* the *Hundred-Court*, (in ſome Places called the *Wapentake*.)

The Sciremote, or Sheriff's Tourn.

Vid. Dugd. Juridical Orig c. 13. fol. 28.

THERE ſtill remain behind two very conſiderable Courts, both held by the Sheriff; "The former of which was antiently called *Sciremote*, " (i.e. the meeting of the Inhabitants of the Shire) and was held " twice in the Year, long before the *Norman* Conqueſt, as appeareth " from ſundry Teſtimonies*; but ſince that, the *Shireeve*'s *Turn*, from " the *French* word *Tour*, in Latin *Vice*, and in Engliſh *Turn*. Herein " ſate together the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and the *Earl* or *Eoldermann*, " in

* Leges Edgari (penes Lamb.) cap. 5. fol. 80.

“ in Shires that had Eoldermen; and the Biſhop and Shireeves in ſuch “ Counties as were committed to Shireeves, for many Ages in the *Saxons* Times, as from theſe Laws from King *Edgar* to *Canutus*, cited “ in the Margin, doth appear, to the end they might determine as well “ of what concerned Eccleſiaſtical as Civil Matters: the words of this “ laſt King's Law run thus; *Ex † omni Comitatu, bis quotannis conventus agitor, cui quidem illius Diœceſis Epiſcopus & Senator interſunto: quorum Alter Jura Divina, humana alter populum edoceto.*

Leges Canuti (ibid) c. 17. Fol. 108. a. Selden's *Tit. of Honour*, part 2. cap. 5. *and* Sect. 5. Fol. 628, 130.

† Vid. Jani Angl. *&c.*

“ *IN every County let there be twice a Year an Aſſembly of the People,* “ *whereat the Biſhop of the Dioceſs and the Earl ſhall be preſent, the one to* “ *direct in Divine, the other in humane Matters.*

“ WHICH ſo continued (the Biſhop and Earl ſitting therein together) until King *William* the *Conqueror* in a full Convention of his “ Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Temporal Lords, commanded, “ that † Eccleſiaſtical Matters ſhould thenceforth be handled by the “ Biſhops in Courts of their own, and not any more be diſcuſt amongſt “ Secular Affairs.

† Cart. 2. R. 2. per Inſpex. m. 12.

IN this Court (as well as in that of the County) according to the Laws of King *Henry* I. theſe Perſons following were to be preſent, as may appear by this Clauſe, *Interſint autem Epiſcopi, Comites, Vicedomini, Vicarii, Centenarii, Aldermanni, Præfecti, Præpoſiti, Barones, Vavaſſores, Tungrevii, & cæteri terrarum Domini diligenter intendentes, ne malorum Impunitas, aut Gravionum pravitas, vel Judicum ſubverſio ſolita miſeros laceratione confiniant.*

LL. Henry I. cap. 7.

AGANTUR itaq; primò debita veræ Chriſtianitatis Jura; ſecundò, Regis placita; poſtremò Cauſæ ſingulorum dignis, ſatisfactionis expleantur. Scil. Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes and Pleas of the Crown in the Turn; but Private Cauſes in the County Court, *Vid.* Coke's *4th. Inſtit.* 259, 260. where you will find that,

THE *Tourn* is a Court of Record holden before the Sheriff, the Antient Inſtitution thereof was before *Magna Charta* to hear and determine all Felonies (Death of Man excepted) and Common Nuſances: See the Stat. *Mag. Chart. c.* 17. and the Expoſition of the ſame in the *2d. Inſtit.*

Page 260.

THE Stile of this Court is, *Curia Viſus Franc. Domini Regis apud B. coram Vicecomite in Turno ſuo,* &c. *ibid.*

THE reaſon of which is, becauſe in this Court the *Pledges* or Sureties of every *Decennary* or *Tithing* were entred before the Court-*Leets* were taken out of it, and granted to particular Lords of Mannors, which Sir *H. Spelman* in his Gloſſary ſuppoſes to have been done in the Reign of King *Alfred*; but ſince I find nothing concerning theſe Court-*Leets* till after the Conqueſt, I ſhall defer the farther treating of them to that Time.

Verb. *Læta.*

I have no more to ſay of this Court, but that it was alſo called the *Folcmote*, and in which, by *Edward* the *Confeſſor's* Laws, all Freemen were to take the *Oath* of *Allegiance* or Fidelity to the King, as appears by the Law it ſelf; *Omnes Proceres Regni, milites & Liberi Homines totius Regni BRITANNIÆ facere debent Fidelitatem Domino Regi in Pleno FOLCMOTO coràm Epiſcopis Regni,* &c.

Vid. LL. *Edwardi*, c. 35.

YOU will likewiſe find in the ſame Law (juſt preceding this) an extraordinary Aſſembly of this *Folcmote* upon any ſudden Danger, which met on ringing of the Bells, called in Engliſh *Motbel*; and there they were to conſult how to prevent the Danger.

The County Court.

Vid. Dugdale ut Supra. ibid.

* Leges Edwardi Senioris apud Lamb. c. xi. Fol. 51. a. Videſis etiam Leges Canuti cap. 17. apud Lamb. Fol. 108. a.

" THE ſecond of theſe Courts was called the *County-Court*, and was alſo very Antient, and to be held once every Month by the Shireeve, as from K. *Edward* the Elder's * Laws appeareth—*Præpoſitus quiſq; ad quartam circitèr quamq; ſeptimanam, frequentem populi concionem celebrato: cuiq; jus dicito æquabile, Liteſq; ſingulas (cum dies condicti advenerint) dirimito.*

" *EVERY Shireeve ſhall convene the People once a Month, and do equal Right to all, putting an end to Controverſies at Times appointed.*

Cap. 39. apud Brompt. Col. 924. & apud Lamb. Fol. 108. a. n. 18. Vid. Spelm. Gloſſ. vocab. Comitatus Curia.

" TO this Court were antienly Appeals made from the *Hundred-Court*, as appears by the Laws of *Canutus* ———— *Et nemo namium capiat in Comitatu vel extra Comitatum, priuſquam ter in Hundredo ſuo rectum ſibi perquiſierit: ſi tertia vice rectum non habeat, eat quarta vice ad Conventum totius Comitatus quod Anglicè dicitur* Scyremot, &c. *No Man by a Diſtreſs ſhall compel another to the* County-Court, *unleſs he have thrice complained in the* Hundred-Court; *But if he have not Right the third Time, he may then ſue in the* County-Court, *which is called the* Scyregemot.

* Vid. Lib. rub. in Scacc. Fol. 26. inter Leges *Hen.* 1.

" AND beſides (ſays Sir *William Dugdale*) * *Regis placita & Cauſa ſingulorum debita; veræ Chriſtianitatis jura*, were firſt determined here; where *intereſſe debent Commiſſarii, Epiſcopi, Comites, & Eccleſia poteſtates*, (and the *Presbyter Eccleſiæ*, as well as *quatuor de Melioribus villæ*, were obliged to attendance) *qui Dei Leges*, as well as *Seculi negotia, juſtâ conſideratione definirent.*

Glanvil. Lib. 1. Cap. 4.

AND a little after he further proceeds thus, " Now let us ſee of what things the Sheriff here antienly held *Plea:* —*Ad Vicecomites pertinent iſta* (ſaith *Glanvile*) *Placitum de Recto, de liberis Tenementis, per Breve Domini Regis, ubi Curia Dominorum probatur de Recto defeciſſe; Placitum de Nativis, ſed per Breve Domini Regis.*

" ID eſt, *It belongeth to the Shireeve to hold Plea in this Court upon a* Writ of Right *concerning Freehold, in Caſes where the Lord of the Mannor* (wherein the Land lieth) *hath not done Juſtice; as alſo to hold Plea concerning Bondmen, but by the King's Writ.*

Vid. Dugdale Origin. Jurid.

I ſhall ſay no more of this Court, but refer the Reader to the ſaid Book (from whence I have taken moſt of thoſe things I have here given you concerning all theſe Courts); wherein he may find at large how great the Power of this Court was, not only before but after the Conqueſt: And I have alſo reſerved the treating of theſe two Courts by themſelves, becauſe tho the 3 former are ſuppoſed by ſome to be of K. *Alfred*'s Erection upon his new Reformation of the Kingdom, but theſe two were not ſo; for notwithſtanding *Ingulf* tells us, that this King *Alfred* firſt divided the Provinces of *England* into Counties, yet we find Mr. *Selden* Learnedly makes it out, " That *Alfred* was not the firſt that divided the Kingdom into *Shires* or *Counties*; for (ſaith he) before *Alfred*'s Time, thoſe Provinces had their *Ealdormen* in them: Thus we read of *Ethelwolfus Barocenſis Pagæ Comes*, and *Ceorle Domnaniæ Comes*, and *Eanulf Somerſetenſis Pagæ Comes*; for the Earldoms of *Barkſhire*, *Devonſhire* and *Somerſetſhire* under King *Ethelwolf*, Father to King *Alfred*, are remembred in *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, that lived in King *Alfred*'s Time. Two of them are alſo in * *Ethelwerd*, a Writer of the *Saxon* Times, beſides *Oſric Dorſetum Dux*, for Eolderman of *Dorſet*; *Ealchere* or *Alchere* was at the ſame Time Ealdorman of *Kent*, and *Auda* or *Wuda* of *Surrey*, as we have it in *Hoveden*,

Selden's *Tit. of Honours*, chap. 5. Fol. 509, 510.

* Lib. 3. cap. 3.

“ *Huntingdon*, and in that *Aſſerius* alſo. And *Ingulphus* hath the Charter of King *Ethelbald*'s Foundation of *Crowland*, [illegible]reunto the “ *Comites* of *Leiceſter* and of *Lincoln* both ſubſcribe.

TO which I may alſo add divers Examples that you will meet with of the ſame kind in the following Hiſtory, out of the *Saxon* Annals.

HAVING thus diſpatched theſe inferior Courts, I come now to the chiefeſt, (next to that of the Great Council of the Kingdom) *viz.* that which was called *Curiâ Domini Regis*, “ Becauſe oftentimes (as Sir “ *Wil. Dugdale* informs us) the King himſelf ſate here in Perſon, having “ ſeveral Juſtices, *à latere ſuo reſidentes*, as * *Bracton* expreſſeth it; and in “ his Abſence, the *Ealdorman*, or Chief *Juſticiary* of all *England*, ſup“ plied his Place.

Curia Domini Regis.

Dugdal. Origin. Juridical. Cap.17.F.38.

*Lib.3. C.10.

CONCERNING this Court, tho we have not many Memorials left of it before the Conqueſt, yet it was certainly at that Time in Being, ſince it ſeems to have been then the Great Court of all Appeals, as well Criminal as Civil, long after the Conqueſt, before the Court of *Common-Pleas* was taken out of it: for here it was that K. *Alfred* is ſuppoſed to have re-heard and examined the falſe Judgments of his inferior Judges in the *Hundred*, and *County-Courts*; and here it was alſo that he condemned above *forty* of them to be executed in one Year, for their erroneous Sentences in Matters of Life and Death, as you will find in the *Mirror of Juſtices*.

Cap. 5.

I need ſay no more of this Great Court, whoſe Power now reſides in that of the *King's-Bench* and *Common-Pleas*, neither the *Chancery* nor *Exchequer* having then any Being; the former of which commenc'd long after the Conqueſt, and the latter was erected by King *William* the *Firſt*.

I have but two Obſervations to make concerning our Antient *Engliſh Saxon* Courts of Juſtice; the *FIRST* of which is, that ſtrict Union there then was as well in the *Folk-mote* and *County-Court*, as in the *Hundred-Court*, between the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil State; in both which the Biſhop and the Sheriff ſitting together, all Cauſes both Spiritual and Secular were equally, and at one time, diſpatched to the great Eaſe and Satiſfaction of the Subject, who were taught by the Biſhop in the *Folk-mote* what was their Duty towards God and the Church, as they were by the Ealdorman or Sheriff what Common Laws they were bound to obſerve, in order to their Honeſt and Peaceable Living one among another: a Cuſtom, which when reading of Books was not generally in uſe among the Laiety, was abſolutely neceſſary for the acquainting them with their Duty; in imitation of which I ſuppoſe our Common Charges at *Aſſizes* and *Seſſions* are continued to this Day.

THE *SECOND* is, the great Eaſe the Subject muſt needs find in having Juſtice adminiſtred to him in ſmaller Actions, in the Court of *Decenary* or *Tything*, even at their own Doors; or elſe in Appeals and greater Actions at the Court of the *Trihing* or *Lathe*; from whence they might remove it to the *County-Court*; and if they thought themſelves aggrieved there, then they might bring it before the King himſelf, or his chief Juſticiary, in the Great Court abovementioned. An Admirable and an Excellent Conſtitution this! whilſt the Laws of *England* were few, eaſy and plain, before the Partiality and Corruption of Countrey Juries came in, and the bandying and Factions of Rich and Powerful Men in the Countrey againſt each other, together with the vaſt varieties of Determinations of Caſes in Law, had rendered thoſe inferior Courts not only perplexed, but unſafe and vexatious to the Subject.

The Great Council, or Parliament.

I come now to the Supream Court of the whole Kingdom, called in *Saxon* the *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Mycel-Synoth*; in Latin *Magnum*, or *Commune Concilium Regni*, the Great or Common-Council of the Kingdom, conſiſting of the King and the three Eſtates, which we now call our *Parliament*; which Court the Author of the *Mirror of Juſtices* expreſly tells us, "That King *Alfred* ordained for a perpetual Cuſtom, that twice "in the Year, or oftner, in Time of Peace, if Buſineſs ſo required, they "ſhould aſſemble at *London* to treat of the good Government of God's "People, and how Folks ſhould be reſtrained from Offending, and live "in Quiet, and ſhould receive *Right* by certain Antient Uſages and "Judgments, *&c.* From whence you may obſerve, that in this Author's Time, (*viz.* that of *Edward* I.) it was held for Law, "That the great "Council of the Kingdom antiently met of Courſe twice in the Year, "without any expreſs Summons from the King; and this it ſeems was "afterwards altered to thrice in the Year, *viz.* at the three great "Feaſts of *Chriſtmaſs*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſontide*, when the King met "his Eſtates with great Solemnity, wearing his Crown upon all "ſolemn Days of Entertainment; and when the Feaſting was over, "they fell to diſpatch the publick Affairs, as Sir *H. Spelman* well obſerves.

Vid. Vol. 1. Council. An. 851. Fol. 347.

THESE ſtated Councils which were then held *ex More* (as our Hiſtorians term it) *i.e.* according to antient Cuſtom, continued long after the Conqueſt, as ſhall be farther ſhewn hereafter: but if this Council happened to meet at any other extraordinary Time, then the King's ſpecial Summons was requiſite, as you may find in *Ingulf* under *Anno Dom.* 948. where he tells us, King *Edred* ſummoned the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and all the *Proceres*, and *Optimates* (*i.e.* Chief Men of the Kingdom) to meet him at *London* at the Purification of the *Virgin Mary*. Whence we may obſerve, that this Summons was thus iſſued, becauſe this Council was extraordinary, as not being held *ex more*, at any of the uſual great Feaſts abovementioned.

Pag. 116, 117, 118.
Vid. Introduct. and Fol. 127, 128.

CONCERNING the Original of this great Aſſembly, ſince Sir *Robert Filmer* in all his Works, and particularly in his *Patriarcha*; and Dr. *Johnſton* in his *Excellency of Monarchical Government*, "Would have "this (as well as all our other Liberties and Privileges) to have been "only Royal Abatements of Power, and gracious Indulgences and "Condeſcenſions of our Kings for the Benefit and Security of the Subject; who were pleaſed to condeſcend to call ſome Perſons of each of "the three Eſtates (it being left to their Diſcretion whom to ſummon, and "whom not); and tho many of our Kings have made uſe of ſuch great "Aſſemblies to conſult about important Affairs of State, and by their "Conſent and Approbation, to make Laws as well as (at their Prayers "and Petitions) to redreſs their juſt Grievances, yet they owed their "being to our firſt Monarchs, ſince till about the time of the Conqueſt "there could be no General Aſſembly of the Eſtates of the whole Kingdom, becauſe till thoſe Times we cannot learn it was entirely united "into one; but it was either divided into ſeveral Kingdoms, or governed by ſeveral Laws.

I confeſs this looks at firſt like a ſpecious Hypotheſis, and may ſerve perhaps to prevail upon ſome ignorant and unwary Readers, who will not, or r cannot give themſelves the trouble of ſearching to the Bottom, to nd out the Truth of things. But I deſire the Favour of thoſe who elieve and maintain this Opinion, to anſwer me theſe few Queries.

FIRST, How it came to paſs that in all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, rected out of the Ruines of the *Roman* Empire, (as well as thoſe that ere not, but yet had been conſtituted according to the ſame *Gothick* Model) the like General or Great Council of Eſtates, conſiſting of the me Degrees and Orders of Men, were to be found in every one of thoſe Kingdoms? To begin with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and then go n to the Kingdom of *Germany*, now called the *Empire*, and ſo into *France*, and from thence into *Spain*, among all the petty Kingdoms that then compoſed that Monarchy (taking *Portugal*, if you pleaſe, into the Account); you will find that the Eſtates of all thoſe Kingdoms (as repreſenting the whole Body of the ſame) conſiſted of the Clergy, Nobility, and Deputies of Cities and great Towns; which is briefly comprized by this ſingle Verſe of *Gonterus*, an old *German*-Poet, concerning the Eſtate of the Empire in his Time,

Prælati, Proceres, miſſiſq; potentibus Urbes.

SECONDLY, How it happened, that in all the Kingdoms of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Heptarchy, the firſt Founders of which came out of *Frizeland*, *Weſtphalia*, *Holſtein* and *Jutland*, the like Great Councils, conſiſting of the King, the Clergy and Nobility, came to be inſtituted in each of them? For as to the Repreſentatives of Cities and Towns in *England*, ſince the Framers of the abovementioned Hypotheſis deny their appearance here, I ſhall ſay nothing as yet.

THIRDLY, Whether it be probable, that without a General Agreement of Laws and Manners with thoſe People of *Germany*, from whence theſe *Engliſh-Saxons* came, they ſhould by a ſort of Natural and Unaccountable Sympathy, fall of themſelves into the very ſame Political Form and Conſtitution?

FOURTHLY, Whether Princes were above a thouſand Years ago, ſo much more Ignorant of the Arts of Government, and ſo little Ambitious of Riches and Power, that they ſhould all agree within a Century of Years, to ſet up one uniform Model of Government, and admit the People into a ſhare of their Power, eſpecially into that Grand Prerogative of laying Taxes; which moſt Princes now do all they can to perform by their own abſolute Will?

FOR as to that of underſtanding their Subjects Grievances, they might either not take notice of them at all, or elſe, if they would, might have found out a more eaſy Method to come to the Knowledg of them, than by Summoning the Clergy, Nobility, and People of a whole Kingdom at once, to acquaint them therewith.

FIFTHLY, How it came to paſs, that in all thoſe Countries (ſo long as they continued *Elective*) the States exerciſed the ſame Power of *Depoſing* their Kings for Tyranny or Male-Adminiſtration? Does this look like a precarious and dependent Power? And,

LASTLY, Whence happen'd it, that in *France* and *England* (and I believe I could ſhew the ſame in other Countries too) the Eſtates of the Kingdom met twice in the Year, according to Cuſtom, at a certain Time and Place, without any Summons from the King?

NOW when the Gentlemen who maintain the Hypotheſis above-mentioned, ſhall return a fair and ſatisfactory Anſwer to theſe Queries, I ſhall not only willingly ſubmit to their Judgments, but give them my Thanks for their better Information; but till then I think it is much more agreeable to good Senſe, as well as Matter of Fact, to maintain, that thoſe Orders and Degrees of Men that did conſtitute the Great Councils, were more Antient than Kingly Government, nay Chriſtianity it ſelf among them, as appears by thoſe Teſtimonies I have produced out of *Bede* and other Authors; from all whom it plainly appears, that the firſt Princes in all thoſe Governments were originally Elected, of which I hope I have given undeniable Inſtances, out of our own as well as Foreign Hiſtories: and certainly that which gives Being to a Thing, muſt be prior in Nature to that which is produced from it.

I HAV[illegible] now done with the Original, I ſhall next proceed to the Conſtituent Parts of this *Mycel-Synoth*, or *Wittena-Gemot*; the laſt of which words is derived from the *Saxon* word *Wites*, or *Witen*, i.e. *Sapientes*, or Wiſe-Men; and tho Dr. *Brady* in his Gloſſary will have this word moſtly to ſignify Noblemen, or Great Lawyers, yet I do not find he brings any good Authority for his ſo doing: For granting it is true, *Wite* ſignifies a *Wiſe-Man*, however it no ways proves that all Wiſemen muſt be Lawyers, much leſs that thoſe Lawyers were Noblemen; and ſince he himſelf does not extend this *Wiſdom* only to *Knowledg* in the Laws, I need not ſay any more to it.

Gloſſary, Fol. 66.

AS for the reſt of his Authorities in this Page, whereby he would prove that divers things were done by the Decrees of theſe Wiſemen or Lawyers, they ſufficiently anſwer themſelves; ſince it appears even by his own ſhewing, that theſe *Sapientes* were the Biſhops, Abbots, Aldermen and *Thanes*; and when he makes it out that every one of theſe Orders of Men were Noblemen, or Lawyers, I ſhall come over to his Opinion.

AS for what he ſays in the next Page, where he gives us the Interpretation of thoſe words of *Bede*, *Principibus, & Conſiliariis*, by *Ealdormannum* and *Witum*; they are yet leſs to the purpoſe, ſince a Man might be a very good Counſellor, and yet at the ſame Time no great Lawyer.

Id. Fol. 67.

BUT the Author's ſeeming ſtabbing Proof is out of *Aſſer*, in his Life of King *Alfred*, “Who admiring the Ignorance of his Earls and “ Præfects, commanded them either forthwith to lay down their *Pla-* “ *ces* of *Judicature*, or elſe to apply themſelves *SAPIENTIÆ Studiis*, “ to the *Study* of *Knowledg*, or of the Law. Here we ſee again (ſays “ he) *who* had the *Title* of *SAPIENTES*, namely the *Judges*, that is, “ the *COMITES, PRÆPOSITI, & MINISTRI*, or *Thegnes*; for theſe “ laſt were the *Seminary* of *Nobility*, or *Great Officers, Civil, Military,* “ and *Eccleſiaſtick* amongſt the *Saxons*.

NOW I deſire the Reader to obſerve, that admitting we ſhould take the word *Studia SAPIENTIÆ* here, for the *Knowledg* of the *Law*, does it therefore follow, that all that ſtudied it muſt be *Lawyers* by Profeſſion? when it is very certain that the *Study* of the *Law* was not *then*, nor long after, a *Trade*, as it is *now*; ſince all the *Freeholders* or *Thegnes*, afterwards called *Barons*, were (as well as *Ealdormen*) required to have a “ competent Knowledg of the Laws of their Country; or elſe how could “ they either plead their own, or try each others Cauſes in the Hundred

“ and County-Courts (as they are in the * Laws of K. *Henry* 1. recited to have done) before the Profeſſion of Counſellors came up? Or how could they ſit, and judg Cauſes in the *County-Court*, or *Folc-mote*, when every *Thegne*, or Gentleman in the County, was capable of being choſen *Sheriff*, and of ſitting Judg in thoſe Courts, many Ages before the Office of an *Under-Sheriff* was heard of?

* Cap. 1.

AND as for the *Auctuary* to the 35*th* Law of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, wherein the HERETOCHS are called *BARONES*, *NOBILES*, & *inſignes SAPIENTES*, there can be nothing urged leſs to purpoſe; for then (according to the Doctor) they muſt have had all great Titles, and have been choſen Generals in War, and Leaders of Armies; and Pray why? becauſe they were *SAPIENTES*, i. e. *Great Lawyers*. But the Doctor had the good luck to find once in his Life, that *Studia Sapientiæ*, for want of a better Expreſſion, ſignified the *Study* of the *Law*, and therefore the word *SAPIENTES* and *WITES*, where-ever he meets with them in our *Saxon Laws*, or Great Councils, muſt (forſooth) ſignify Lawyers or Judges: And his Deſign in it is evident, that he might thereby confound the *Law-makers* with the ordinary Counſellors or Adviſers, whom thoſe *Law-makers* might often imploy in the drawing of the Laws; but he is indeed at laſt ſo modeſt as to tell us, “ That at “ this day the Judges, and King's Counſel, and other great Lawyers “ that ſit in the Lord's Houſe, are aſſiſtant to the Parliament when there “ is occaſion. But that he would here as well as elſewhere inſinuate, that no body elſe had any more right to appear there than they; you may ſee more plainly in his Notes to his * *Compleat Hiſtory* of *England*, where upon the words *Sapientes* or *Witen* made uſe of in the *Saxon* Laws, he ſays, “ That if they only ſignified Men ſkilled in the “ Laws, then were none of the Temporal Nobility preſent at the making of thoſe Laws, unleſs perhaps they were the Lawyers meant “ by that word, as being many of them *Judges* and *Juſticiaries* at that “ time. But yet he is at laſt forced (with Juſtice) in the ſame place to acknowledg, upon the words, “ that *Witan*, *Sapientes*, or wiſe Men, “ muſt be taken for, or meant of the Biſhops and Nobility, or elſe they “ were not preſent at the making of theſe Laws; which no Man can “ believe, that conſiders how many Eccleſiaſtical Laws there are amongſt them, and Laws relating to the Worſhip of God, and a “ holy Life, that were never made without at leaſt the Advice of the “ Biſhops.

Idibid. Lamb. fol. 147.

* Fol. 85.

IT is well my Lords the Biſhops were concern'd here, or elſe ſure he would never have been ſo free as to make the word *Witan* ſignify not only great Lawyers, but Divines too: and thus by the ſame liberty of paraphraſing, *ſtudia Sapientiæ* may ſignify the Study of Divinity.

BUT enough of theſe Trifles; for the Author himſelf hath ſome Lines above in the ſame Notes, granted as much as I can deſire, becauſe he confeſſes, “ That in our *Saxon* Laws, the *Sapientes* or *Witan* were “ divers times taken for the whole Baronage, or Nobility, as I may “ ſo ſay: And in this ſenſe it is uſed in the 49*th* Chapter of the Preface “ to *Alured*'s Laws. And I deſire the Doctor to ſhew me any Inſtance out of the *Saxon* Laws or Annals, if he can, where the words *Witan*, or *Witena-Gemot* are uſed in any other ſenſe. But what was the true meaning of that word *Baronage* we ſhall reſerve to another place; it ſuffices at preſent to let you ſee he owns they were ſomewhat more than great

great Lawyers; and that it comprehended others beſides Noble-men by Birth, I ſhall prove by and by.

Witena Gemot.

IN the mean time I ſhall ſhew, by what Words and Phraſes the *Witena Gemot*, conſiſting of theſe *Wites*, is called in the Latin Verſion of our Annals, as alſo of our Hiſtorians who have wrote in the ſame Language.

Concilium Procerum, vel Primatum.

IN the firſt of theſe it is rendered *Concilium PROCERVM*, how truly, I have ſaid ſomewhat in the Preface: by *Florence* of *Worceſter* in his Verſion of the ſame *Annals*, it is commonly render'd *Concilium PRIMATVM*, and ſometimes, but more rarely, *PROCERVM*. But when this Author would diſtinguiſh the Laity from the Clergy at theſe Aſſemblies, he words it thus,

Laity and Clergy.

ARCHIEPISCOPOS, EPISCOPOS, ABBATES, & Angliæ OPTIMATES; ſometimes thus, *EPISCOPOS, & DVCES, nec non & PRINCIPES, & OPTIMATES Gentis Angliæ.*

AS for the Signification of all theſe Words, I ſhall give it you anon; only thus much may be agreed upon, that beſides the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and Abbots, the chief or beſt Men of *England* were preſent and aſſiſted at theſe Councils, and who, as appears by the Subſcriptions to ſeveral *Saxon* Councils and Charters, were either the *Ealdormen*, who writ themſelves in Latin, ſometimes *Sub-Reguli*, but more often *Duces*, or *Comites*, of whom we have already ſpoken enough: But this I would have remembred, that the Office of *Ealdormen* not being then hereditary, it was beſtowed for Merit; and Nobility by Blood was no neceſſary Condition to it, ſince their Places in this great Aſſembly were only *ratione Officii*, and not by Right of Inheritance as at this day.

Thanes.

THE next Order, whoſe Subſcriptions we find at the Concluſion of ſuch Councils and Charters, are the *Thanes*; the higheſt Degree of which was called *Thanus Regius*, the King's *Thane*, becauſe he held immediately of him; and tho I grant it anſwered the Title or Dignity of the greater Barons after the *Norman* Conqueſt, yet however neither Mr. *Selden*, nor any other Learned Antiquary that I know of, does any where exclude the two other Degrees of *Thanes*, *viz.* the *Middle* and *Leſſer*, from appearing, and having places in thoſe great and general Councils, as well as the chief *Thanes* themſelves.

Milites.

AND beſides theſe, we find at the end of ſeveral Charters, others who write themſelves *Milites*, who, I ſuppoſe, ought to be rendered Knights; but whether they were *Thanes* that held by any *Military Tenure*, or ſuch as held their Lands *in Allodio*, that is, freely, under no Services, I will not here take upon me to determine.

THESE are the only Degrees mentioned at the end of thoſe Councils and Charters above-mentioned.

BUT perhaps it will now be told me, that according to my own ſhewing, there were no *Commons* ſummoned to theſe Aſſemblies; ſince neither in the Titles before thoſe Councils, nor at the Concluſions of them is there any mention made of this Order of Men now called *Commons*, diſtinct from that of the Biſhops and great Noble Men; and therefore from hence Dr. *Brady* in his Anſwer to Mr. *Petyt*, will have none but Biſhops and great Noble-men to have had any thing to do there: and to make this ſeem the more plauſible, he renders that great Council, where *Plegmund* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, together with King *Edward* the *Elder* preſided, *viz.* *CONCILIVM MAGNVM EPISCOPORVM*,

Dr. Brady's *Introduct.* fol. 6, & 7.

Vid. Antiquit. Britan. Matth. Parkeri Archiep. Cant.

PORVM, ABBATVM, FIDELIVM, PROCERVM, POPVLORVM IN PROVINCIA GEWISORM, &c. in theſe words, A great *Council* of the *Biſhops*, *Abbots*, *Tenants* in *Capite* or *Military Service*, *Noble-men*, and *People* in the Province of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

AND here, before I go any further, I would deſire the Doctor to anſwer theſe two Queſtions.

FIRST, By what Authority he here tranſlates the word *Fideles*, Tenants in *Capite*, or Military Service? ſince I am ſure he is not able to prove from any Hiſtory or Record, that this *Tenure* had any being in *England* at that time.

SECONDLY, How he can make it out, that the word *Proceres* always ſignifies great Noble-men by Birth? without which Suppoſition all he is able to ſay on this Subject will fall to the Ground.

Dr. Brady, ut ſup.

BUT the Doctor thinks he has a great Advantage from what Archbiſhop *Parker* ſays in the ſame Page; *EDWARDVS REX SYNODVM PRÆDICTAM NOBILIVM ANGLORVM CONGREGAVIT, CVI PRESIDEBAT PLEGMVNDVS*, *i. e.* King *Edward* called the foreſaid *Synod* of the *Engliſh Nobility*, wherein *Plegmund* preſided. Here he thinks he hath a ſtrong hold, and therefore ſays, “ That this Author tells us the meaning of the long Title of this Synod, which juſt before he had mentioned, *viz.* that the *Biſhops*, *Abbots*, *FIDELES*, *Proceres*, *&* *POPVLVS*, were all *NOBILES*, *NOBLEMEN*, that is, the *Eccleſiaſticks* and *Laicks*, or the *Biſhops*, and *Lay-Nobility*, and not the *Vulgus*, *Commons*, or ordinary ſort of People.

SO then, according to the Doctor's Conſtruction, all the fore-going Relation of the Members of this Council was a jumbled heap of Tautologies, of *Noble Tenants* in *Capite*, *Noble-men*, and *Noble People*.

BUT I muſt needs acknowledg that he is ſo far in the right, that by theſe words *Nobilium Anglorum*, are not meant the *vulgar*, mean or ordinary ſort of People, or the *Mob*, (as they are now contemptuouſly term'd) for certainly they had never any thing to do in thoſe Auguſt Aſſemblies: Nor does Mr. *Petyt*, or my ſelf maintain any ſuch thing; and yet for all this I think we may affirm, that all the Members that appeared there, were not Noble-men, or Great Lords only, in the ſenſe they are now taken.

Nobilis.

FOR to begin with the word *Nobilis*, which the Doctor ſo much inſiſts on, it is his own too narrow Conception of that Title which has been, I think, one main Cauſe of the greateſt part of the Quarrel between Mr. *Petyt* and him; for in all the Counties of *Europe*, except *England*, it is very well known, that the word *Nobilis* includes not only Noble-men of Title, ſuch as Dukes, Marqueſſes, *&c.* but alſo all Gentlemen of Families who are well born, and do not exerciſe Mechanick Trades. Thus *Nobilezza* in Italian, and *Nobleſſe* in French, comprehends the leſs as well as the greater Nobility. So likewiſe the word *Ædelmen*, among the *Germans*, comprehends all ſorts of Noble-men, as well thoſe of Title as others, which is owned by Sir *H. Spelman* in his *Gloſſary* in theſe words, *Anglorum Legibus Adelingos dici pro Nobilibus in genere, qui omnes nobiles* Ædelmen *vocant, à Saxonico* Ædel, *nobilis.* And ſo it was here in *England* long after the Conqueſt, as well as before, when Knights and Gentlemen were reckoned *inter Nobiles minores*, before the Title of Noble-men began to be appropriated to the higher Nobility or Peers only; which is alſo owned by Dr. *Brady* in his Preface to

Tit. Adelingi, p. 10.

" to his *Compleat Hiſtory*, where he tells us of Lands held by Knights
" Service, as well in the Hands of the lower ſort of *Nobleſſe*, as of the
" greater Noble-men.

~~AND~~ This being ſo, I ſhall eaſily prove, that all the reſt of the words inſiſted upon by the Doctor, do not ſignify *only* great Lords and Noblemen by Birth: To go on therefore to the next word *Proceres*, that neither this does ſignify *only* Men Noble by Birth. *Iſidore* (an antient *Spaniſh* Author) in his *Origines*, ſays thus, *Proceres ſunt Principes Civium*, that is, the chiefeſt of Subjects or Citizens. And the Learned *Du-Freſne* alſo tells us in his Gloſſary, *Proceres appellabantur, qui in Civitatibus præcipuos Magiſtratus gerebant*; that thoſe were called *Proceres*, who were the chief Magiſtrates or Rulers in Cities; and certainly theſe could ſcarce ever be Noble-men by Birth.

Proceres.

Lib. 9. cap. 4.

Page 420.

AND as for the word *Primates*, it ſignifies no more than Principal or Chief Men, however born; and that it was underſtood no otherwiſe among our *Engliſh-Saxons*, appears from *Ælfric*'s Gloſſary above-mentioned, at the end of *Somner*'s *Saxon* Dictionary, where he renders the words *Primates, vel Primores Civitatis, ſeu Burgi*, by *YLDEST BURHWARA*, *i. e.* the Chief Magiſtrates in a City or Town, who were then Perſons of very conſiderable Note in the Nation, as I ſhall prove further by and by.

Primates.

I come now to the word *Optimates*, which ſignifies no more than the better ſort of Men, and not always Noble-men and great Lords, much leſs as confined to the *King*'s *Thanes*, or *Tenants* in *Capite* only; ſince the ſame *Du-Freſne* in his Gloſſary defines *Optimates* to be *Vaſſalli Barones, qui ab ullo Domino ratione Hominii nudè pendent*, that is, the Feudatory Barons that meerly depend on *any* Superiour Lord by reaſon of their Homage; which tho ſpoken in relation to *France* five or ſix hundred Years ago, yet was certainly uſed in the ſame ſenſe, and no otherwiſe in *England*, as well before as after that time, and did include all the Inferiour as well as Superiour *Thanes*, ſuch as were the only Freeholders in thoſe Ages. As

Optimates.

~~BUT~~ for the word *Principes*, he that underſtands any thing of the Latin Tongue, knows, that it doth not always ſignify Princes, or Men Noble by Birth, but any Chief or Principal Man, remarkable by Place, Office or Dignity; and therefore we often read in *Livy*, and other Latin Authors, of *Principes Civitatis*: and in the above-cited Laws out of *Tacitus, de moribus Germanorum*, it is plain, that the word *Princeps*, or *Principes* in the plural, ſignified no more than chief or conſiderable Men among the *Germans*, by reaſon of their Office, or preſent Dignities, without any reſpect to their Birth. And in this ſenſe, I ſuppoſe, every Member of Parliament may at this day be reckoned *inter Principes*, among the moſt conſiderable or chief Men of the Kingdom.

Principes.

BUT the Doctor lays a great ſtreſs upon a Paſſage out of two Manuſcript *Malmesburies*, one in the *Bodleian* Library, cited by Sir *William Dugdale*, and the other in the Treaſury of the Records of the Church of *Canterbury*, cited by Sir *Henry Spelman*, who both report of this very Council, that *Edward* the *Elder* " *Congregavit Synodum Senatorum*
" *Gentis Anglorum, cui præſidebat Plegmundus*, &c. *i. e.* convened a *Synod*
" of the *Senators* (in *Saxon* the *Aldermen*) of the *Engliſh* Nation, that
" is, ſuch as were uſually called to ſuch Councils, which were only the
" *Nobiles* and Great Men.

Dr. Brady's *Introduct.* fol. 7.

IN Anſwer to this I muſt refer the Doctor again to good old *Livy*, where he will find that the *Roman* Senators were not all Noble by Birth, for they were *tàm Patricii, quàm Plebeii Ordinis.*

BUT when Mr. *Petyt* cites *William* of *Malmesbury*, for calling a *Saxon Wittena Gemote, Generalis Senatus & Populi Conventus*, to diſtinguiſh the leſſer Nobility from the greater, the Doctor replies, "There "is no heed to be taken how our old Monks and Hiſtorians ſtiled "the *Saxon Wittena Gemotes*, or their great and *Common-Councils*, for "the ſame Authors expreſſed them ſometimes one way, ſometimes "another; nor were they ever exact and curious in obſerving and no"ting the *Title*, or the *Conſtituent Parts* or *Members* of them.

Id. ibid.

FROM whence I cannot but obſerve the Doctor's great Partiality for his own Opinion; for whenever *William* of *Malmesbury* in the Manuſcript above-cited, mentions the word *Senatores*, it muſt with him immediately ſignify nothing leſs than Great *Noblemen*, or what we now call *Peers*; but when the ſame Author mentions the lower degree of Men (whom we now call *Commons*) as a diſtinct Order from the Great Lords, or Senators, then preſently he is with the Doctor, "a trifling "old Monk, very little curious in obſerving the *Conſtituent Parts* or "*Members* of our *Saxon* Great Councils.

I hope I have [illegible]

~~HAVING thus~~ ſhewn ſome of Dr. *Brady*'s erroneous and inconſiderate Gloſſes concerning the *Engliſh-Saxon* Nobility before the Conqueſt, which he vainly ſuppoſes to have been the ſame as it is at this day; I ſhall now endeavour to ſettle ſome truer Notions relating to thoſe Great Councils, which as to the *Lay-Members*, beſides the *Ealdormen* abovementioned, I conceive, conſiſted of the whole Body of *Thanes*, or *Freeholders*, who were then all *Gentlemen* either by Birth or Eſtates; for I have already proved from the Laws of King *Athelſtan*, that a meer *Ceorl*'s Man, if he had purchaſed five Hides of *Thane* Land, did thereby become equal in all reſpects to a *Thane*.

NOW if the word *Thane* before the Conqueſt ſignified the ſame with the word *Baro*, which came into common uſe after that time, as Sir *Henry Spelman* and Mr. *Selden* both grant it did; and Mr. *Camden* in his Introduction to his firſt Edition of his *Britannia* in 4°, is yet more expreſs as to this word *Baro*, as you may ſee by this remarkable Paſſage; *Verùm Baro ex illis nominibus videatur quæ tempus paulatìm meliora, & molliora reddidit, nam longò poſt tempore, non milites, ſed qui LIBERI erant DOMINI, & Thani Saxonibus dicebantur Barones vocari* cœperunt, *nec dum magni honoris erant, paulò autem poſteà* (viz. *ſome* time after the Conqueſt) *eò honoris pervenit, ut nomine Baronagii Angliæ omnes quodammodo Regni Ordines continerentur*: tho it muſt be confeſt that Mr. *Camden*, (becauſe he found this Paſſage had given ſome Offence to the higher Nobility) ~~he~~ in his next Edition in *Folio*, reſtrained it by adding the word *Superiores* before *Ordines*, as if none but the *higher Barons* might be thought to have once made part of the Baronage of the Kingdom. And likewiſe Sir *Henry Spelman* in his Gloſſary under the Title of *Barones Comitatus*, *i. e.* the Barons of Counties, (who are frequently mentioned in the Laws of our firſt *Norman* Kings) has this remarkable Paſſage, and he being ſo great a Man, I ſhall not offer to abridg it.

Spelm. Gloſſ. tit. Barones Comitatus.

HOC Nomine, ſcilicet, Barones Comitatus (ſaith he) *contineri videtur Antiquis paginis, omnis* Baronum *feodalium ſpecies, in uno quovis Comitatu degentium: Proceres nempè & Maneriorum Domini, nec non liberè quiq; Tenentes, hoc eſt, fundorum proprietarii, Anglicè* FREEHOLDERS. —*Notandum autèm eſt,* liberè *hos* Tenentes, *nec tàm exiles olìm fuiſſe, nec tàm Vulgares ut hodiè deprehenduntur: nam Villas & Dominia, in minutas hæreditates nondùm diſtrahebant Nobiles; ſed (ut vidimus in Hiberniâ) penès ſe retinentes, agros per precarios excolebant & adſcriptitios. Vid. LL. Edw. Confeſſ. cap.* 15. Quod per Hundredum colligerentur (46 Marcæ) & Sigillo alicujus Baronum Comitatus ſigillarentur, & ad Theſaurum Regis deportarentur. *In Domeſd. habiti ſunt* Barones Comitatus; *Magnates & Nobiles, qui in Curiis præſunt Comitatuum, hoc eſt, ipſarum Curiarum Judices, quos Hen.* 1. *LL. ſuarum, cap.* 30. *eſſe* liberè Tenentes Comitatûs *demonſtrat.* Regis (*inquit*) Judices ſunt Barones Comitatus, qui liberas in eis terras habent, per quos debent cauſæ ſingulorum alternâ proſecutione tractari. Which I ſhall give you thus in Engliſh. “Under this Title of *Barones Comitatus,* ſeems to be contained in our antient Writers all ſorts of Feudal Barons dwelling in any one County, *viz.* the chief Men and Lords of Mannors, as alſo all free Tenants, that is, Proprietors of Lands, in Engliſh, FREE-HOLDERS. And it is alſo to be conſidered, that theſe free Tenants were not antiently ſo mean and pitiful, as they are accounted at this day: For Gentlemen had not as yet parcell'd out their Townſhips and Lordſhips into ſmall Eſtates, but (as we ſee in *Ireland*) keeping them themſelves, by their hired Servants and Villains, huſbanded their own Lands. In the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor, cap.* 15. it is appointed, that 46 *Marks* ſhould be collected out of the Hundred, and ſealed up with the Seal of one of the Barons of the County, and be lodged in the King's Treaſury. In *Doomſday* Book, thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen are called Barons of the County, who preſided in County-Courts, that is, who were Judges of thoſe Courts, whom *Hen.* 1. in the 30*th* Chapter of his Laws, ſhews to be the free Tenants of the County. The King's Judges, *ſays he,* are the Barons of the County, who have Freehold Lands in them, by whom the Cauſes of each of them ought to be tried and adjudged in their reſpective turns.

AND there alſo immediately follows in the ſame Law of *Henry* the *Firſt,* another Clauſe, “whereby Villains, and all ſuch mean and beggarly Fellows, called there *Coſcetti* or *Perdingi,* are not to be reckoned amongſt the Judges of the Laws; for they neither in the Hundred, nor in the County, forfeit their own Money, nor that of their Maſters.

THIS, I think, is ſufficient to prove, that all ſuch baſe and indigent People, ſuch as Dr. *Brady* calls *Tag, Rag* and *Bobtaile,* were excluded from having any thing to do in theſe inferior Courts; and if ſo, then much more to be ſure were they ſhut out of the moſt Auguſt Aſſembly of the Kingdom, the *Wittena-Gemot, Mycel-Synoth,* or what we now call the *Parliament.*

AND this I have brought to ſhew, that I do as much diſown the Thoughts of introducing any Degrees or Orders of Men, (leſs than thoſe of Quality or Eſtates) into the Great Councils of thoſe Times, as the Doctor himſelf does.

BUT in the firſt part of his *Compleat Hiſtory* he aſſerts, that not only the King's *Thanes*, but alſo all the Middle and Leſſer *Thanes* were both after, as well as before the Conqueſt, Military Men, who held their Lands by Military or Knight's Service, which he would prove from the *Heregeat*, or *Heriots*, that by the Laws of King *Cnute*, were to be paid to their Lords by their Heirs, in Horſes and Money, and certain Arms. Well, let this for once be admitted, but I would then have the Doctor never to urge Military or Knight-Service, as a Badg of the *Norman* Conqueſt any more; and in the next Treatiſe which he ſhall pleaſe to publiſh, I would deſire him to make it out, that none but the King's *Thanes*, (who were all one with his *Tenants* in *Capite*, after the Conqueſt) had any Place in the Great Council of the Kingdom, for without this, he does nothing: yet thus much I muſt ſay for him, that in the beginning of his Anſwer to Mr. *Petyt*, he ſeems to be ſomewhat more good-natured, making the *Saxon Wittena Gemotes* more large and diffuſive; for in them he owns, "were *Arch-Biſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Maſſe-Thegnes*, or *Dignified* and *Great Clergy-Men*, *Aldermen*, or *Comites*, "*King's Gereves* or *Præpoſiti*, *King's Thegnes*, *Thanes*, or *Miniſters*, "his *Counſellors*, *Judges* or *Magiſtrates*. Where tho he confounds the King's Judges and Counſellors, (whoſe Preſence there was not abſolutely neceſſary, as not being any conſtituent Parts or Members thereof) with the Biſhops, Aldermen, and *Thanes*, without whoſe Conſent no Laws could be made; yet he grants us enough in reckoning other *Thanes* and Magiſtrates to have had Places there, beſides the King's, and who I conceive had a Right to appear there without any particular Summons to each of them; and ſure all theſe were not *Tenants* in *Capite*.

Compleat Hiſt. Fol. 69, 70.

Anſwer to Mr. Petyt's Rights of the Commons in Folio. p. 10.

NOW having laid down, and I hope eſtabliſhed a true Notion what ſort of Men then conſtituted the greater part of the *Wittena-Gemotes* of thoſe Times; I come to the next Degree or Order of Men, who then moſt properly repreſented the Commons of *England*, *viz.* the Deputies of Cities and Great Towns: and tho I confeſs theſe are not ordinarily mentioned in any of the Antient *Saxon* Laws or Charters, yet that they were comprehended ſometimes under the Title of *Procuratores*, I am very well ſatisfied, as appears from the *Annals* || of *Winchelcomb*, wherein there is a Charter of *Kenwulf* King of the *Mercians*, bearing date *Anno Dom.* 811. where all the Orders of Men ſummoned to be preſent at that Aſſembly, are thus particularly recited by that King, viz. *Merciorum Optimates*, *Epiſcopos*, *Principes*, *Comites*, *PROCURATORES*, *meóſq;* *propinquos*, *nec non* Cuthredum *Regem* Cantuariorum, *átq;* Suthredum *Regem* Oriental. Saxon. *cum omnibus qui Teſtes noſtris Synodalubus conciliabulis aderant.*

Deputies of Cities and Great Towns.

Procuratores.

|| In Bibl. Cotton. Tiber. C. 4.

NOW I would be gladly informed by any Man, well converſant in Antiquity, what the word *Procuratores* could here ſignify after *Comites*, unleſs it were the Deputies or Repreſentatives of the Cities and Towns of *Mercia*?

THE like word is alſo found in a Charter of King *Athelſtan*'s, dated *Anno* 931. of certain Lands granted to the Abbey of *Abington*; which Charter is entred in the great Regiſter that belonged to that Abbey, and is now in the *Cottonian* Library, and concludes thus, *Hæc Charta in Villa Regali quæ* Ætwelope *nuncupatur*, *Epiſcopis*, *Abbatibus*, *Ducibus*, *patriæ Procuratoribus*, *Regiâ dapſilitate ovantibus perſcripta eſt.*

Claudius. B. 9. Cap. 50.

BY which *Patriæ Procuratoribus* abovementioned, I know not what elſe can be underſtood, but the Deputies or Repreſentatives of the Cities and Chief Towns, who then ſent Members to thoſe General Councils.

THO of what ſort of Men theſe *Procuratores* or Deputies of Cities and Towns then conſiſted, I confeſs it is hard at this diſtance of Time to determine; when the Original Records of thoſe Councils wherein they appeared are loſt, and that we have ſo obſcure a mention made of them in the *Saxon* Laws and Charters. But if I may take the Liberty to gueſs, there were not ſo many Citizens choſen for each City as at this Day; but only their Chief Magiſtrates, Rulers, or Aldermen, (which were ſingle Perſons, and not many, for there was then but one Alderman in a Town) or elſe ſuch as were called *Port-Gereſas*, (now *Port-Reves* in divers Places) who might appear for them of Courſe, or be conſtantly Choſen on purpoſe: but if the Charter of King *Athelſtan* abovecited be true, (as I ſee no reaſon to queſtion its Authority) it appears, that the ordinary Boroughs were then repreſented by two Burgeſſes in Parliament, as at this Day.

BUT that theſe, as well as the Magiſtrates and moſt conſiderable Citizens might then all paſs, and be included under the General Name of *Witan*, or *Wites*, called in Latin *Sapientes*, I have the Authority of the Learned *Du Freſne*, who in his Gloſſary aſſures us, that antiently among the *Lombards*, *Sapientes in Italia appellabantur Civitatum Primarii, quorum conſilio Reſpublicæ gerebantur*, *i. e.* that among the *Lombards* in *Italy*, the Chief Citizens were called *Wiſe-Men*, by whoſe Counſel publick Affairs were tranſacted: and for this he cites *Hieron. Rubeus*, who in his Hiſtory of *Ravenna* under *Anno* 1297. hath this remarkable Paſſage concerning theſe *Sapientes*; (ſays he) *Sed longè anteà, illud nomen obtinuit in aliis Longabardarum civitatibus, ut colligere licet ex Ottone, & Acerbo Morena in Hiſtoria Rerum Lundevetium*; which Authority tho fetch'd as far as *Italy*, is very pertinent to prove the ſame Title to have been in uſe among the *Engliſh Saxons* of the ſame Age with the *Lombards*, ſince (as *Grotius* hath learnedly proved in his Preface to his *Gothic* Hiſtory) the *Lombards* were but one Stirp or Tribe of thoſe Antient *Gothes*, from whom (as I have already proved in the beginning of the third Book of this Volume) the *Engliſh Saxons* were alſo derived.

Tome 3. pag. 700.

BUT that theſe Citizens of Cities, in thoſe Times, might deſerve the Name of *Wites* or *Sapientes*, as well for their Prudence as Riches, appears from the Charter of K. *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, in the great Chartulary of the Abby of *Weſtminſter*, now to be ſeen in the *Cottonian* Library, which begins thus, *Edward Cing gret Willem and Leodtan, & Ælfy Porte-Reven, and alle mine Burh-Thanes on LUNDEN Frindlic*; this tho *Saxon*, yet being ſo near the *Engliſh* of our own Times, I need not tranſlate, only I deſire the Reader to take notice, that the Citizens of *London* were then ſo conſiderable, as in this Charter to have had the Title of *Thanes*, as they were often called *Barones de London* in our Antient Hiſtorians after the Conqueſt.

Fauſtina. A.3. Fol. 97.

AND as for the City of *Canterbury* in thoſe Times, it had not only a Chief Magiſtrate, called in Latin *Præpoſitus*, in *Saxon Port-Gereſa*, as Mr. *Somner* in his Antiquities of *Canterbury* informs us; but alſo in the ſame Place he has given us a *Saxon* Deed, written ſome Years before the Conqueſt, and containing an Exchange of certain Lands and Houſes in

Pag. 64, 65.

that City, made between the Family, (*i.e.* Monks of the Cathedral Church) and the *Crihtan* of that City, being Merchants or Chapmen; and you have already ſeen, that a Merchant having thrice paſſed the Seas, was accounted equal to a *Thane*: and can any one then reaſonably doubt, that Perſons of that Wealth and Dignity were not capable of being choſen Repreſentatives of their Cities, in the *Saxon* Great Councils?

NOR can I forbear citing, before I cloſe up this Subject, that remarkable Authority out of * *Sulcardus*'s Manuſcript Chartulary of the Abby of *Weſtminſter*, where there is entred a Charter of King *William* the *Firſt*, bearing date *An. Dom.* 1071. And after the King had ſubſcribed his own Name to it with the Sign of the Croſs, there are added many of the Biſhops, Abbots, and Temporal Nobility; and then inſtead of *cum multis aliis*, this Clauſe is ſubjoined, viz. * *Multis præterea illuſtriſſimis Virorum perſonis, & Regni Principibus diverſi Ordinis omiſſis, qui huic Confirmationi piiſſimo affectu Teſtes & Fautores fuerunt: Hii autem illo tempore à Regiâ poteſtate è diverſis Provinciis & Urbibus, ad Univerſalem Synodum pro cauſis cujuſlibet Chriſtianæ Eccleſiæ audiendis & tractandis, ad præſcriptum Celeberrimum Cænobium, quod* Weſtmonaſterium *dicitur, convocati.* i. e. "Beſides many other very Eminent Perſons and Chief Men of "the Kingdom of divers Orders being omitted, who with moſt pious "Affection, were Witneſſes and Approvers to this Confirmation; and "theſe were ſummoned at that Time by the Royal Authority, from "divers Provinces and Cities, to the General Synod held at the Famous "Abby of *Weſtminſter*, for the hearing and determining of the Cauſes "of each Chriſtian Church.

* In Bib. Cotton. Fauſtina. *A.* 3.

* *In the Margin of the Book there is this Note in a more Modern Hand,* Nota hic, hos omnes convocari à Rege ſuâ Auctoritate, ad cauſas Religionis tractandas, tàm nobiles de clero quàm Principes Regni, cum aliis inferioris gradus; conventio quorum videtur eſſe Parliamentum: *from whence it appears, that this Notator took this Aſſembly for a* Parliament *of thoſe Times.*

THIS is an Authority which ſeemed ſo convincing, that Sir *William Dugdale* hath made uſe of it in his *Origines Juridiciales*, to prove the Antiquity of the Commons of *England* in Parliament; yet Dr. *Brady* in the Concluſion of his Anſwer to Mr. *Cook*'s *Argumentum Antinormanicum*, "accuſes that Gentleman of being both Ignorant and Miſtaken in "the meaning of Cities and Provinces, and the Perſons that came from "them, whom he indeed would have to be not any Repreſentatives of "Counties and Cities, but only Deans, Arch-Deacons, and other dignified Perſons and Church-Officers, as well of the Laity as Clergy, "who were ſummoned by the King to this Synod, from Provinces and "Cities, to adviſe and inform the King of the Conveniency of the "Places, whither the Biſhops Sees then about to be removed from "Villages to Cities, were to be transferred.

BUT ſince there is not one word in this Charter ſaid of any ſuch Thing, and that Sir *Henry Spelman* in his Gloſſary renders the word *Provincia* for a County, and not a Biſhop's See; I my ſelf not now having leiſure to purſue ſuch Niceties, ſhall refer the Curious for their farther Satisfaction to the eighth Dialogue of *Bibliotheca Politica*, where they may read whatſoever he has ſaid againſt it ſufficiently anſwered.

Bibliothec. Politic. pag. 567, 568.

THESE are the only Authorities I ſhall make uſe of at this Time, to prove that the Cities and Boroughs had then their Delegates or Repreſentatives in the *Saxon Witena-Gemotes*.

I will now conclude this Point with the Judgment of that Learned Antiquary Mr. *Lambard*, who certainly underſtood the Conſtitution of this Antient Government, as well at leaſt, if not better, than Dr. *Brady*; and he tells us,

Archeion. p. 256, 257, &c.

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“THAT whereas in the beginning of *each* Law, (*viz.* thoſe made by the *Saxon* Kings he there mentions) all the Acts are ſaid to paſs from the King and his *Wiſe Men* both of the Clergy and Laity, in the Body of the Laws, each Statute being thus, *And it is the Advice of our Lord, and his* Wiſe-Men: So as it appears that it was then a received Form of Speech, to ſignify both the Spirituality and the Laity (that is to ſay, the greater *Nobility*, and the leſs, or *Commons*) by this one word *Witan*, i. e. *Wiſe-men.*

“NOW as thoſe written Authorities do undoubtedly confirm our Aſſertion of the Continuance of this manner of *Parliament*, ſo is there alſo unwritten Law or Preſcription, that doth no leſs infallibly uphold the ſame. For it is well known, that in every Quarter of the Realm, a great many Boroughs do yet ſend Burgeſſes to the Parliament, which are nevertheleſs ſo * antient, and ſo long ſince decayed, and gone to nought, that it cannot be ſhewed, that they have been of any Reputation at any time ſince the Conqueſt, and much leſs that they have obtained this Privilege, by the Grant of any King ſucceeding the ſame. So that the Intereſt which they have in Parliament groweth by an antient Uſage before the Conqueſt, whereof they cannot ſhew any beginning: which thing is alſo confirmed by a contrary Uſage in the ſelf-ſame thing; for it is likewiſe known, that they of *Antient Demeſne*, do preſcribe in not ſending to the Parliament, for which reaſon alſo they are neither Contributors to the Wages of the Knights of Shires, neither are they bound by ſundry Acts of Parliament, tho the ſame be generally penn'd, and do make no Exceptions of them. But there is no antient Demeſne, ſaving that only which is deſcribed in the Book of *Doomſday*, under the Title of *Terra Regis*, which of neceſſity muſt be ſuch as either was in the Hands of the Conqueror himſelf, who made the Book, or of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, that was before him. And ſo again, if they of *antient Demeſnes* have ever ſince the Conqueſt preſcribed not to elect Burgeſſes to Parliament, then (no doubt) there was a Parliament before the Conqueſt, to the which they of other Places did ſend their Burgeſſes.

I ſhall here crave leave to add one Record, tho after the Conqueſt, in Confirmation of what Mr. *Lambard* hath here learnedly aſſerted; for that ſeveral Boroughs claimed to ſend Members to Parliament by Preſcription in the beginning of the Reign of *Edward* the *Third*, appears by a † Petition put in to that King *An.* 17 *Edw.* 3. wherein the Burgeſſes of the Town of *Barnſtaple* in *Devonſhire*, ſet forth, that it being a free Borough, had by Charter from King *Athelſtan*, among other Privileges, a right of ſending two Burgeſſes to all Parliaments for the ſaid Borough; upon which the King and his Council ordered a *Writ* of *Inquiry*, which certainly would never have been done, if Dr. *Brady*'s Notion were true, that the Cities and Boroughs never ſent any Repreſentatives to Parliament but once in the *49th* of *Hen.* 3. and then no more till the *18th* of *Edward* the *Firſt*, which was but a little above 50 Years to the time of this Petition, which being within the Memory of ſo many then living, the King and his Council would never have ordered a *Writ* of *Inquiry* about ſuch a vain and idle Pretence.

FROM all which, I think, it may ſafely be concluded, that this Learned Antiquary above-mentioned, I mean Mr. *Lambard*, did not without good Authority believe, that not only the Great Lords or Peers, but

* *Of which ſort are* Gatton *in* Surrey, *beſides ſeveral Boroughs in* Devonſhire, Cornwall, *and other Counties.*

† Rot. Pat. 17. *Ed.* 3. pars 1. m. 20.

but alſo the Inferiour Nobility, and Repreſentatives of Cities and Towns, were included under the word *Witan*; and likewiſe that thoſe Places claimed that Privilege by Preſcription.

I ſhall therefore deſire the Doctor, that when he writes next upon this Subject, he will pleaſe to crave in Aid ſome Gentlemen of the Long Robe of his Opinion, to help him to anſwer this Argument of Mr. *Lambard* from general Preſcription; as alſo what hath been already ſaid concerning this matter in the ſame Dialogue of *Bibliotheca Politica* above-mentioned, beginning at *pag.* 483, and ending at *pag.* 593, incluſively: and if he can then with his Aſſiſtances prove all our antient Lawyers to have been miſtaken in this memorable Point, I ſhall own my ſelf to have been ſo too. But I deſire this may be taken notice of, that no Preſcription whatſoever in Law can be laid of later Date, than the firſt Year of King *Richard* the *Firſt*, which began almoſt fourſcore Years before the 49*th* of *Hen.* 3. when he fancies the Commons were firſt ſummoned to Parliament.

BUT that I may be as brief as I can, I ſhall reduce what I have further to ſay upon this Head, to a few Queries. As,

FIRST, Whether in all the Kingdoms of *Europe* of the *Gothic* Model, beginning with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and ending with *Scotland*, there can be ſhewn any of them wherein the Cities and Great Towns, either had not, or at leaſt not till of Modern Times, their particular Repreſentatives in the Common Councils, or Aſſemblies of the Eſtates in thoſe Kingdoms?

SECONDLY, Why in *England* alone, whoſe King was not more Abſolute than in other Neighbouring Kingdoms, and which was framed after the ſame *Gothic* Conſtitution, its Cities and antient Boroughs (which were in thoſe Times very conſiderable for Strength, Trade and Wealth, and guarded by ſo many Laws made in the *Saxon* Times) ſhould not be thought conſiderable enough to have any Delegates in the Common Council of the Kingdom, till ſo long after the Conqueſt, as the 49*th* of *Hen.* 3. which (if we may believe the Doctor) was alſo intermitted from that time for above the ſpace of twenty Years, till the 18*th* of King *Edward* the *Firſt*?

BESIDES which, I would alſo propoſe theſe farther Queries concerning the Antiquity of the Commons in general. As,

FIRST, If *Clerus* and *Populus* ſignify in our Antient Authors the Clergy and Laity, which the Doctor aſſerts, and I will not oppoſe; then I would aſk him, why (the ſame word *Clerus* including the inferiour Clergy, *viz.* Deans, Arch-deacons, *&c.* as well as the ſuperiour, *viz.* Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, *&c.* aſſembled in our Great Councils or Synods) the word *Populus* muſt not be allowed the ſame Latitude of Signification, and extend to the Gentry, or leſs Nobility, together with the chief Citizens and Burgeſſes, by a like Parity of Reaſon? unleſs he can make it out, that *Clerus* muſt be underſtood in a very comprehenſive ſenſe, and *Populus* in a very contracted and narrow one, only to mean Great Lords and Noblemen of the higher Rank.

SECONDLY, I would deſire to know of him what the words *Populus* and *Populi* ſhall ſignify, when put after and diſtinct from the words *Proceres*, *Optimates*, *Senatores*, or *Senatus*, &c. when theſe words occur in ſeveral antient Charters of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, as well as

Hiſtorians that make any mention of the Great Councils, unleſs they mean the *People* or *Commons* diſtinct from the *Great Lords?* Of which I ſhall here ſet down a few Inſtances out of many, both from Charters, Laws and Hiſtorians.

Vid. Monaſtic. Anglican. vol. 1. *fol.* 988. *col.* 2.

THE firſt whereof is found in the Charter of King *Ethelred*, containing a Grant and Confirmation of ſeveral great Privileges to the Monaſtery of *Wolverhampton*, which concludes in theſe words, *Hæc Decreta ſunt* Sigerici *Archiepiſcopi in placito coràm Rege* Ethelredo, *&* Eboracenſi *Archiepiſcopo, & omnibus Epiſcopis, Abbatibus Regionis* Britanniæ, *ſeu Senatoribus, Ducibus, &* Populo Terræ.

Vid. Spelm. Concil *f.* 625.

THE next is, the third Charter of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, made in a Great Council of the Kingdom, which was held in the laſt Year of his Reign, and concludes thus, *Hanc igitur Chartam meæ Donationis & Libertatis, in die Dedicationis prædictæ Eccleſiæ, recitari juſſi, coràm Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, & omnibus Optimatibus* Angliæ, *omniq;* Populo *audiente & vidente.*

NOW from both theſe Charters it ſeems evident, that by the word *Populus*, the Repreſentatives of Cities and Boroughs are here meant and underſtood, who were preſent at the ſealing of them, as well as the greater Nobility, *viz.* the Senators, Ealdormen and Earls, and the leſſer Nobility, *viz.* the *Thanes*, or Freeholders, included under the Title of *Optimates*, ſince the meer *Vulgar* or *Mob* could never be admitted into the Place of the Great Council as Witneſſes to the ſolemn reading and ſealing of thoſe Charters.

* Lamb. LL. Edw. Regis, *cap.* 8.

MY third Inſtance ſhall be that famous Law concerning the Grant of Tithes by King *Ethelwolf*, *Anno Dom.* 855. which is cited in the * Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, and confirmed by King *William* the *Firſt*, under the Title *de Apibus, & de aliis minutis Decimis*, wherein it is thus expreſſed, *Hæc (ſcilicet,* theſe Tithes) *conceſſa ſunt à Rege, Baronibus, & Populo.* Here it is plain, that the word *Populus* muſt ſignify a diſtinct Order or Degree of Men from that of the *Barones*.

Anſwer to Argument. Anti-Norman. *fol.* 297.

Lamb. ibid.

THIS Law of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* being urged by Mr. *Petyt* in his Rights of the Commons aſſerted, the Doctor paſſes over in ſilence; but when the ingenious Author of *Argumentum Anti-Normanicum*, makes uſe of the ſame Authority, the Doctor can no longer contain himſelf, but in his Anſwer to that Book, tells him (after an inſulting diminutive Reflection upon his Perſon) that, “He thinks this Law was made in King *Edward*'s days, and was piping-hot when the Conqueror came in, but (he ſays) it will prove otherwiſe upon Examination of it, and alſo doubtful, whether there was ever ſuch a Law or not made by a *Saxon* Monarch or King. For after the Law hath enumerated the manner of Tithing in very many things both great and ſmall, requiring an exact Tenth to be paid for moſt of them; it ſays, That he which detains the Tenth, if need be, may be forced to Payment by the Juſtice of the Biſhop and King; and then immediately follow theſe words, *Hæc autem prædicavit Beatus Auguſtinus, & conceſſa ſunt à REGE, BARONIBUS & POPULO: Sed poſteà* Inſtinctu Diaboli *multi eam (viz.* decimam) *detinuerunt*, &c. Theſe things St. *Auguſtine* preached up, and they were granted *by the King, Barons and People*, &c.

THE reſt of the Latin he there cites being not to the Point in Diſpute, I paſs over; yet I cannot but obſerve, that from hence the Doctor believes he hath got a notable Advantage over him, for he thus proceeds.

“ HENCE 'tis evident, that theſe Conceſſions of Tithes were made in the time of St. *Auguſtine*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſent hither from *Rome* in the Reign of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*; for the words, *& conceſſa ſunt à REGE, BARONIBVS ET POPVLO*, can relate to no other than the words immediately preceding, *hæc enim prædicavit Beatus Auguſtinus*. And the words next following them do alſo prove the ſame; *ſed poſteà Inſtinctu Diaboli, Multi eam detinuerunt*, &c. which was after they were granted by the King, Barons, and People: ſo that this was at moſt but the Confirmation of a Law made by King *Ethelbert*; and how, and by what words the Legiſlators were expreſſed near 500 Years after the Law made, and how they were rendred in *Latin* after the coming in of the *Normans*, tranſiently and without Deſign to give an Account of them, cannot be of much Value to prove who they were; and that the Laws of King *Edward* were made, or at leaſt tranſlated into *Norman Latin* after the Conqueſt, appears by the words, *Comites*, *Barones*, *Milites*, *Servientes*, *Servitium*, *Villanus*, *Catalla*, *manutenere*, all *Norman* words, and not known here till their coming hither. He that will aſſert any thing from a ſingle uncouth Expreſſion in one Caſe, and upon one Occaſion only, brings but a ſlender Proof for what he ſays.

THESE are the Doctor's own words which I have tranſcribed almoſt *Verbatim*, that I may do no prejudice to the Force of his Argument, which in ſhort depends upon this ſingle falſe Suppoſition, *viz.* that the Compiler or Drawer up of King *Edward*'s Laws, imagined that this Law concerning Tithes was made by King *Ethelbert*, and was afterwards confirmed by King *Edward* near 500 Years after the Law was made, when none could tell by what words the firſt Legiſlators were expreſs'd.

BUT if this now ſhould happen to prove otherwiſe, all that the Doctor has ſaid on this Subject will by an unlucky Miſchance fall to the Ground.

AND I ſhall ſhew here, that firſt of all his Argument is not cogent, that becauſe the words, *& conceſſa ſunt à Rege, Baronibus & Populo*, immediately follow thoſe aforegoing, viz. *Hæc enim prædicavit B. Auguſtinus*; therefore this Law could be made by no other than K. *Ethelbert*, ſince the words are put indefinitely, without mentioning any King in particular.

FOR St. *Auguſtine* might preach up Tithes, and yet the Law whereby they were given to the Clergy might be made many Years after; and that this was ſo, will appear by a brief Hiſtory of the Matter of Fact. For firſt there is not, (nor I believe ever was) any Law extant of King *Ethelbert* concerning Tithes, nor is ſo much as mentioned by any Writer or Hiſtorian that I know of: the firſt Law, or Canon we find for the paiment of them, being that of the Council or Synod of *Calcuithe*, held under King *Offa*, *Anno Dom.* 536. and which, either becauſe it was only an Eccleſiaſtical Canon, or elſe becauſe it was not made in a General Council of the whole Kingdom, was not of any Univerſal Obligation, (at leaſt as a Temporal Law) before that famous Grant of Tithes made by King *Ethelwolf* upon his going to *Rome*, and confirmed as a General Law at a Council held at *Wincheſter* after his return, *Anno Dom.* 855. and at which not any of the Biſhops and Great Lords were preſent, but an infinite Number of other faithful Subjects, (or Commons as we now call them), I ſhall ſhew more at large by and by; and to this, and not to any Law of King *Ethelbert*'s, I doubt not but the Compiler of theſe Laws of King *Edward* had reſpect, when he tells us that Tithes were granted *A REGE, BARONIBUS, & POPULO*, that is, *by the King, Barons, and People of all* England, and not by thoſe of one petty Kingdom, (as *Kent* was in the Time of King *Ethelbert*) whoſe Laws could never oblige the whole *Engliſh* Nation; and therefore the words that follow, viz. *ſed poſtea*, &c. muſt alſo refer to the Time of making this Law by King *Ethelwolf*, and not to this imaginary Grant of King *Ethelbert*, which the Compiler of theſe Laws knew nothing of.

THIS being ſo, I think all the reſt the Doctor ſays ſignifies but little; for he is much miſtaken notwithſtanding he ſo poſitively affirms, that all thoſe words he there mentions, were not known here till the coming over of the *Normans*; ſince he might have found, if he had pleaſed, the words *Comes* and *Miles* in the ſingular Number in the Subſcriptions of divers Charters and Laws before the Conqueſt, and the word *Comites* in the Body of the very Charters themſelves; for which I ſhall only refer him to the firſt Volume of Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Councils, as well as thoſe in *Monaſticon Anglicanum*.

Baro. AS for the word *Baro*, I grant it did not come into Common or Legal uſe till after the Time he mentions; yet that it was ſometimes uſed before, I ſhall refer him to *Aſſerius* his *Annals*, which however it was continued by another Hand till the beginning of the Reign of K. *Edward* the *Elder*, yet that it was wrote before the Conqueſt, there is no doubt to be made of it; and in the very laſt Page of thoſe *Annals* he may find the Names of the *Barones Normannorum*, (as he calls them) who are there related to have been ſlain.

Villanus. AS for *Villanus* uſed for a *Ceorle*'s Man, or Country-Man, you may ſee an Example of the uſe of that word in King *Athelſtan*'s Law above-cited: and the Doctor himſelf mentions *Terra Villanorum*, i. e. Lands of Villanes or Villagers before the *Norman* Times. *Compleat Hiſt. p.* 67.

AND as for the reſt of the words, viz. *Servientes*, *Servitium*, *Catalla*, and *Manutenere*, I confeſs they are not to be met with in the *Latin* Verſions of the *Saxon* Laws made before the Conqueſt; but I would fain know why they might not have been in uſe before that Time, tho they are not there mentioned? I am confident no impartial Reader will grant that a Negative Argument is any good Proof to the contrary.

BUT ſhould I own that the words (*Barones*, and all the reſt of them there cited by the Doctor) were not commonly in uſe till after the Conqueſt, yet that would do him but little Service; for admit that this Law was only briefly recited by the Collector of them in the Form there ſet down, it will be all one, for the People or Commons were repreſented in the Time of *Henry* the *Firſt*, (when theſe Laws were drawn up in the Form we now have them) or elſe they could never have been mentioned in this Law as a diſtinct Order of Men, by a Writer who certainly lived long before the 49*th* of *Henry* III. ſince this Law is found thus worded in *Roger Hoveden*'s Copy of King *Edward*'s Laws, which was written by him (being Secretary to *Henry* II.) above a hundred Years before the Commons (according to the Doctor's *Hypotheſis*)

theſis) were ever heard of: So that unleſs he can prove that *Henry* III. was before *Henry* II. I think he will but *Æthiopem lavare*.

BUT indeed if this *ſingle uncouth Expreſſion* (as the Doctor calls it) had been found *in one Caſe, and upon one Occaſion only*, I confeſs it might have been as *ſlender a Proof* as he would have it: but when I have not only given him frequent Inſtances of the uſe of this word in our Antient Charters and Laws, as contradiſtinct from all the reſt of the Orders abovementioned, I think that Pretence will ſtand him in little ſtead; and if theſe are not yet ſufficient, I will ſuperadd a few more from our Antient Hiſtorians to the ſame purpoſe.

FIRST, From *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Henry Huntington*, who both agree almoſt in the ſame words, concerning the Depoſition of *Sigebert* King of the *Weſt-Saxons* for Tyranny and Cruelty, *Anno* 754. *Huntington* expreſſes it thus, *viz.* Sigebertus *Rex in principio ſecundi Anni Regni ſui, cum incorrigibilis Superbiæ & Nequitiæ eſſet, congregati ſunt PROCERES & POPULUS totius Regni, & providâ Deliberatione Omnium expulſus eſt à Regno.* Kinewulf *verò Juvenis egregius de Regiâ ſtirpe, ELECTUS eſt in Regem.*

SECONDLY, From *Ailred* Abbot of *Rievalle*, who in his Life of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, giving an Account of the manner of that King's being Elected in his Mother's Womb, tells us, that *Ethelred* his Father having convened a Great Council for the appointing a Succeſſor, proceeds thus; *Fit Magnus coràm Rege Epiſcoporum, Procerúmq; Conventus, Magnus Plebis Vulgiq; Conſenſus.* Wherein he makes a plain Diſtinction between the Aſſembly of the great Noble Men, or *Proceres*, from the Conſent of the Commons here, called *Plebs* and *Vulgus*.

Decem-Scriptores, fol. 372.

AND tho I grant with the Doctor, this Story of King *Edward*'s Election in his Mother's Womb to have been but a Fiction; yet it is certain, that this Abbot then ſpoke according to his Belief of the manner of *Electing* a King in thoſe Times, and truly ſets down the Parties whoſe Preſence and Votes were neceſſary for the compleating of ſuch an Election, or elſe he muſt have ſpoke as much by way of Prophecy concerning this Matter, as King *Ethelred* and the Eſtates of the Kingdom had done about K. *Edward*'s being Elected in his Mother's Womb. And the Reader may remember that theſe Authors abovecited, lived and wrote many Years before the *49th* of *Henry* III. when the Doctor ſuppoſes the *Commons* were firſt ſummoned to Parliament; and therefore could not be corrupted with the Notions (not to ſay Prejudices) of thoſe who wrote after that Time.

BUT I know the Doctor has a Subterfuge, as he thinks for theſe plain and full Authoriries, and that is, that by the *Populus*, *Plebs* and *Vulgus* mentioned as you have heard, the King's *Thanes*, or leſs *Barons* as they were called after the Conqueſt, who were all Tenants *in Capite*, are hereby only to be underſtood; and that no other but they had any Right to be preſent, and vote in the Great Councils of the Kingdom; and this he has endeavoured to make good in his Anſwer to Mr. *Petyt*'s aboveſaid Treatiſe.

BUT ſince the Doctor's Authorities do there relate to the Times after his Conqueſt, (concerning which I ſhall not now ſay any thing) I will content my ſelf at preſent with asking him only theſe two Queſtions.

FIRST, How he will prove, that none but the Perſons he there mentions, appeared in thoſe Councils, ſince we cannot trace any Footſteps in our moſt Antient Laws or Hiſtorians of his *Tenants* in *Capite*, being the only Conſtituent Parts of the *Saxon Witena-Gemotes?*

AND it was indeed very unlikely they ſhould, if we conſider the many Free-Tenants who before the Conqueſt held in *Allodio* without Tit. Alodium. any Military Services; and this, as Sir *Henry Spelman* well obſerves, "was oppoſed to *Feud* or *Fee*, in the Antient Verſion of King *Canutus* Cap. 75. "his Laws, where it is called in *Saxon*, *Bockland*; and in the Laws of Cap. 36. "King *Alfred*, *Terra Hæreditaria*, and ſeems to be the ſame with our "*Fee-Simple*, which might be made over to Strangers without any Li- "cence from the Lord of whom ſuch Land was held.

OF which ſort of Men there is alſo frequent mention in *Doomſday* Book, under the Title of *Alloarii* and *Allodiarii*, and of whom it is there alſo often ſaid, *Potuit ire cum terrâ quo voluit*, or *potuit ſe vertere ad alium Dominum*. Of theſe there were certainly many more before the Conqueſt than afterwards, when I own the greateſt part of the Kingdom was in a few Years parcell'd out into *Knights Fees*.

SECONDLY, I deſire to be informed how our Great Councils could conſiſt of ſuch a multitude of Perſons, as I find in Antient Charters and Hiſtorians to have appeared at thoſe Aſſemblies, not only before, but long after the Conqueſt? But of the Period before that Time, (and which I treat of in this Volume) I ſhall give theſe remarkable Inſtances.

THE firſt is out of an Antient Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library, Sub effigie Claudii, D. 2. F. 8. concerning the League between *Alfred* and *Godrun* the *Dane*, which begins thus, *Circà Annum Salvatoris noſtri* DCCCLXXVI. *in Magno Concilio ſive* Mycel-Gemot, *Aluredus Rex Anglorum & Godrunus Rex Anglo-Danorum, & Omnes Angligenæ* Sapientes, *& omnis* populus *qui in Angliâ manſit, Pacis agenda ſive fœdus conſtituerunt, & Juramento confirmaverunt pro ſeipſis & Junioribus ſuis Ingenitis.* Wherein this is worth obſerving, that by the *Angligenæ Sapientes* here mentioned, the greater *Wites* or *Noblemen* are underſtood, and by *Populus*, the Repreſentatives of the inferior People or Commons.

THE next is, that at the end of King *Ethelwolf*'s Charter of Tythes, *Anno* 855. where you will find after the Subſcriptions of the Biſhops, Vid. Spelm. Concil. f. 350. Earls and other Great Men, or *Thanes*, to this Law, theſe following Parties are mentioned, *Aliorúmque Fidelium infinita Multitudo, qui omnes Regium Chirographum laudaverunt, Dignitates verò ſua Nomina ſubſcripſerunt.*

FROM whence you may obſerve, that tho only the Dignified Perſons ſubſcribed their Names, yet all the reſt of this Multitude had a Right to approve, and give their Conſents to what was there tranſacted: But it cannot be imagined, that this Charter would ever take notice of the Approbation of the meer Rabble without, however they might ſhew a Joy and Satisfaction at what was there done by their Hollowing and Shouting.

AND this I conceive to be the Reaſon why theſe Councils often met in the open Air, when the Weather would permit, becauſe no one Room could eaſily hold them; as appears by the Concluſion of King *Edgar*'s Charter to *Ely* Abby, bearing date at *Wulſamere*, *An. Dom.* 970. Charta antiq. in Turri Lond. B. *Apud* Wlſamere (ſays the Record) *non clàm in angulo, ſed* ſub Dio, *palàm evidentiſſimè, ſcientibus totius Regni mei Primatibus*; who were not

only

nly *Primates Regis*, the King's Tenants in *Capite*, but *Primates Regni*, he principal or moſt conſiderable Men of the Kingdom.

I could give ſeveral more Inſtances to prove, that our Antient *Witena-Gemotes* conſiſted of a much greater number than the Doctor's *Tenants n Capite*, which in the time of his Conqueror were not five or ſix hundred Perſons, and might not be half that number in the time of *Edward he Confeſſor*. But ſince the reſt of my Authorities fall out in the following Period, I ſhall reſerve them to the next ſucceeding Volume. Theſe are ſufficient, I think, to make out that long before the time the Doctor allows, the *Commons* had their *Repreſentatives* in the Great Councils by thoſe of their own Order; but whether by Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, as now at this day, I do not affirm.

BUT to paſs from Charters to the Laws themſelves, that prove the *Engliſh-Saxons Witena Gemotes*, to have then conſiſted of a great multitude of People, I ſhall only inſtance in the famous Charter of *Athelwolf*'s concerning Tithes, *Anno Dom.* 855. which being confirmed into a Law at the Common-Council at *Wincheſter*, there is both in the Copy of this Charter in *Ingulph*, as alſo in that in Sir *H.Spelman*'s firſt Volume of Councils, this Concluſion (after the Subſcriptions of Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Earldormen, and others) in theſe words, *Aliorumq; Fidelium infinita multitudo, qui omnes Regis Chirographum laudaverunt, Dignitates verò ſua nomina ſubſcripſerunt*, i. e. there were beſides a great multitude of faithful Subjects, who all approved of the Royal Subſcriptions; but the Dignities, *i. e.* the dignified Perſons alone ſubſcribed their Names.

NOW I would fain be ſatisfied from the learned Doctor, or any other who ſhall next undertake this Controverſy, who this *infinita Fidelium multitudo* were, that are here ſaid to have approved of this Charter, unleſs they were the whole Body of the inferiour Nobility, or Freeholders of the Nation, together with the Deputies of Cities and Boroughs, on whoſe behalf the Dignities are ſaid to have ſubſcribed their Names? ſince it had been very ridiculous for this Charter to have mentioned the Aſſent or Approbation of the *Mob*, or meer Vulgar that only looked on at this Aſſembly, or to have taken particular notice that theſe had not ſubſcribed their Names, but only the Perſons of great Dignity.

I come next to conſider in whom the *Legiſlative Power*, or that of *Enacting* and *Repealing* Laws, did then as well as *now conſiſt*.

Dr. *Johnſton* in his Excellency of Monarchical Government, *Chap.* 24. and other high Aſſertors of the Royal Prerogative, think they have done enough to prove, that the Power of enacting Laws reſided wholly in the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings; and for this they cite the * Titles or Prefaces to ſeveral Laws, wherein the King by the Advice of his Biſhops, and *Wites*, or Wiſe-men, ſtrictly charges and commands ſuch and ſuch “ Laws to be obſerved; and ſometimes he does it in his own Perſon “ without mentioning any of them, as may be ſeen in the Preface to “ the Laws of King *Cnute*, and other Places.

* *Vid.* LLeg. Regum Inæ, Ælfredi, Æthelſtani, Edgari, &c. *Vid.* Spelm. Concil. vol. I. *fol.* 552.

I ſhall not diſpute the Truth of any of the Authorities theſe Gentlemen produce, but freely confeſs that the King, as Head of the Body Politick or Common-weal, is often mentioned, as if he himſelf made ſuch and ſuch a Law; as we ſay at this day the Statutes of King *Charles* the

Firſt, or *Second*, tho every body knows that thoſe Laws were enacted with the Conſent and Authority of Parliament.

SO under our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, tho the King's Authority gave Sanction to the Law, and he might *propter Excellentiam Perſonæ*, frequently bid and command in his own Perſon, yet it was ſtill in ſuch a manner as was conſiſtent with the ſettled and received Conſtitution of the Kingdom, which I dare maintain hath not been altered in this Point ſince that time. Some few Authorities of this ſort I will here ſet down, collected out of the ſame Books theſe very Gentlemen have made uſe of, to which I will alſo add ſome antient Charters of indiſputable Credit.

THE firſt ſhall be from the Laws of King *Ina*, which you may ſee Tom. 1. fol. 219. in the Preface to Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Councils, where in a *Mycel Synod* ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Laws were made to theſe ends, *viz. ad Concordiam publicam promovendam, per Commune* Concilium, *& Aſſenſum Epiſcoporum, Principum, Procerum, Comitum, & omnium Sapientum Seniorum, & Populorum totius Regni.* And as for the Concluſions of * Pag. 193. King *Alfred*'s Laws, which * Dr. *Johnſton* urges for the King's ſole Power in making Laws; they rather make againſt than for his Opinion, for he there ſhews us, that this King having commanded his Laws to be written, thoſe that he liked not, he with the Council of his *Wites* rejected, and thoſe he liked, he bad, or commanded to be holden; where I deſire the Reader to take notice, that he neither rejected nor commanded theſe Laws, but *MID MINRA WITENA GETHEAT*, in *Saxon*, that is, with the Conſent of his *Witena*, or Council of *Wiſe-men*, whoſe Conſent and Approbation was certainly neceſſary in thoſe Laws, as appears by theſe very words at their Concluſion, which the Doctor himſelf hath thus tranſlated out of *Saxon*; I *Alfred* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, ſhewed all theſe (Laws) to all my *Wites* (*i. e.* Council of Nobility, or Wiſe-Men) and they ſaid they all liked (or were pleaſed) they ſhould be holden.

AND that the *Saxon* word *GETHEAT* ſignifies ſomewhat more than bare Counſel or Advice, you may ſee in the Title to King Vid. Chronic. Brompt. fol. 848. *Athelſtan*'s Laws, which is thus, *Hæc ſunt Judicia quæ Sapientes* Exoniæ, *Conſilio* Adelſtani *Regis inſtituerunt, & iterum apud* Fuereſham, *& tertii vice apud* Thundreſfeldium, *ubi hoc definitum ſimul & confirmatum eſt.*

HERE you may obſerve, that the *Sapientes*, the *Wites*, or *Wiſe-men*, are ſaid to inſtitute or make theſe Judgments or Laws by the Advice of the King, and not He by theirs.

THIRDLY, I will preſent you with the Title of King *Ethelred*'s Brompt. ut ſupr. col.893, 894. Laws, (as you may ſee in the ſame Author) and there we meet with theſe words, *Hoc eſt Concilium quod* Ethelredus *Rex, &* Sapientes ſui *condixerunt ad Emendationem & Augmentum Pacis, omni Populo apud* Wodeſtocam *in* Mercena Landa, *id eſt, in terra* Mercenorum.

FOURTHLY, To another Body of Laws made by the ſame King Idem fol.895. *Ethelred*, you will find this Title, *Hæ ſunt Leges quas* Ethelredus *Rex, &* Sapientes ſui *conſtituerunt apud* Venetyngum, *ad Emendationem Pacis & Fælicitatis Incrementum.*

BY theſe two laſt Titles prefixt to King *Ethelred*'s Decrees, the Reader may pleaſe to take notice, that *Concilium* in the firſt of them does not there ſignify barely *Advice* or *Counſel*, (tho if it did only do that it would make but little to theſe Gentlemens purpoſe) but it muſt (and can do nothing elſe here than) intend and mean the Laws and Statutes which were made in this Great Aſſembly, not by King *Ethelred* alone, but by him and his *Wiſe-men:* this you find in both of them; for what is called *Concilium* in the former, the latter Title calls *Leges*, and were all enacted by the joint and unanimous Conſent of the King and his Great Council.

I ſhall now proceed to give you a few Inſtances from antient Charters: And the firſt is that out of the great Regiſter of *Abingdon* above-cited, which being thus, *Ego* Ecberht *Rex* Occidentalium Saxonum *cum Licentia & Conſenſu totius Gentis noſtræ, & Vnanimitate omnium Optimatum*, &c.

Bibl. Cotton. ſub Effig. Claud. B. 9. cap. 31.

FROM whence I ſhall obſerve, that as antient as the time of King *Egbert*, the whole *Engliſh-Saxon* Nation, as well as the chief Men of it, are ſaid to give not only their Conſent, but their Licence to this Charter, without which the Authority of the King, and the Unanimity of theſe chief Men would have ſignified little.

THE ſecond Charter is that of King *Cnute* to the Abbey of *Briadriteſworth* (afterwards called St. *Edmundsbury*) now in the Office of the King's Remembrancer of the *Exchequer*, the beginning of which runs thus, * *Ego* Cnute *Rex totius* Albionis *Inſulæ, & aliarum Nationum plurimarum, in Cathedrâ Regali promotus,* † *cum Concilio & Decreto Archiepiſcoporum, Epiſcoporum, Abbatum, Comitum, aliorúmq; omnium Fidelium elegi ſanciend.*

* Rot. Carr. 4. E. 3. m. 24. n. 58.

† *The ſame Expreſſions as to the enacting part, as well as all the Parties that gave their Aſſent, you may alſo find in K.* Edward *the Confeſſor's laſt Charter to the Abby of* Weſtminſter. *vid. Si* Hen. Spelman's 1ſt *vol. of Councils*, ad finem.

THIS Charter is the more remarkable, becauſe made by a Prince who came in partly by Force, and therefore one might have thought he would have exerted a more abſolute Power in making Laws by his ſole Authority; and yet we find him ſo far from pretending to do that, that he grants this Charter not only by the *Conſent*, but by the *Decree* of the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and all his other *faithful Subjects*; which word (in the Latin, *Fideles*) tho Dr. *Brady* underſtands it only of Military Tenants *in Capite*, yet I doubt not but it is there to be taken in a much larger ſenſe, and muſt comprehend all the leſſer *Thanes*, or Freeholders above-mentioned, as alſo the Deputies or Repreſentatives of Cities and Towns: of which *Fideles* Sir *Henry Spleman* underſtands *omnes qui in Principis alicujus ditione ſunt, vulgò* ſubjecti: *Hi ſunt qui in Hiſtoriis dicuntur* Fideles Regis. And alſo in the ſame ſenſe it is to be underſtood in the Oath of Fidelity taken antiently in the Court-Leets, as the ſame Author ſhews us, *Tu* J. S. *jurabis quod ab iſta die in anteà, eris* Fidelis *& Legalis Domino noſtro Regi, & ſuis Hæredibus*; *&* Fidelitatem *& Legalitatem ei portabis de vita & membro, & de Terreno honore, & quod tu eorum Malum aut Damnum nec noveris, nec audiveris, quòd non defendes (id eſt,* prohibes) *pro poſſe tuo*, &c.

Spelm. Gloſſ. f. 225. col. 1.

AND tho I grant this word (*Fideles*) is after the Conqueſt frequently uſed for a Military Tenant or Vaſſal, yet does it likewiſe even then often extend further than to Tenants *in Capite* only, as I am able to prove from the very Authorities he gives us in his own Gloſſary, under the Title *Fideles*, were it now worth while to diſpute that Point. But in the mean time it lies upon him to make out, that the *Fidelium Multitudo* mentioned in King *Athelwolf*'s Charter abovecited, and the *Omnium*

nium Fidelium in theſe, were no other than his Tenants *in Capite*, which when ever he does, (to make uſe of his own Phraſe) *Erit mihi Magnus Apollo.*

I could alſo give you ſome Inſtances to the ſame Effect out of the *Saxon Annals* under the Years 994, and 1002. in both which it is ſaid expreſly, *THA GÆREDDE SE KYNG AND HIS WITAN*; that is, it was Decreed by the King and his *Wites* or *Wiſemen*, to make Peace with the *Danes*, and to raiſe a Tax for that end.

SO that to conclude, I think this Diſpute about the King's Authority in making of Laws, may eaſily be reconciled to that which the two Houſes of Parliament now exerciſe, that is, the King makes the Laws, yet by and with the *Aſſent* of the Lords and Commons, as is declared in the Year-Book of *Edward* the *Third*. And if ſuch their *Aſſent* be abſolutely neceſſary, can any Man in reaſon deny their Authority to be Eſſential in the making of theſe Laws?

22 Edw. 3. f. 3. a. b.

AND therefore *Bracton* underſtood well enough what he wrote, when he tells us, *Cum Legis Vigorem habeat Quicquid de Conſilio & Conſenſu Magnatum, & Reipublicæ Communi ſponſione, Authoritate Principis præcedente, juſtè fuerit Definitum & Approbatum*; i. e. "That whatſoever hath been rightly decreed and approved of by the Advice and "Conſent of the Chief Men, and the General Agreement of the Com-"mon-Wealth, the Prince's Authority preceding, carries thenceforth "the Force of a Law.

WHEREBY it appears that in this Great Man's Time, the King gave his Conſent to Laws firſt, by ordering them to be drawn up by his Council, and propoſed to the Parliament when they met; and that it was in their Power either to accept or refuſe them, as we ſee it is in Charters and Acts of Pardon at this Day, when they are Paſſed and Confirmed by both Houſes; and for this ſee the Preface to the Statute of *Weſtminſter* the *Third*.

AS for the Judicial Power of this *Witena-Gemote*, in Baniſhing great and notorious Offenders againſt the King and Kingdom, whoſe Crimes were either not directly Treaſon according to the ſtrict Letter of the Law, or elſe their Perſons being too great for any other leſs Court of Judicature; you may find divers Examples in our *Annals* and Hiſtorians, *viz.* under the Years 1048, 1052, 1055. But I do not find any great Lord or Nobleman condemned to Death, or attainted by Authority of this Council, till long after the Conqueſt.

[illegible]

I HAVE [illegible] now ſhewn the Antient Authority of the Eſtates of the Kingdom to have been always neceſſary and concurrent, (I do not ſay co-ordinate) with that of the King, and alſo what other Powers they conſtantly then uſed; in the next Place I come to obſerve the near Conjunction and Union of both Church and State in their *Mycel-Synods* or *Witena-Gemotes*; which lets us ſee what kind of Supremacy our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings then exerciſed in Church Matters, as alſo who they were that at that Time made *Eccleſiaſtical* as well as *Civil* Laws: and I ſhall give it you in the Words of a very Learned Lawyer lately deceaſed, I mean, Mr. *Joſeph Waſhington*, ſince I own I am not able to mend what hath been wrote by ſo excellent a Pen: his words are theſe.

Obſervations on the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of the Kings of England, *pag.* 13, 14, &c.

"IN the ſecond Place, (for in the precedent Pages he had given "ſome Inſtances before the entry of the *Saxons*, (*which being not to my preſent*

preſent Deſign I omit) “to make appear in ſome Meaſure how the *Law* ſtood in thoſe Times with reſpect to the *King's Supremacy*;) I will exhibit (ſays he) a very few Inſtances of the *Saxon* Times, during the *Heptarchy*. The Reader may conſult many more at his Leiſure.

“NO marvel if we find this *People* ſubmitting to nothing in *Religion*, but what was ordained by themſelves; *De Majoribus Omnes*, was one of their Fundamental Conſtitutions before they came hither, and it is continued here to this Day. And *Matters* of *Religion* were amongſt their *Majora*, even before they received Chriſtianity.

Tacit. de Morib. German. Cap. 11.

“ACCORDINGLY *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, *habito cum Sapientibus Conſilio*, renounced his *Paganiſm*, and he and they embraced the *Chriſtian Faith*. This is deſcribed in *Bede* and *Huntington*, to have been done in ſuch an Aſſembly of Men, as the *Parliaments* of thoſe Days are generally mentioned to conſiſt of.

Vid. Bede Eccl. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 13. Hunting. l. 3. f. 188.

“AFTER the *Chriſtian Religion* had ſpread among the *Saxons*, the *Biſhops* and *Clergy* frequently held *Synods* without the *Laity* for Church-Viſitation, and made Conſtitutions for the Regulation of the Clergy, which they obeyed and ſubmitted to by reaſon of their *Oath* of *Canonical Obedience*: but as nothing tranſacted in thoſe Aſſemblies of the Clergy bound the People, ſo can no Inſtance be produced of the Clergy's being bound by any Act of the King, not aſſented to in the Provincial Synods of thoſe Times.

Vid. Spel. Concil. ubicunq;.

THESE Synods may eaſily be diſtinguiſhed from our *Mycel-Synods* or *Witena-Gemotes*, not only by the Matters tranſacted in them, but by the Perſons that therein preſided, and ſubſcribed them, *viz.* the Pope's Legate, or elſe the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* or *York*, and the Biſhops, Abbots, *&c.* without the Names of any Temporal Perſons preſent thereat, when they were meer Eccleſiaſtical Synods; but if they were mixt as well for Temporal as Eccleſiaſtical Matters, both the King and Arch-Biſhop are ſaid to preſide, otherwiſe the King alone: and before the Union of the Heptarchy into one Kingdom, theſe Synods were commonly held in the Dominions of that King who was then moſt Powerful, ſo that the leſſer or weaker Princes were fain to appear therein in Perſon, or by their Deputies; but if they did not appear there, nor yet ſend any Deputies, thoſe Councils were looked upon as to all Temporal and Eccleſiaſtical Matters, no other than particular Synods, or Councils of thoſe Kingdoms wherein they were held, or whoſe Kings conſented to them; for which I could give you ſeveral Inſtances were it not to avoid being tedious; but for this I refer the Reader to the firſt Volume of Sir *H. Spelman*, as alſo to divers Charters in *Monaſt. Anglican.* and *Ingulf*; ſome of which are taken notice of in this *Introduction*, and the following Hiſtory. This I thought fit to ſuperadd, the better to explain what our Learned Author hath ſaid upon this Point.

BUT notwithſtanding he there further obſerves, “That the Clergy themſelves, both as to Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Ceremonies, were bound by the Publick Laws of the Kingdom, enacted in the *Great Councils* of the Nation; concerning which he gives us theſe enſuing Inſtances.

“IN the Year 673. *Concilium* Herudfordiæ *celebratum eſt ſub initio primi Anni* Lotharii *Regis* Cantiæ, *præſidente* Theodoro Cantuariæ *Archiepiſcopo*. At this Council (ſays *Matthew Weſtminſter*) were

Mat. Weſtm. fol. 122, 123.

“ preſent *Epiſcopi Angliæ, & Reges, & Magnates Univerſi*: where *Theodore*
“ propoſed *decem Capitula*, out of a Book of Canons before them
“ *all*, which were there *aſſented* to, and *ſubſcribed*. The firſt was concerning
“ the Obſervation of *Eaſter*; the ninth, that the Number of
Spelm. Concil. Vol. I. Pag. 152, 153. “ *Biſhops* ſhould be increaſed, *creſcente Fidelium numero*. The reſt were
“ concerning *Biſhops, Biſhopricks, Monks, Marriage, Fornication*, &c.

“ THE Preſence of the *Biſhops* and all the *Magnates*, makes this Aſſembly
“ appear to have been a *Parliament* of thoſe Times. What Orders
“ of Men were comprehended under the word *Magnates*, is not
“ material to our preſent purpoſe. The *Great Councils* that made the
“ Laws, and without whom no Laws were made, are frequently ſo
“ deſcribed by our Antient *Hiſtorians*.

BUT without all peradventure theſe *Magnates* were *Laymen*, and that is enough for my Point.

THEN the ſame Author goes on in theſe words, “ In the Year 692.
“ *Ina* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, enacted many *Conſtitutions* for the Government
“ of the *Church*, as *De Formula vivendi Miniſtrorum Dei. De*
“ *baptizandis Infantibus. De Opere in die Dominico. De Immunitate*
“ *Fani*, &c. The Preface to which Law runs thus, *Ego* Inas *Dei beneficio*
“ Occiduorum Saxonum *Rex, ſuaſu & Inſtituto* Cenredi *Patris mei, &*
“ Heddæ *&* Erkenwaldi *Epiſcoporum meorum*, Omnium Senatorum meorum,
“ & natu Majorum Sapientum Populi mei, *in magnâ Servorum*
“ *Dei frequentiâ, religioſè ſtudebam tùm animorum noſtrorum ſaluti, tùm*
“ *communi Regni noſtri conſervationi, ut legitima nuptiarum fædera*, &c.
“ Here the King, his Biſhops, all his Senators, the *Natu majores & Sapientes*
“ of his People, (which are Deſcriptions of the Laity in the Parliaments
“ of thoſe Times) and a great Number of *God's Servants*,
“ (by which the *Clergy* are meant) make *Eccleſiaſtical Laws*. This was
Ibid. fol. 182, 183, &c. “ a *Parliament*, as appears not only by the Preſence of the *Laity*, but
“ by many *Temporal Laws* enacted at the ſame Time.

“ IN the Year 694. *Concilium Magnum* Becanceldæ *celebratum eſt*,
“ *præſidente* Withredo *Rege* Cantiæ, *nec non* Bertualdo *Archiepiſcopo*
“ Britanniæ, *cum* Tobiâ *Epiſcopo Roffenſi, Abbatibus, Abbatiſſis, Presbyteris,*
“ *Diaconibus, Ducibus, Satrapis*, &c. All theſe *paritèr tractabant,*
“ *anxiè examinabant de ſtatu Eccleſiarum Dei*, &c. Here the King's *Legiſlative*
“ *Power* in *Eccleſiaſtical Matters* exerted it ſelf, not *Perſonally*,
“ but in this *Great Council*. They do all Enact, *Statuimus, decernimus,*
“ *præcipimius*. For when the *King* himſelf is ſpoken of, the *ſingular*
“ Number is uſed, *Nullus unquàm habeat Licentiam accipere alicujus*
Ibid. p. 189, 190. “ *Eccleſiæ vel Familiæ Monaſterii Dominium, quæ à meipſo vel Anteceſſoribus*
“ *meis*, &c.

“ A Council was held at *Berghamſtede, Anno quinto* Withredi *Regis*
“ Cantiæ, i. e. *Anno Chriſti* 697. *Sub* Bertualdo *Archiepiſcopo* Cantuarienſi,
“ *præſentibus* Gyſmundo *Epiſcopo* Roffenſi, *& omnibus Ordinibus*
“ *Gentis illius, cùm Viris quibuſdam militaribus. In quo de moribus cavetur*
“ *ad Eccleſiæ cognitionem plerúmq; pertinentibus*. Theſe *Ordines Gentis*
“ *illius*, ſeem by the Preface to theſe Laws, to be meant of the *Ordines*
“ *Eccleſiaſtici Gentis illius*; but withal, that they *cum viris utiq;*
Ibid. p. 194. “ *militaribus humaniſſimè &* Communi Omnium Aſſenſu *has Leges decrevere*.
“ So that theſe *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* were enacted by the Aſſent
“ of the *Viri Militares*, as well as of the *King* and the *Clergy*.

“ A

“ A Council was held at *Cloveſhoe, ſub* Cuthberto Doroberniæ *Archiepiſcopo, præſentibus (prætèr Epiſcopos, Sacerdotes & Eccleſiaſticos quamplurimos)* Ædelbaldo Merciorum *Rege cum ſuis Principibus & Ducibus, Anno Dom.* 747. *In quo decernebatur de unitate Eccleſiæ, de ſtatu Chriſtianæ Religionis, & de Concordiâ & Pace,* &c.

Spelm.Concil. p. 242, *&c.*

“ In the Year 787. *Concilium Legatinum & Pananglicum* was held at *Calcuith,* in which many *Canons* were made *de fide primitùs ſuſceptâ retinenda, aliiſq; ad Eccleſiæ regimen pertinentibus.* This Council was held *coràm Rege* Ælfwaldo, *& Archiepiſcopo* Eanbaldo, *& omnibus Epiſcopis & Abbatibus Regionis, ſeu Senatoribus & Ducibus, &* Populo Terræ. After theſe *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* had been thus enacted by *Ælfwald* King of *Northumberland,* the *Legats* carried them into the *Council* or *Parliament* of the *Mercians,* where the glorious King *Offa, cum Senatoribus Terræ, unà cum,* &c. *convenerat.* There they were read in *Latin* and *Teutonick,* that *all* might underſtand, and *all* promiſed to obſerve them; and the *King* and his *Princes,* the *Arch-biſhop* and his *Companions,* ſigned them with the ſign of the Croſs.

Spelm.Concil. vol. I. f. 291, 292, *&c.*

“ MANY Inſtances of this kind might have been added, as particularly that of the Council at *Hatfield, Anno* 680, wherein the *Canons* of five *General Councils* were received, which was a *Witena-Gemot,* a *Conventus Sapientum*; but I ſpare time, and am indeavouring only to open a Door.

“ BY theſe Inſtances it is apparent, that the ſame Body of Men that enacted the *Temporal Laws* of the Kingdom did in the very ſame *Councils* make Laws for the Government of the Church. Indeed, the whole Fabrick of the *Engliſh-Saxon Church* was built upon Acts of Parliament; nothing in which the whole Community was concern'd, was enacted, decreed, or eſtabliſhed, but by that Authority. For whoſo reads impartially the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, and compares them with one another, will find, that as moſt of thoſe antient *Councils,* commonly ſo called, were no other than (to ſpeak in our Modern Language) *Parliaments*; ſo not any thing whatſoever in *Religion,* obligatory to the *People,* whether in Matters of *Faith, Diſcipline, Ceremonies,* or any *Religious Obſervances,* was impoſed, but in ſuch Aſſemblies as no Man can deny to have been Parliaments of thoſe times, that has not a Fore-head of Braſs. For the Preſence not of the Kings only, but of the *Duces, Principes, Satrapæ, Populus Terræ,* &c. ſhews ſufficiently, that neither the *Kings* and the Clergy, without the concurrent Authority of the ſame Perſons that enacted *Temporal Laws,* could preſcribe *General Laws* in Matters of *Religion.* I do not diſpute what Orders of Men among the *Saxons* were deſcribed by *Duces, Principes,* &c. but ſure I am, that they were *Lay-men,* and as ſure, that they *aſſented* to, and *confirmed* thoſe Laws, without whoſe *Aſſent* they were no Laws: ſo that the *Kings* of thoſe Times had no greater *Legiſlative Power* in *Eccleſiaſtical Matters* than in *Temporal.*

“ THE tearing the *Eccleſiaſtical Power* from the *Temporal,* was the great Root of the *Papacy*: It was that mounted it to this heighth; thoſe Powers never were diſtinct in *England,* nor moſt other Nations, till that *See* got the Aſcendant. And it is a ſtrange Inconſiſtency to argue one while, that *whatever the Pope* de facto, *formerly did by the Canon Law, that* of Right *belongs to our Kings*; and another while,

“ that the ſeveral Acts that reſtore the *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction* to the
“ *Crown*, are but *declarative.* It ſhews how little the *Supremacy* is understood
“ by Modern Aſſertors of it, and how little they are acquainted
“ with the Antient Government of *England*.

“ THE third *Period of Time* to be conſidered, ſhall be from the uniting
“ of the ſeveral Kingdoms of the *Saxons* under one Monarchy to
“ the *Norman* Conqueſt.

“ IN this Diviſion we find a Letter from Pope *Formoſus* to King Edward
“ the Elder, wherein the Pope complains, that the Country of the
“ *Weſt-Saxons* had wanted *Biſhops* for ſeven whole Years: Upon the
“ Receipt of this Letter, the King calls *Synodum Senatorum Gentis Anglorum*,
“ who being aſſembled, *ſingulis tribubus* Gewiſiorum (i. e.
Spelm.Concil. 387, 388. “ *Weſt-Saxonum) ſingulos conſtituerunt Epiſcopos, & quod olim duo habuerunt*,
“ *in quinque diviſerunt.*

“ THE *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* of King *Edward* the *Elder*, and *Guthrun*
“ the *Dane*, begin with this *Prœmium: Hæc ſunt Senatuſ-conſulta ac*
“ *Inſtituta, quæ primò* Aluredus *&* Guthrunus *Reges, deindè* Edwardus
“ *&* Guthrunus *Reges, illis ipſis temporibus tulère, cum pacis fœdus* Daci
“ *&* Angli *ferierunt. Quæque poſteà à ſapientibus* (Tha Witan) *ſæpius*
“ *recitata átq; ad Communem Regni utilitatem aucta átq; amplificata ſunt.*
“ The Titles of ſome of theſe Laws are, *De Apoſtatis, De Correctione*
“ *Ordinatorum*, (i. e.) *Sacris Initiatorum, De Inceſtu, De Jejuniis,* &c.
“ all of Eccleſiaſtical Cognizance, or at leaſt of after-times ſo reputed.
“ Theſe are called *Senatuſ-conſulta*, than which a more appoſite word
“ could ſcarce have been uſed for *Acts* of *Parliament*, and were aſſented
Spelm.Concil. 390, *&c.* “ to by the *Witen*; from which word the *Saxon* Term for *Parliaments*,
“ *Witena-Gemot*, is derived.

“ A *Concilium celebre* was held under King *Athelſtan, in quo Leges*
“ *plurimæ, tùm Civiles, tùm Eccleſiaſticæ, ſtatuebantur.* It's true, the
“ Civil Laws are omitted, and Sir *Henry Spelman* gives us an Account
“ only of the *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* made at this Aſſembly, which conclude,
“ *Decreta, Actaq; hæc ſunt in celebri* Gratanleano *Concilio, cui* Wulfelmus
Spelm.Concil. 396, *&c.* “ *interfuit Archiepiſcopus, & cùm eo Optimates & Sapientes ab* Athelſtano
“ *evocati frequentiſſimi.*

“ KING *Edmund* held a Council *Anno* 944. where many *Eccleſiaſtical*
“ as well as *Secular Laws* were made, as *De Vitæ caſtitate eorum*
“ *qui ſacris initiantur*; *De Fani inſtauratione*; *De pejerantibus*; *De iis*
“ *qui barbara factitarunt Sacrificia*, &c. And this Council is expreſſed
Spelm.Concil. fol. 419, *&c.* “ to have been *Conventus tàm Eccleſiaſticorum, quàm Laicorum*; *celebri*
“ *tàm Eccleſiaſticorum, quàm Laicorum frequentia.*

“ I will give no more Inſtances before the Conqueſt, tho numbers are
“ to be had which lie ſcattered up and down in the *Monkiſh Hiſtories*,
“ which being compared with one another, will ſufficiently diſcloſe
“ what I aſſert. For ſometimes *Laws* that concert *Temporal Affairs*, as
“ well as *Eccleſiaſtical*, are ſaid to have been made by ſuch a *King* in one
“ Author, which very Laws another *Hiſtorian* tells us were made in
“ the *Great Council*, for which yet they have no uniform, appropriated
“ Expreſſion, Term, or Denomination: Juſt as we in common Parlance
“ ſay, King *Edward* the *Third*, or King *Henry* the *Seventh* made
“ ſuch a Law, which yet every Man underſtands to have been made in
“ Parliament, becauſe elſe it were not a Law.

SO far have I made bold with the words of this Learned Gentleman: I ſhall now, by way of Confirmation to what he hath ſaid, obſerve, from Mr. *Lambard*'s Edition of his *Engliſh-Saxon* Laws (which was a different Copy from that, from whence Sir *Henry Spelman* publiſhed his Councils) that our *Saxon* Laws both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, were made by one and the ſame Authority, as appears by the Preface to the Laws of King *Edmund*, which we find runs thus, Ædmundus *Rex ipſo ſolemni* Paſchatis *Feſto, frequentem* Londini *tàm Eccleſiaſticorum quàm Laicorum Cætum celebravit*, &c. So likewiſe in the Laws of King *Edgar*, the Preface of which is thus, *Leges quas* Edgarus *Rex frequenti Senatu, ad Dei Gloriam, & Reipublicæ utilitatem, ſancivit.* In the *Saxon* Original thus, *MID HIS WITENA GEHEAHTE GERÆD*, that is, with the Council of his Wiſe-men he eſtabliſhed. The Laws of King *Cnute* likewiſe begin thus, *Conſultum quod* Canutus Anglorum, Dacorum, *&* Norwegiorum *Rex, ex Sapientûm Concilio ſancivit.* (Note, the words in the *Saxon* are the ſame as above.)

Lamb. Archaionomia, f. 57. & dein.

Id. fol. 62.

Id. fol. 97.

I could illuſtrate this further by ſeveral more Inſtances out of the ſame Volume, were I not afraid of having already treſpaſſed too much upon you; only I deſire you would pleaſe to take notice, that in each Body of theſe above-mentioned Laws, the *Eccleſiaſtical* precede, and then the *Civil* or *Temporal* follow, tho being both made at the ſame time, in the ſame Council, and by the joint Authority of the ſame Parties.

BUT now to add one thing more from the ſaid Author, Mr. *Waſhington*, which is, "That *Biſhopricks* and other *Eccleſiaſtical Dignities* were in the *Saxon* Times (commonly) conferred in *Parliament*; we have the Teſtimony of *Ingulphus*, who was Abbot of *Crowland* in King *William* the Conqueror's Reign; *à multis annis retroactis nulla erat Electio Prælatorum merè libera & Canonica: ſed omnes Dignitates tàm Epiſcoporum, quàm Abbatum, Regis* Curia *pro ſuâ complacentiâ conferebat*: that is, ſays he, that for many Years paſt, there was no Election of Prelates abſolutely free and Canonical: But all Dignities both of Biſhops and Abbots, were conferred by the King's Court (*i. e.* the Great Council of the Kingdom, as I ſhall prove by and by.) according to their good Pleaſure.

AFTER which, the Perſon ſo elected, being firſt conſecrated, the King inveſted him with the Temporalties, *per traditionem Baculi & Annuli*, as you will find in the ſame Author.

AND that this Cuſtom was very antient will appear by the Election of *Wilfrid* to be Biſhop of *Hagulſtade*, *Anno 666.* for *Stephen Heddi* expreſly tells us in his Life, *Reges deindè Concilium cum ſapientibus ſuæ Gentis poſt ſpatium inierunt, quem eligerent in ſedem vacantem*, &c. *Reſponderunt Omnes uno Conſenſu, Neminem habemus meliorem & digniorem noſtræ Gentis, quàm* Wilfridum *Presbyterum & Abbatem.* Then the two Kings (*i. e.* of *Northumberland*) after ſome time held a Council with the Wiſe-men of their own Nation, to conſider whom they ſhould chooſe to fill up the vacant See, *&c.* and they all unanimouſly anſwered, We have none fitter nor more worthy in our Nation, than *Wilfrid* the Presbyter and Abbot; and thereupon being preſently elected, he was conſecrated Biſhop.

In vitâ Wilfridi, cap. 11. edit. per Rev. Dom. Dr. Gale fol. 46.

THE next Authority of much what the ſame time you may find in an antient Manuſcript-Life of St. *Erkenwald* in the *Cottonian* Library, where are theſe words, *Contigit autem Epiſcopus* Londonicæ *ſedis,* Cedda

Claudius A. 5.

migravit ad Dominum, conſenſu verò Sebbæ *Regis, & vocabulo univerſæ plebis, vir Domini* Erkenwaldus *in Cathredrâ Pontificali ſublimatus eſt*, i. e. but it happened, that *Cedda* Biſhop of *London* deceaſing, *Erkenwald*, that holy Man, by the Conſent of King *Sebba*, and the Nomination of all the *People*, was promoted to the Epiſcopal Throne.

Bibl. Cotton. Vitellius D.17. BUT long after this, as a Nameleſs Author of the Manuſcript-Life of St. *Dunſtan* informs us, he was made Biſhop after this manner, *viz. Poſtea, Anno* 958. *factus eſt magnus ſapientûm Conventus, in loco, qui vocatur* Bradanforde, *& eo omnium ex electione ordinatus eſt* Dunſtanus *ad Epiſcopum* Wigornenſem. To wit, that afterwards, *ſcilicet*, in the Year 958. a Great Council of the Wiſe-men of the Kingdom, was held at *Bradanforde*, and there by the Election of them all *Dunſtan* was advanced to be Biſhop of *Worceſter*, &c. and then the King finding how well he diſcharged that Truſt, the ſame Author tells us, that he committed to him the Church of *London*, then void by the Death of its Paſtor, or Biſhop.

THIS Nomination of the King's muſt be underſtood in the ſame ſenſe with that which went before, as well as with what immediately follows, *viz.* that *Brihthelm*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, being depriv'd, a little after he retired to his Monaſtery, and then *Rex, ſcilicet*, Edgarus, *ex Divino reſpectu, & Sapientûm Conſilio, conſtituit* Dunſtanum *ad ſuum prædictæ Eccleſiæ Sacerdotem*; King *Edgar*, both from a Divine reſpect, and from the Counſel of his Wiſe-men, conſtituted *Dunſtan* chief Biſhop of that Church.

THE next Example we have, is that of St. *Wulſtan*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who (as it is related by a Monk of that Church in his Manuſcript-Life of that Saint, about *Anno* 1170.) being ſent for on purpoſe to be made a Biſhop, he gives us the manner of his being elected thus, *Sanctus ergò ad Curiam exhibitus, jubetur ſuſcipere Donum Epiſcopatûs; contrà ille niti, & ſe tanto honori imparem (cunctis reclamitantibus) clamitare, adeò concors populus in unam venerat ſententiam, ut non peccaret qui diceret in tot corporibus in hoc duntaxat negotio unam conflatam eſſe Animam.* This holy Man being called before the Great Council, (for ſo *Curia* in this place is certainly to be underſtood) he was commanded to accept the Gift of a Biſhoprick; but he endeavoured all he could to wave the Acceptance of it, alledging, that he was altogether unfit for ſo great an Honour; but the whole Aſſembly not admitting his Excuſe, they all unanimouſly came to this Reſolution, that one ſhould not have told a Lie who had ſaid in this particular Affair, that one Soul had animated ſo many Bodies.

Mat. Paris. fol. 20. SO that it was not without very good Cauſe, that *Matthew Paris* tells us concerning this Biſhop's Election, there concurred *Plebis Petitio, Voluntas Epiſcoporum, Gratia Procerum, Regis Authoritas.*

HAVING thus given you ſo many good Authorities from antient Manuſcripts and approved Hiſtorians of the Power of thoſe Great Councils in the *Election* of Biſhops, I ſhall only add a few more from our *Saxon Annals*.

THE firſt is under *Anno* 970, which relates, that then *Oskytel*, Arch-biſhop of *York* deceaſed, who had been by the Conſent of King *Edward* the *Martyr*, and all his Wiſe-men, conſecrated Arch-biſhop of that See.

THE next is under *Anno* 994. and there we read, that *Sigeric* the Arch-biſhop deceaſing, *Ælfric* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was elected in his room on Eaſter-day at *Ambresbury*, by King *Æthelred*, and all his Wiſe-men; from whence it appears, that not only the King, but the Great Council of the Kingdom had a ſhare in this Election.

I could give you alſo ſeveral Inſtances in the ſaid *Annals* of divers Abbots elected in the ſame Aſſemblies to the greater Monaſteries; but I hope what I have done already is ſufficient to my preſent Purpoſe, and therefore ſhall leave it to the Reader's Judgment to conſider, whether, when theſe *Annals* and Hiſtorians inform us, that *Rex conſtituit* ſuch and ſuch a Man to be Biſhop or Arch-Biſhop of ſuch or ſuch a See, it is not to be underſtood in the ſame Senſe as we have already obſerved from Mr. *Waſhington*'s ſaid Treatiſe; that when this or that *King* is ſaid to have made ſuch or ſuch a *Law*, it is ſtill to be underſtood as made in *Parliament?*

I ſhall now ſay ſomewhat of the ſame Great Council's Power in the *Deprivation* of Biſhops, of which I ſhall not trouble you with many; but they ſhall be ſuch Examples as are of undeniable Authority.

THE firſt is from *Osbern* in his Life of Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan*, lately printed in the firſt Volume of *Anglia Sacra*, concerning the Deprivation of Arch-Biſhop *Brihthelme* abovementioned in theſe words, Bryhtelmus *poſt paucos ſuſcepti Pontificatus dies, cogitans quod ad tantam rem minùs eſſet Idoneus, juſſus à Rege & Omni populo diſcedere, diſceſſit, atq; ad relictam nuper Eccleſiam non ſine Verecundia rediit*, i. e. "*Bryhtelme* within "a few Days after he had received his Biſhoprick, not thinking with "himſelf that he was fit for ſo great a Charge, being commanded by "the King and all the People to quit it, departed, and returned to "the Church he had lately left, though not without Shame.

BUT that *John* of *Wallingford* was very well ſatisfied, that this Arch-Biſhop was deprived by the Lay, as well as Spiritual part of the Great Council, appears by his Chronicle, where having ſet forth his unfitneſs by reaſon of his too great Eaſineſs and Softneſs of Temper, he proceeds thus, *Rex* Edgarus *eadem via quâ aſcenderat, fecit eum deſcendere; nam Concione ſuper hoc eodem facta, objecit* Bryhthelmo *plura Capitula, nimiam ipſius remiſſionem morum argumenta, & condictione & Aſſenſu Baronum ſuorum ad curam Solius* Dorcaſinæ *Eccleſiæ relabi fecit*, that is, "King *Edgar* made him to go down the ſame way he got up; "for a Council being called for this very Matter, he objected ſeveral "Articles againſt this *Bryhtelme*, ſhewing his too great Eaſineſs and "Remiſſneſs in Diſcipline; and thereupon by the Appointment and "Aſſent of his Barons, he cauſed him to retire to the Cure of his former Church of *Dorcheſter*. By which it is evident, that this Author (living in the Reign of *Henry* the *Third*) was very well ſatisfied that the Temporal as well as the Spiritual Barons, were concerned in this Deprivation.

I was likewiſe from the Authority of the *Saxon Annals*, as alſo of *William* of *Malmesbury*, about to have here alſo added the Deprivation of one *Siward*, who is reported by the *Annals*, *An.* 1043. "to have been "privately Conſecrated to the See of *Canterbury*, with the King's good "liking, by Arch-biſhop *Eadſige*, and who then laid down that "Charge: and of which *Siward*, *William* of *Malmesbury* farther tells Lib. 1. de Pont. us, that he was afterwards deprived for his Ingratitude to Arch-Biſhop *Eadſige*, in denying him neceſſary Maintenance: but ſince there is no ſuch Perſon as this *Siward* in the Catalogues of the Arch-biſhops of

Canterbury,

Vid. Ang. Sacra, Vol. I. Pag. 107.

Canterbury, and that upon a more nice Examination, I find in the Learned Mr. *Wharton*'s Treatiſe, *De Succeſſione Archiepiſ. Cantuar.* that this *Siward* (who was alſo Abbot of *Abingdon*) was never Conſecrated Arch-Biſhop, but only *Chorepiſcopus*, or Subſtitute to Arch-biſhop *Eadſige*; who was then unable to perform his Function by reaſon of his Infirmities: which upon a review of this Paſſage in *William* of *Malmesbury*, I find alſo confirmed by him, in calling him no more than *Succeſſor Deſignatus*, and who being put by for his Ingratitude, was preferred no higher than to be Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; but this is denied by the abovecited Mr. *Wharton*, who ſays expreſly, that this *Siward* Abbot of *Abingdon*, and Subſtitute to the Arch-biſhop, was never Biſhop of that See, but died at *Abingdon* of a long Sickneſs before Arch-Biſhop *Eadſige*. So much I thought fit to let the Reader know, becauſe in this Hiſtory under *Anno* 1043, being deceived by the expreſs words of the *Annals*, I have there made this *Siward* to have been Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and deprived for his Ingratitude to his Predeceſſor, which I am (upon better Conſideration) now convinced to have been a Miſtake.

I ſhall conclude with our *Saxon Annals*, which under the Year 1052. relate, that Earl *Godwin* having in a Great Council held at *London*, purged himſelf and his Sons of the Crimes laid to their Charge; and being thereupon reſtored, Arch-Biſhop *Robert* the *Norman*, his Enemy, (having juſt before fled away into his own Country) was not only by a Decree of this Council baniſhed, but alſo deprived of his Arch-biſhoprick; and *Stigand* then was advanced to that See in his ſtead, which certainly was done by the ſame Authority as deprived the former: and if ſo, then I think none can deny but that Power might alſo have deprived any other inferior Biſhop; and yet we do no where find there was any Schiſm in *England* among the Clergy at that Time, becauſe theſe two Primates of the Church had been deprived without their own Conſent, by the Lay, as well as Spiritual part of the Great Council.

HAVING now finiſhed all I had to ſay concerning the Power of the King, and the *Witena-Gemote* in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, I would not be thought to aſſert that they have the like Authorities in Matters of *meer Spiritual Cognizance*, ſince I am very well ſatisfied of the Primitive Inſtitution of the Epiſcopal Order, from the firſt Preaching of Chriſtianity in the Time of the *Romans*, to the Reſtoration of it in this Iſland upon the Converſion of the *Saxons*; which is not liable to be abrogated by any Temporal Power, and which has been continued among the *Britains* or *Welſh*, without any Interruption from thence, even to our own Times.

Vid. Lambard's *Perambulat. of* Kent, *Pag.* 340.

BUT as for the Eccleſiaſtical Power, it was at firſt ſettled under the two Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, who had then no Juriſdiction or Preheminence the one over the other; the former being Primate of the Southern, as the latter was of the Northern parts of *England*: only I cannot but obſerve, that the Church of St. *Martin*'s without the City of *Canterbury*, was (till after the Conqueſt) the See of a Biſhop, called in Latin *Core Epiſcopus*, “who (always remaining in the Countrey) “ſupplied the Abſence of the Metropolitan, that for the moſt part “followed the Court; and that as well in governing the Monks, as in

“ performing the Solemnities of the Church, and in exerciſing the
“ Authority of an Arch-Deacon;

AND no doubt had alſo the Epiſcopal Powers of Ordination and Confirmation, or elſe he could have been no Biſhop. I obſerve this to let you ſee, that the *Engliſh* were not then ſo ſtrictly tied up as not to allow of more than one Biſhop in one City.

BUT ſince I have chiefly deſigned to ſpeak of Civil Affairs, I ſhall not here meddle with the Eccleſiaſtical Authority of the Biſhops or their Courts, or the Officers belonging to them, but will leave them to thoſe to whoſe Province it does more peculiarly appertain.

Of the Engliſh Laws before the Conqueſt.

HAVING thus diſpatched what I had to ſay concerning the Synods and Great Councils of the Kingdom in the *Saxon* Times, I ſhall in the next Place treat of the *Engliſh* Laws before the Conqueſt; and they were of two kinds, *viz.* either the particular Cuſtoms or Laws of the ſeveral diviſions of the Kingdom in which thoſe Cuſtoms were in uſe; or elſe ſuch Additions to, or Emendations of them, as were made from time to time by the Great Council of the whole Kingdom, concerning the Puniſhment of Crimes, the manner of holding Men to their good Behaviour, or relating to the Alteration of Property either in Lands or Goods; with divers other particulars, for which I refer you to the Laws themſelves, as I have extracted them from Sir *Henry Spelman* and Mr. *Lambard*, their Learned Collections: and ſome concerning each of theſe particulars, I have given you in the following Work.

The Original of the Saxon *Cuſtomary Laws.*

BUT to ſhew you in the firſt place the Original of the *Saxon* Cuſtomary Laws, they were certainly derived from each of the Great Nations that ſettled themſelves in this Iſland before the *Heptarchy* was reduced into one Kingdom; but indeed after the *Danes* had ſettled themſelves here in *England*, we find they were divided into theſe three ſorts of Laws, in the beginning of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*'s Reign, according to the ſeveral parts of the Kingdom wherein they prevailed; as,

1. Merchen-Lage.

1. *MERCHEN-LAGE*, or the *Mercian Law*, which took place in the Counties of *Gloceſter*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, *Warwick*, *Oxon*, *Cheſter*, *Salop* and *Stafford*.

2. Weſt-Saxon-Lage.

2. *WEST-Saxon-Lage*, or the Law of the *Weſt-Saxons*, which was in uſe in the Counties of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Berks*, *Southampton*, *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, *Devon* and *Cornwal*; I mean that part of it which ſpoke *Engliſh*, the reſt being governed by their own (*i.e.*) the *Britiſh* Laws.

3. Dane-Lage.

3. *DANE-Lage*, or the Laws which the *Danes* introduced here into thoſe Counties where they chiefly fixed, *viz.* in thoſe of *York*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, *Bucks*, *Hertford*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Suffolk* and *Cambridg*.

BUT as for *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, I ſuppoſe they are omitted in this Catalogue, becauſe in the Times not long before the Conqueſt, the firſt was under the Power of the *Scots*, and conſequently under their Laws, as the two latter were under that of their own Earls, who ruled thoſe Counties as *Feudatary* Princes under the Kings of *England*; tho thus much is certain, that the *Daniſh* Laws took Place there as well as in *Yorkſhire*.

BUT after King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* came to the Crown, he reduced the whole Kingdom under one General; for thus ſays *Ranulph Higden*, as he is cited by Sir *Henry Spelman* in his Gloſſary, *Tit. Lex. Ex tribus his Legibus, Sanctus* Edwardus *unam Legem Communem edidit, quas Leges Sancti* Edwardi *uſque hodie vocant. Brompton* ſays the like, *Iſte Supradictus Rex Sanct.* Ed. Conf. *dictus eſt* Edwardus *Tertius, qui Leges Communes* Anglorum *Genti tempore ſuo ordinavit; quia proantè Leges nimìs partiales editæ fuerant.* But *Roger Hoveden* carries them up higher in his Hiſtory of *Henry* the *Second,* for he ſays, *Quod iſtæ Leges primùm inventæ & inſtitutæ erant tempore* Edgari *Avi ſui; ſed poſtquam* Edwardus *venit ad Regnum, Conſilio Baronum* Angliæ, *Legem per* 48. *Annos ſopitam excitavit, excitatam reparavit, reparatam decoravit, decoratam confirmavit; confirmata verò vocata eſt Lex* Edwardi *Regis, non quià ipſe inveniſſet eam prius, ſed cum prætermiſſa fuerat, & Oblivioni penitùs data è Diebus Avi ſui* Edgari, *qui primus Inventor ejus fuiſſe dicitur uſq; ad ſua tempora, quià juſta & honeſta erant, è profundo Abyſſo extraxit, & eam revocavit, & ut ſuam obſervandam tradidit.* But the true Reaſon why it is called the Common Law, is, becauſe it is the Common or Municipal Law of this Kingdom; ſo that *Lex Communis,* or *Jus Patriæ,* is all one with *Lex Patriæ,* or *Jus Patrium:* and it is alſo called the Common Law in other Countries, as *Lex Communis* Norica, Burgundica, Lombardica, *&c.* And from this latter they were ſo called by *William* the *Firſt,* in his Confirmation of them.

HAVING now given you the Original of our Laws in General, we will next proceed to ſhew you what they were in particular, as far as they concern thoſe two great Branches of all Municipal Laws, *viz.* the Civil or the Criminal: The former of which concerns Lands and Goods, and the latter the Nature and Puniſhments of Criminal Offences.

The Civil Laws.

TO begin with the former as far as it concerns Lands, I ſhall ſatisfy my ſelf with what Dr. *Brady* hath with great Induſtry and Exactneſs extracted in the firſt part of his *Compleat Hiſtory of* England, out of thoſe Learned Authors you will find there cited in the Margin, which is as follows.

Dr. *Brady's Compleat Hiſt.* Fol. 66, 67.

Gavelkind, Fol. 11.

[1.] K. Edw. Sen. cap. 11.

[2.] Gloſſ. in verbo Terrâ ex Scripto.

Bocland and *Folkland,* what?

[3.] Spelm. Concil. Fol. 319. An. 800. Concil. Cloveſho. C. 2, 3, 6.

[4.] Somner. ut ſup. pag. 12, 13.

[5.] LL. *Alured.* Cap. 37.

Bocland and *Allodium.*

“ Mr. *Somner* ſays, there were but two ſorts of Tenures here in the
“ *Saxon* times before the Conqueſt; [1.] *Bocland* and *Folkland,* to which
“ two all other ſorts of Land might be reduced. *Bocland,* as [2.] *Lam-*
“ *bard* ſays, was Free and Hereditary, and was a Poſſeſſion by Writing,
“ the other without. That by Writing was poſſeſſed by the Free or
“ Nobler ſort; that without, called *Folkland,* was holden by paying
“ Annual Rent, or performance of Services, and was poſſeſſed by the
“ Rural People, *Ruſticks, Colons* or *Clowns;* in thoſe Times theſe
“ Writings [3.] were called in Latin, *Libelli Terrarum, Landboc's* and
“ *Telligraphia,* and Livery and Seizin was then made and given, by [4.]
“ delivery of a Turf taken from the Land with the Writings: This
“ was called *Terra Teſtamentalis, & hereditaria, Land Inheritable,* and
“ deviſable by Will, unleſs the firſt Purchaſer or Acquirer, by Writing
“ or Witneſs, had prohibited it; and then it could not be ſold or diſ-
“ poſed of from the [5.] neareſt *Kindred.* This *Bocland* was of the
“ ſame Nature with *Allodium* in *Doomſday,* holden without any Pai-
“ ments, nor chargeable with Services to any Lord or Seignory; and
“ though the Name was almoſt quite loſt, yet the thing remained un-
“ der the Name of *Allodium,* and the Lands poſſeſſed by the *Allodiarii*
“ frequently mentioned in *Doomſday.*

I have been the more exact in putting down this Paſſage, becauſe it plainly proves, from the learned Doctor's own ſhewing, that if the greateſt part of the Lands before the Conqueſt, held by Men of any Quality, were *Bocland*, and that this *Bocland* was the ſame (as he grants) with Lands held in *Allodio*; (and I have already proved that ſuch Lands were held without any Paiments or Services, other than ſuch publick Taxes as were impoſed by the *Great Council* of the Kingdom, that is, *Danegelt*, with ſuch other Duties as all Lands whatſoever were liable to :) then is it alſo as evident that theſe Lands, which were far the greateſt part of the Lands in the Kingdom, were not held by Knight's Service, and conſequently their Owners could not be Tenants *in Capite*, as this Author is pleaſed in other Places to ſuppoſe; and therefore theſe Tenants in *Allodio* could never be ſo repreſented by ſuch Military Perſons, as that they alone could either make Laws for them, or lay Taxes on their Eſtates, without their Conſents either by themſelves or Repreſentatives in the Great Councils or Parliaments of thoſe Times; and therefore ſuch free Tenants muſt have either appeared for themſelves in Perſon, or have choſen others to repreſent them.

Compl. Hiſt. pag. 66, 67.

AND if any Man doubt whether theſe Lands held in *Allodio*, were before the Conqueſt the greateſt part of the Lands of the Kingdom; I muſt refer them for their Satisfaction to Mr. *Somners* and Mr. *Taylor*'s Treatiſes upon *Gavelkind*, as alſo to Mr. *Lambard*'s Diſcourſe of the Cuſtoms of *Kent*, at the end of his *Perambulation* of that County; who there fully prove, that the Antient *Bocland* deſcending to all the Male Iſſue alike, was not meer *Socage* Tenure, but *Allodial*. 2*dly*, That this was the general Tenure of all Lands not held by Knights Service before the Conqueſt, (as well *Gavelkind* as others) and that not only at the Common Law, but confirmed by divers *Saxon* Kings; as by that Law of King *Edmund*, *Si quis inteſtatus obierit, Liberi ejus hæreditatem æqualiter dividant*: So likewiſe by the 68*th* and 75*th* Laws of King *Cnute*, as alſo by thoſe of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, confirmed by *William* the *Conqueror*, Cap. 36. And therefore Mr. *Somner* in his ſaid Treatiſe of *Gavelkind*, farther proves, that this was a Liberty left to the *Kentiſh* Men by *William* the *Conqueror*, when all the reſt of *England* changed its Antient Tenure; and Mr. *Taylor* in his Hiſtory of *Gavelkind*, Chap. 6, 7, 8. hath proved this to have been a general Cuſtom, not only in *Kent*, but in *Wales* and ſeveral parts of *England*.

Pag. 603.

I ſhall not any further purſue what the Doctor has ſaid of Lands holden by Military Service before the Conqueſt, or of the *Herriots* or *Reliefs* that were due upon them, which were payable out of the *Feudal* Lands of the Ealdormen, middle and leſs *Thanes*; but ſhall refer you to the Laws of King *Cnute*, and thoſe of the *Confeſſor*, the former of which you will find at the end of his Reign in the enſuing Volume, wherein is ſet down what the Heirs of each of thoſe *Feudatary* Tenants were to pay to their Lords at the Death of their Anceſtors.

BUT that theſe could not be near all the Lands of *England*, appears by what hath been already ſaid of Lands held in *Allodio*. And I have known ſome Learned Antiquaries, who have not without good Cauſe believed that all Tenure by Knight-Service in *England*, was derived from the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, who upon their Conqueſts and ſettling here, firſt brought in that ſort of Tenure out of *Denmark* and *Norway*; from whence the *Engliſh Saxon* Kings might by Degrees impoſe it upon ſeveral Lands by them granted to their Ealdormen or Earls, and chief *Thanes*, by Military or Knights Service, who likewiſe granted them to their inferiour *Thanes* under the like Tenures; and yet it would have been very unreaſonable that ſuch inferior *Thanes* ſhould have ſo far been deprived of their antient *Engliſh* Freedom, as that the Earls and King's *Thanes* ſhould have it in their Power to make what Laws, and impoſe what Taxes they pleaſed upon them as their under Tenants, without their Conſent.

AND if meer Tenure alone could have done this, I would fain know why the *Engliſh* Kings before the Conqueſt, by the ſame reaſon might not as well have made Laws, and taxed their Tenants *in Capite* without their Conſent, as theſe could have done their Tenants that held under them? But this is altogether falſe in Matter of Fact, as all the Hiſtories of thoſe Times ſhew; *Danegelt* it ſelf being firſt impoſed by the Conſent of the King and his *Wites*, as appears by the *Saxon Annals*.

Anno 994.

NOT but that I grant all the Lands of *England* were then held under thoſe three great Services called in Latin *Trinoda Neceſſitas*, viz. 1. Expedition (that is, the finding of Men to defend the Kingdom in caſe of Invaſion.) 2. The Repair of Bridges; and, 3. Fortifying of Caſtles; from which even Lands granted to the Church were not exempted, as appears by the Charters to ſeveral Monaſteries. But theſe were Services due, and to be performed by the Common Law and Cuſtom of the Kingdom, and did not concern one ſort of Tenure more than another.

Ingulph. Hiſt. fol. 508.

I have no more to obſerve concerning this *Bocland*, but that it paſſed by Deed, called by *Ingulphus*, *Chirographa*, until the *Confeſſor*'s time, and was confirmed by the Subſcriptions of the *Fideles*, or Subjects there preſent, with golden Croſſes, and ſome other holy Marks; only this methinks ought not to be paſſed over, that the Ceremony of Livery or Seizin of Lands is very antient, as appears by the Charter of *Ceadwalla*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons* (preſerved among the Evidences belonging to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*) in the Year DCLXXXVII. made to *Theodore* then Arch-biſhop of that See, of certain Lands with this Subſcription, *Ad cumulum autem Confirmationis, ego* Cedwalla *Ceſpitem terræ prædictæ ſuper ſanctum Altare Salvatoris poſui, & propriâ manu, pro ignorantia Literarum, ſignum ſanctæ Crucis expreſſi & ſubſcripſi*: that is, “For the farther Confirmation thereof, I *Ceadwalla* have put this ſaid “Turf of Earth upon the holy Altar, and for want of Learning, have “with my own Hand made and ſubſcribed the Sign of the holy Croſs. The like alſo hath *Camden* out of a Patent made by *Withered* King of *Kent*, to a Nunnery in the Iſle of *Thanet*. So much for *Bocland*.

Vid. Camd. Brit. in Cantio.

Folkland.

Spelm. Gloſſ. tit. Folkland.

CONTRARY to which was that called *Folkland*, which Sir *Henry Spelman* ſays, was *Terra popularis, ſcilicet, quæ jure communi poſſidetur, vel ſine ſcripto*; that is, Land belonging to the ordinary ſort of People, which they enjoyed of common Right, without any Writings or Deeds, as we ſee in Copy-hold Lands at this day, for which the Tenants have ſeldom any other Evidences than the Copy of the Court-Rolls of the Mannor; which Copy-hold Lands were antiently either held by *Sockmen* (that is, Free-men holding by the Plow) to perform mean and villain Services, or elſe by thoſe who were Villains appendant to the Mannor.

THESE might be ouſted of their ſmall Eſtates at the Will of the Lord, which a Farmer could not be ſo long as he honeſtly performed his Services; and theſe were they, who after the Conqueſt were called Tenants in *Antient Demeſne*, either of the King, or of ſome other Lord, as you will find in the old *Natura Brevium*.

Tenants in Antient Demeſne.

Cap. Breve de Recto.

OF the like ſort alſo, as Dr. *Brady* very well informs us, " were Lands and Poſſeſſions mentioned by other Names in our *Saxon* Laws, as *Gaffolland*, *Rent-Land*, or *Farm-Land*, *Fœdus Alured*, and *Guthr.* c. 2. *Gafogyldenhus*, an Houſe yielding or paying Rent, or Gable. *LL. Inæ*, c. 6. There are alſo mentioned *Inland*, or the *Lords Demeſnes*, which he kept in his own Hands, and *Neatland*, which is called *Vtland*, or *Outland*, in * *Byrthric's* Will; *Terra Villanorum*, and was let out to Country-men, or Villagers, *Ægder of Thegnes inlandge*, of *Neatland*, *i. e.* either of the Lords or *Thanes* Inland, or Demeſnes, or elſe the Country-mans, *Villagers*, or *Villan*'s Land, *Gafolland*, *Neatland*, and *Vtland*, as † Mr. *Somner* truly informs us, were oppoſed to *Inland*, or Demeſne-Lands, and were Lands granted out for Rent, or Service, or both, and reducible to *Folkland*; and 'tis very probable they were the ſame, or of the ſame Nature; for that in the Laws where they are mentioned, it appears they were always occupied by *Ceorls*, *Churles*, *Country-men*, *Colons* or *Clowns*; by *Gebures*, *Boors*, *Ruſtics*, *Plough*, or Husbandmen; or by *Neates*, and *Geneates*, *Drudges*, *Villanes*, or *Villagers*. Theſe three *Saxon* words being almoſt of the ſame Signification, tho very different in Sound, were always applied to the ordinary ſort of People, called by us *Folk* at this day. Thus far the Doctor, which I will not contradict, tho he here makes all *Ceorles Men* to have been meer Drudges, which was not ſo, ſince thoſe that held Land by *Socage*-Services, were as *free* as to all things elſe from the Power of their Lords, as our Tenants are at this day.

Compleat Hiſt. fol. 67, 68.

Saxon Tenures.

Inland.

Utland *or* Outland.

* Lamb. Peramb. Kent, *p.* 495.

1 Edit. Spelm. Gloſſ. in verb.

† Gavelk. *p.* 14, 115.

Spelm. Gloſſ. in verbo.

The Names of ordinary People.

BUT I deſire by the way, that this may not be unobſerved, that I can no where find the word *Colonus* uſed for a Husbandman or Clown, in any of our antient *Saxon* Laws, tho Sir *Henry Spelman* gives us ſome Examples of the uſe of it in the *German* Laws, there ſignifying *Liberi Eccleſiaſtici, quos* Colonos *vocant*, and the King had alſo his *Coloni*; but this learned Author ſuppoſes that theſe *Coloni* anſwered our *Sockmen*, who were certainly Freemen and not Villains. Nor did *Villanus* ſignify a Villain, but a Country-man or Villager in general, till after the Conqueſt; and then it was not from the *Latin* but *French* Idiom, that a Villain came to ſignify a Slave or Drudg.

Spelm. Gloſſ. in verb.

HAVING now given you what I thought fit to ſay concerning the ſeveral Tenures, and ways of Conveyance of Lands in the *Saxon* Times, I ſhall proceed in the next place to diſcourſe ſomewhat of the manner of the diſpoſing of their Goods and Perſonal Eſtates, which they might do either by Deed or laſt Will in Writing, as at this day: But if they happened at any time to die inteſtate, then their Goods were equally divided between the Wife and Children of the Deceaſed; tho by a Law of King *Edmund*, the Relict, or Widow, was to have half her Husband's Goods, yet by the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, it was declared, that *in caſe any one died Inteſtate, then the Children were equally to divide the Goods*; which I take to be underſtood with a *Salvo* of the

Wife's Dower or Portion. As yet therefore the Ordinaries had nothing to do with the Adminiſtration, for *Goods* paſſed by Deſcent as well as Lands, and upon this Cuſtom the Writ *de Rationabili parte Bonorum* was grounded at the Common Law, as well for the Children as the Wife's Part, according as by the Body of the Writ may appear.

F.N.B. *p.* 122.

* *The Original of Eccleſiaſt. Juriſdict. of Teſtaments, ſet out by Dr.* Littleton, *fol.* 5.

† Peramb. Cant. *p.* 548.

THE antienteſt Will that Mr. * *Selden* ſays he hath obſerved before the Conqueſt, is, one of King *Edgar*'s time, which Mr. *Lambard* † has given us in his *Perambulation* of *Kent*, and that is of one *Brithric*, a Gentleman, or *Thane*, and his Wife *Elſwithe*, wherein they deviſed both their Lands and Goods, and alſo gave his chief Lord and the Lady his Wife ſeveral noble Legacies to prevail with him that his Will might ſtand good. By which it ſhould ſeem the Lands bequeathed were *Feudal* Lands (held by Knights Service) which could not be alienated without the Lord's Conſent. But Mr. *Selden* there further takes notice, " That the Protection or Execution of this Teſtament, as well as " the Probate, were within the Juriſdiction of the Lord's Court; and " that eſpecially becauſe divers *Lords of Mannors* have to this day the " Probate of Teſtaments by Cuſtom continued, againſt that which is " otherwiſe regularly ſettled in the Church.

Selden ut ſup. fol. 15, 16. cap. 1.

* Canuti Leg. cap. 68.

† Ejuſdem Leg. cap. 68.

‖ De Moribus Germanorum.

BUT as for Inteſtates *Goods*, he ſays, " The Diſpoſition or Admini- " ſtration of them was in the *Saxon* times in the chief Lord of him that " died, in caſe the Inteſtate were an immediate Tenant, and died at " home in Peace: But in caſe he were no Tenant, or died in his Lord's " Army, then it was (it ſeems) as other Inheritance, under the Juriſ- " diction of that Temporal Court within whoſe Territory the Goods " were. This may be proved out of the Laws of that Time, which " ordain, that upon the Death of an Inteſtate, whom they call " *CWIALE AWE*, the Lord * is only to have the *Heriots* due to him, " which are alſo appointed by † the Laws of the ſame time, that *by his* " (the Lord's) *Advice or Judgment, his* (the Inteſtate's) *Goods be di-* " *vided among his Wife and Children, and the next of kin, according as* " *to every one of them of right belongs*; that is, according to the nearneſs " of Kindred, if no Children, or Nephews from them be: for it muſt, " I ſuppoſe, be underſtood, that the Succeſſion was ſuch, that the " Children excluded all their Kindred, and of their Kindred the next " ſucceeded, according to that in *Tacitus* ‖ of his *Germans*, whoſe " Cuſtoms were doubtleſs mixed with our *Engliſh-Saxons*; *Hæredes,* " ſays he, *ſucceſſoréſq; ſint cuiq; liberi, & nullum Teſtamentum.* But it " ſeems Chriſtianity afterwards brought in the free Power of making " Teſtaments amongſt them, *Si liberi non ſunt, proximus gradus in poſ-* " *ſeſſione, Fratres, Patrui, Avunculi.*

* Canut. Legibus, cap. 75.

† Leg. Edw. Confeſſ. cap. de Heretochiis.

" BUT this is expreſs'd only in caſe the Tenant died at home, and " in Peace; for if he died in his Lord's * Army, both the Heriot " was forgiven, and the Inheritance both of Goods and Lands was to " be divided *as it ought*, which was, it ſeems, by the Juriſdiction of the " *Temporal Court*, within whoſe Territory the Death (*of the Inteſtate*) " or Goods were; for in that caſe, it is not ſaid, that the Lord's Judg- " ment was to be uſed, but that the Heirs ſhould divide all; or, as the " words in the *Confeſſor*'s Law are, *habeant* † *Hæredes ejus pecuniam &* " *terram ejus ſine aliqua Diminutione, & recte dividant inter ſe*; where the " Right of the Heir both to Lands and Goods is expreſly deſigned, but " the Judg that ſhould give it them, not mentioned. Therefore it ſeems, it remained as other Parts of the Common Law, under the Temporal Juriſdiction, as by the * Civil Law it was under the *Prætors.* Thus far this learned and great Author.

* F. S. Inſtit. de bonorum poſſeſſione.

FROM whence we may make this Note, that the Probate of Wills was a Matter of Civil Cognizance before the Conqueſt, and for ſome time after, till, the Canon Law being more generally received in *England*, the Biſhops Courts took this Power to themſelves, ſuppoſed by Mr. *Selden*, in his *6th* Chapter of his ſaid Treatiſe, to be about the time of *Henry* the *Second*.

WE ſhall now, in the laſt place, go on to the *Criminal* part of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Laws, *viz.* the manner of Trial, Judgment and Execution paſs'd and inflicted on Offenders in thoſe Times.

Criminal part of the Engliſh Saxon Laws.

ALL Trials for Criminal Matters were then either in the *Court-Leets*, the *Sheriffs-turn*, or the *County-Courts*, in which laſt the greater Offenders were commonly tried, and that moſt antiently by Witneſſes and Juries, as at this day: for we find in the *Mirror of Juſtices*, that King *Alfred* commanded one of his Juſtices to be put to death for paſſing Sentence upon a *Verdict* corruptly obtained, upon the Votes of the *Jurors*, whereof three of the *Twelve* were in the Negative. And the ſame King put another of his Juſtices to death for paſſing Sentence of Death upon an *Ignoramus* return'd by the Jury.

All Trials in Court-Leets, Sheriffs-turn, or County-Courts.

Mirror, Cap. 5. Sect. 1.

BUT the firſt Law we read of that defined the Number of *Jury-men* to be *Twelve*, was that of *Ætheldred* I. above two hundred Years before the Conqueſt, which ſays, *In ſingulis Centuriis*, &c. in *Engliſh* thus, *In every ~~Century~~ or Hundred, let there be ~~a~~ Court; and let Twelve Antient Freemen, together with the ~~Lord~~ of the Hundred, be ſworn that they will not condemn the Innocent, nor acquit the Guilty.*

The Number of Jury-men to be Twelve.

LL. Sax. Lamb.

Reve, or Provost

BUT whether there were any ſuch thing as a Grand Jury or Inqueſt, we do not particularly find, only we may reaſonably conclude there was, becauſe in the ſame *Mirror* we read that a Juſtice ſuffered Death for paſſing Sentence only upon the *Coroner*'s Record; and another Juſtice had the ſame Puniſhment for condemning one without any preceding *Appeal* or *Indictment*.

Grand Jury.

YET the firſt time that we find any mention of a Jury by Mens Peers or Equals, is in the Agreement between *Alfred* and *Guthrune* the Dane, in theſe words in *Engliſh*, *viz.* "That if a ~~Lord or a Baron~~ "be accuſed of Homicide, he ſhall be acquitted by twelve ~~Lords~~; but "if of inferiour Rank, he ſhall be acquitted by eleven of his Equals, "and one Lord.

K. Alured. Concil. Brit. fol. 492.

BUT in Caſes very doubtful, and where there was not ſufficient Evidence by Witneſſes, but only ſtrong Preſumptions of Guilt, in the times after King *Alfred*, Trials by *Ordeal* came in, which *Somner* in his Gloſſary ſays was derived from *Or* a Negative, or *Privative*, and *Dal*, which ſignifies *Diſtinction*, or *Difference*, that is, without any Diſtinction or Difference, and imports a juſt, impartial Judgment: it was of two ſorts, by *Fire* or *Water*; by *Fire*, when the Perſon accuſed carried in his bare Hand a red-hot Iron ſome few ſteps; which, if it weighed but one Pound, was called ſingle *Ordeal*, and ſo double, or treble, according to the Pounds the Iron weighed: or when he walked *bare-foot*, and *blindfold*, over and between certain red-hot Plow-ſhares, placed at a ſtated diſtance; if in doing this the Party was burnt, he was pronounced Guilty;

Ordeal, *what; and what the Trial.*

Somn. Gloſſar. in verbo Ordeal.

LL. Longob. lib. 1. tit. 9. c. 39. Glanv. lib. 14. cap. 1. in fine.

Guilty; if not, he was accounted Innocent. *Water-Ordeal* was either when they caſt the accuſed into Water, and if they did ſwim, were adjudged Guilty; if they ſunk, Innocent: or elſe their Hands and Arms were put ſometimes up to the Wriſt, ſometimes up to the Elbow in *boiling-hot* Water; if they were ſcalded, they were eſteemed Guilty; if not, Innocent. The Noble and Freemen were tried by *Fire-Ordeal*, the Peaſants and Servants by *Water Ordeal*.

Fol. 79.

A great Example of the former you will find towards the latter end of the ſixth Book, concerning the putting of Queen *Emma*, Mother of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, to this *Fire-Ordeal* by Plow-ſhares, upon ſuſpicion of *Incontinency* with *Ailwyn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: but indeed this Story is very improbable for ſeveral reaſons; for firſt, the Crime ſhe ſtood accuſed of could be no more than ſimple Fornication, which was then as well as now within the Cognizance of the Church, and for which no higher Puniſhment than the common Penance was inflicted. And further, we find this Queen to have fallen into the King's Diſpleaſure in the firſt or ſecond Year of his Reign, and being not long after reſtored to his Favour, we do not read ſhe was ever after queſtioned: and as for *Robert*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, who is ſaid to have been one of her chief Proſecutors, it is certain he was not conſecrated to that See till about ſeven or eight Years after. Beſides all which, Biſhop * *Godwin* in his Account of this Arch-biſhop, further proves from *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *William* of *Malmesbury*, that Biſhop *Ailwin* was dead *Anno* 1047, a Year before ever *Robert* was made Arch-biſhop; and therefore this learned Author does wholly deny the reality of this Story. But to return again to our *Ordeal*.

See the Hiſt. Anno 1042.

* De Præſul. *p.* 89, 90.

THE firſt mention made thereof as we meet with, was at the Council of *Mentz*, and afterwards in the Council of *Triers*; but we have no Foot-ſtep thereof in our *Engliſh* Laws, till it was brought into this Nation by the Council of *Berkhamſtead*, under *Bertwald* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 647; and it after became inſerted into thoſe of King *Athelſtan*, tho it was certainly in uſe before that time.

LL. Æthelſt. Can. 23.

I have little more to add concerning this way of Trial by *Ordeal*, but that it was under the Government of the Clergy, who never permitted it to be put in Execution but when they were preſent. And ſometimes it was performed with the great Solemnity of receiving the *Holy Euchariſt*, eſpecially if the ſuſpected Perſon was of their Order and Function; and if the Party was caſt, he was to ſuffer as Guilty.

THIS way of Trial by *Ordeal* continued long after the Conqueſt, but at laſt it was forbid by the Pope's Decree; and we have now no Remainders of it left, unleſs it be in the Country Peoples trying of Witches, who being tied with their Thumbs and Toes together, and ſo flung into the Water, if they ſink, are accounted Innocent: if they ſwim, Guilty: but indeed if this *Ordeal*, either by Fire or Water, was performed by the help of the Devil, one would wonder it ſhould ever be introduced, eſpecially with ſuch ſolemn Prayers and Preparations, as you may find in *Lambard*'s Explications of *Law-terms*, and in *Matthew Parker* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* his *Antiquities of the Britiſh Church*. And on the other ſide, if it was aſſiſted by a Divine Power, it is as wonderful how it came to be forbid by the Pope, as wholly unlawful.

Vita Roberti Archiep.

BUT beſides theſe ways of Trial abovementioned, upon more ſlight uſpicions, our *Engliſh Saxon* Anceſtors were uſed to content themlves with a *Voyer dire*, or the Oath of the Party ſuſpected, and the oncurring Teſtimony of other Men; the firſt atteſting his own Innoency, the other atteſting their own Conſciences for the Truth of the ormer Teſtimony; and therefore were, and ſtill are called *Compurgators.* Their number was more or leſs, and of greater or leſs Value, accordng as the Offence, or the Party ſuſpected was of greater or leſs Conernment.

AND as for the way of Trial by *ſingle Combat* or *Duel*, tho ſome Writers ſuppoſe it to have been in uſe before the Conqueſt, yet ſince I eet with no mention of it either in our Hiſtorians or Laws, I ſhall der diſcourſing of it till I come to the next Volume.

Sacrilege.

De Geſtis Pontificum, l. 1.

HAVING now diſpatched this Head concerning Trials, I'll proceed o the Judgments and Penalties that were inflicted on Perſons for ſeveral Offences. And firſt I ſhall conſider thoſe againſt Almighty God, as Sacrilege, which you will find upon the firſt introducing of Chriſtianity o have been appointed by the Pope, as alſo by the Laws of King *Egert*, either in making ſatisfaction of nine times the Value, or in caſe of Inability, to pay that Sum in Stripes; for not then, nor long after was it puniſhable with Death: for *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, hat *Theodered*, the good Biſhop of *London*, in the Reign of King *Athelan*, fell ſhort of one thing, *viz.* That he cauſed certain Thieves to be anged, who had robbed St. *Edmunds* Church in *Suffolk*, and were there eld by ſome inviſible Power, inſomuch that they could not go away with what they had ſtolen, but were all taken and executed accordingly; or which piece of Severity he was much blamed.

Sabaoth-breaking.

THE next Offence was *Working upon Sundays*, which by the Laws of King *Ina*, was puniſhable by *Fine*, if the Criminal were a *Freeman*; and by *Whipping* if he were a *Bond-Servant.*

BUT as for *Blaſphemy*, *Curſing* or *Swearing*, either they were Crimes he *Saxons* were not guilty of, or elſe they inflicted no Puniſhments on thoſe who were culpable of them; for I find no mention of them in the *Saxon* Laws.

Adultery and Fornication.

AS for the Offences againſt both God and Man, I will firſt begin with *Adultery* and *Fornication*, and theſe were Capital amongſt the *Saxons*: for by the Laws of *Withred* King of *Kent*, if a Military Man ſhould (after that Council was ended, deſpiſing the King's Law, and the Judicial Sentence of the Biſhop's Excommunication) be taken in Adultery, he ſhould pay to his Lord an hundred Shillings. But afterwards by the Laws of King *Cnute*, a Wife found guilty of Adultery, ſhould have her Noſe and Ears cut off, and the Man was Fined or Baniſhed: and by thoſe of King *Alfred*, "the Man convicted of Adultery with another's Wife, "ſhould pay to the Husband ſo abuſed, a Fine ſutable to the Eſtate and "Quality of him that was ſo injured.

Treaſon.

THE higheſt Offence againſt Man alone was Treaſon, and the Puniſhment for this Offence I find ſet down in the 4*th* Law of K. *Alfred* to this effect, *viz.* "That if any one by himſelf, or any other Perſon ſhould attempt "againſt the King's Life, he ſhould loſe his Life and Goods; or in "caſe he will purge himſelf, he was to do it according to the Valuation of "the King's Head. But in this the King had no greater a Prerogative than divers other of his Subjects; for the ſame Law doth inform us, "That it ordained in all Judgments concerning other Men, whether "Noble or Ignoble, whoſoever ſhould Conſpire againſt his Lord, ſhould "loſe both his Life and Eſtate, or elſe pay the Valuation of his Lord's "Head.

Coining and Clipping.

I come next to the *Coining* and *Clipping* of Money, which was not originally ſuch an Offence as was puniſh'd by Death; for the firſt Law that made it ſo was that of *Ethelred*, whereby it is left to the King's diſcretion, either to fine, or put to Death ſuch Merchants as imported falſe Money; and all *Port-Reeves* of Towns who ſhould be Acceſſary to it were made liable to the ſame: but for all this it was not even after the Conqueſt puniſhable by Death, but amputation of the Right Hand and Privy-Members.

Murder.

AS for *Murder*, or killing a Man with Malice prepenſed, it was by the Preface to King *Alfred*'s Laws puniſhable by Death: And this and the former Law concerning *Treaſon*, will help us to interpret in what Caſes the *Wiregilds* or *Mulcts*, that we find ſo frequently mentioned in the *Saxon* Laws, were to be paid for the Life of a Man, and particularly that Law of King *Athelſtan*, which ſets the Rate of theſe *Wiregilds* according to the Quality of the Perſon ſlain, from the King to the Peaſant; that is, when the Party was Killed in ſome ſudden Fray or Quarrel without any Malice forethought.

Manſlaughter.

Maiming, &c.

THIS I take notice of, to obviate the Error of ſome who ſuppoſe, that all Murder, even of the King himſelf, was redeemable by Money, which was not allowed in any Caſes but thoſe we account Man-ſlaughter at this Day; and ſhews the Antiquity of that diſtinction between Man-ſlaughter and Murder, which is now almoſt peculiar to *England*, and aroſe at firſt from the Proneneſs of our Nation to Fewds and ſudden Quarrels; tho the like Cuſtom is alſo to be found in the Antient *Friſian* and *German* Laws, if you will take the Pains to conſult them. But as for Bloodſhed, Striking, Maiming, Wounding, Diſmembring, *&c.* they were all of them puniſhable by Mulcts or Fines, as you will ſee in the Laws of King *Alfred*, and other Places in this Volume.

Robbery and Burglary.

I proceed in the next Place to Robbery and Burglary, which by the Laws of King *Ina*, were puniſhable by Death; only the Thief was admitted ſometimes to redeem it according to the Eſtimation of his Head, and that I ſuppoſe was left to the diſcretion of the Judg, either to deny or allow. But for all other leſs Thefts, they were redeemable by Fines. And the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, limited that Puniſhment of Death to Thefts of twelve Pence in value, or above.

Treſpaſſes.

Cap. 30.

AND Treſpaſſes of a leſs Nature upon Lands and Goods, were to be puniſhed by the Criminal's making Satisfaction to the injured Party, and his paying a certain Fine beſides to the King; which by King *Alfred*'s Law was ſet at five Shillings; and in his Time other Actions were likewiſe uſed, ſuch as we call *Actions upon the Caſe*; and the Plaintiff not only recovered *Damages* for Treſpaſſes done to Poſſeſſions and Goods, but alſo *Coſts* for Injuries in Point of Scandal and Defamation, in caſe the Complainant ſpecially declare that he was thereby diſabled, or injured in his Preferment, and made Proof of the ſame, much like to the Forms of our Pleadings now.

Perjury.

AS for *Perjury* which I have hitherto omitted, tho in ſtrict Method it ſhould have been mentioned before, as a Sin againſt both God and Man, the *Saxons* were utterly Enemies to it, and puniſhed it with perpetual diſcredit of their Teſtimony, and ſometimes with Baniſhment, or with grievous *Fines* to the King, and *Mulcts* to the Judg. For that difference I find obſerved in thoſe Days between *Fines* and *Mulcts*, tho the more Antient Times uſed them for one and the ſame; for I often find *pars Mulctæ Regi.* In all theſe Matters where any Intereſt was veſted in the Crown, the King had the Prerogative of Pardon, yet always a Recompence was ſaved to the injured Party; beſides the Security of the Good-behaviour for Time to come, as the caſe required.

LL. *Æthelſt.* Cap. 12. LL. *Canuti*, c. 5. Spec. Sax. l. 3. Art. 53. LL. *Edw.* c. 18.

THESE *Mulcts* for all theſe *Offences* were ſet down in a Book, which was the Rule and Standard of the Judge's Sentence. And it is called in the Preface to the Laws of King *Edward*, the *Doom* or *Judgment-Book*; and Compoſition was to be made, and Satisfaction given, according to what was laid in this *Judicial* or *Doom-Book*.

THIS ſhews that Fines were then ſet out and appointed by Law, and were proportioned not only according to Mens Offences, but Abilities of what they were able to pay; and were not in thoſe Times left to the Arbitrary Wills and Humours of the Judg, to ruin Mens Fortunes and Families, and impriſon their Perſons during Life, perhaps only for a ſmall Offence in a raſh Word, or unmalicious Deed.

Fines ſet and appointed by Law.

I confeſs this Introduction is longer than I firſt intended it, but herein I hope the Reader will excuſe me, ſince I have preſented him with a true Scheme of the Antient *Engliſh-Saxon* Government and Laws, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, relating to the juſt Prerogatives of the King, as alſo to the true Rights and Liberties of the People: and this I have done for two Ends; firſt, to inform thoſe of our own Nation as well as Strangers, that this Government before the pretended Conqueſt, agreed in the moſt material parts of it with thoſe of the ſame *Gothick* Model all over *Europe*; and that if we do ſtill labour to preſerve our Antient Conſtitution, when moſt of our Neighbours have either loſt or given up theirs, I think we do deſerve Commendation, more eſpecially ſince both Prince and People may have found an equal Intereſt and Happineſs in it.

AND ſecondly, to ſhew, that neither the *Daniſh* nor *Norman* Invaſions, (called by ſome *Conqueſts*) have at all altered it in any of the Subſtantial parts of our Government or Laws, notwithſtanding what ſome Men have ſo ſtrenuouſly advanced to the contrary, out of what deſigns they themſelves beſt know.

AS for what I have here laid down, if any thing appears either new, or of ſuſpicious Credit, I deſire to be no farther believed, than the Reaſons and Authorities I have here produced will juſtify me; and therefore ſhall leave the Reader to make what Judgment he pleaſes of it, which if it doth not ſuit with mine, I ſhall not take it amiſs, ſince I am ſufficiently ſenſible how much Mens Opinions depend on their preſent Intereſt, Education, or Courſe of Life: and I cannot but obſerve, that there are a ſort of Men, whoſe Heads ſeem framed for ſuch a ſet of Notions rather than others, which make them that they cannot eaſily digeſt any thing that claſhes with them.

BUT I do not pretend to be infallible, or to propoſe my ſenſe as a Rule and Standard to all others; *Homo ſum, nihil humanum à me alienum puto*, as the Comick Poet hath long ſince well obſerved.

ONE thing indeed I think I may pretend to in this Undertaking, and that is *Integrity*; for I look upon it a much viler thing, either to falſify, or conceal part of an Authority that makes againſt one, and uſe only ſo much as ſhall ſerve a preſent Turn, than it is to *pick a Pocket*: and as it is of far more dangerous Conſequence to the Publick, if not found out; I muſt ſay it is likewiſe more eaſily to be diſcovered, ſince every Man may, if he pleaſe, conſult the Authors that ſuch Writers make uſe of, and ſo detect the Fraud.

BUT for thoſe who think they may differ from me in ſome things with good Reaſon and Authority, and will pleaſe by their learned Labours to give the World any better Information and Account of theſe Matters than I have done; I ſhall be ſo far from being diſpleaſed at them, that I ſhall upon full Satisfaction, readily own my ſelf very much in their Debt, for making the World and me ſo much the Wiſer: only I muſt deſire to be treated as one, who, if I chance to be under any Error, am not ſo wilfully, nor (as I think) without great appearance of Reaſon and Authority on my ſide; ſince I call God to witneſs, that neither from a vain Ambition of Glory, nor proſpect of any Temporal Advantage, nor deſign of gratifying any Party or Faction, have I wrote any thing that may diſguſt Men of different Principles and Notions.

AND I thank God for this great Bleſſing to us, that we live in a Time, when we may not only think or ſpeak, but alſo ſafely write what we believe to be the Truth, to which all Mankind do owe Allegiance; and therefore I hope I never ſhall abuſe that invaluable Liberty, to the Prejudice of the Government, or that excellent conſtituted Church, of which I own my ſelf a Member, being fully ſatisfied that the main End of all our Writings, ought to be for the Honour of God, and the Common Good of Mankind.

THE

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War *or Peace, in whom the Power,* 68

Will, *the antienteſt obſerved before the Conqueſt, when* —— 122

Wiregilds, *what* —— 67, 68, 126

Worceſter Florence *his Character, and an Account of his Chronicle,* 17

ERRATA.

In the Preface.

PAge 5. line 5. for *be would*, read *would be.* P. 17. l. 4. f. *Greſhams*, r. *Greſham.* Ibid. l. 45. del. *in.* P. 23. l. 3. f. *Ilcombil*, r. *Ilcombkil.* P. 23. l. 14. f. *that*, r. *whither*, ib. f. *never*, r. *ever.* P. 24. l. 15. f. *no*, r. *any.*

Introduction.

PAge 31. line 17. for *longer*, read *long.* Ib. l. 18. f. *which*, r. *and*, ib. r. *enjoyed it.* P. 34. l. 27. del. *for a long time after.* P. 86. l. 13. del. the Comma's in the Margin, beginning at, *from whence you may obſerve*; and ending at, *well obſerves.* P. 89. l. 15. f. *word*, r. *words.* Ibid. l. 32. f. *upon*, r. *that.* Ib. del. *that.* P. 96. l. 29. f. *Longobardarum*, r. *Longobardorum.* P. 97. l. 2. f. *Cribtan*, r. *Cnihtan*, (i. e. *Knights.*) P. 105. l. 38. f. *conſiſt*, r. *reſide.*

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA.

SINCE this Volume was printed off, coming to a more ſtrict View of the whole Work, than I could make when it was in looſe Sheets; I think fit to make ſome few Additions and Corrections, as in theſe following Particulars.

BOOK IV.

Pag. 195. The Conſecration of *Erkenwald* Biſhop of *London* being ſet down twice, *viz.* in the beginning of *Anno* 675. and again at the end of that Year, and was forgot to be ſtruck out in the Page abovementioned, thoſe firſt three Lines and half, beginning at Line 23. may be ſtruck out; and that Relation referred to *p.* 196. at the end of the Year (where it is already) and you may read it in theſe words. *This Year alſo according to* Matth. *of* Weſtminſter *(for* Bede *does not give us the time when it was done)* Erkenwald *a younger Son to* Anna *King of the Eaſt Angles was by* Theodore *the Arch-biſhop conſecrated Biſhop of* London, *he being in great Reputation for the Sanctity of his Life, as having before he came to be a Biſhop,* &c. Read the reſt as in the Print.

P. 198. Queen *Etheldrithes* being twice married and never lain with, having been already mentioned, *p.* 193. you may ſtrike out part of three Lines in *p.* 198. beginning at Line 48. *at* who yet remained, and ending line 51. *with* but ſhe, and then read it thus: *Wife of King* Egfrid *abovementioned; this Lady, tho twice married ſtill remaining a Virgin, died at laſt,* &c.

BOOK V.

Pag. 312. *line ult.* The Continuation of *Aſſer*'s Chronicle publiſhed by Dr. *Gale*, having put this Action of Prince *Ethelwald*'s, there mentioned under the Year 904. and *Florence* of *Worceſter* making him come as far as *Crecanford* (now *Crayford* in *Kent*); from the different Names of which Places, and Years, I ſuppoſed that this Action was not the ſame with that related in the Year 905. but upon better Conſideration I am now ſatisfied, that either *Florence*'s Copy of the *Annals*, or his Tranſcriber were miſtaken, and that *Crecanford* and *Bradenewood* mentioned by him under 905, and *Creccagelade* and *Bræden* ſet down in the Annals under the ſame Year, are both the ſame Places, ſetting aſide the difference of the Years; ſo that this is alſo but one and the ſame Action: and therefore I rather now chuſe to follow the printed Copies of the Saxon Annals, and place the whole under *Anno* 905. therefore you may ſtrike out the laſt Line of *pag.* 312. beginning at *after*, as alſo the four firſt Lines of *pag.* 313. ending with, *ſo returned home.*

P. 265. After the Reign of *Ethelwulf*, *Anno* 855. add this that follows. That about theſe Times the Scotiſh Kings held the Low-lands of *Scotland* as Tributaries to the Kings of *Northumberland*, take this Relation from *Leſſely* Biſhop of *Roſſe*'s Hiſtory of *Scotland*, in the Reign of King *Donald* V. where he tells us, that the *Picts* (who had been lately conquered and expelled *Scotland*) having hid themſelves in *Northumberland*, and the Neighbouring Countries, combined with the *Britains* and *Saxons* to recover their Liberties, who, being thus confederated, invaded *Scotland*; whereupon King *Donald* gathering together his Army met them near *Jetburgh*, and joining Battel with them put them to flight;

with which Succeſs the King and his Men growing inſolent and ſecure, ſpent the Night following in Luxury and Drinking, without keeping any Guard, or obſerving Military Diſcipline; of which the Enemies (who it ſeems fled not far) gaining Intelligence, and laying hold of this Opportunity, ſet upon them about Midnight, and ſlew near 20000 *Scots*, being then (as it were) buried in Wine and Sleep; King *Donald* himſelf being alſo taken Priſoner, and to purchaſe his Liberty, was forced to give up all the Countries lying between the River *Cluyde* and *Sterling* to the *Britains* and *Saxons*, and farther obliged himſelf and his Succeſſors to the Annual Payment of a Sum of Money in Name of a Tribute: and that then in the ſixth Year of his unhappy Reign the *Engliſh-Saxons*, in Memory of this Victory, rebuilt the ruined Caſtle of *Sterling*, and fortified the Bridg of *Forth*, where they erected a Croſs of Stone as a Monument of their Victory, on which were engraven theſe barbarous Latine Verſes.

Anglos à Scotis *ſeparat Crux* iſta *remotis*,
Arma hic ſtant Bruti, *ſtant* Scoti *ſub hac Cruce tuti*.

BUT in the mean time the *Picts*, who were the Authors of this Scotiſh Slaughter, were ſo far from being thereby reſtored to their Country, that they were quite expell'd by the *Saxons* out of *Britain*.

THIS Relation *Hector Boetius* gives you much more prolix, and makes King *Osbern* who reigned in *Northumberland*, to have commanded the *Engliſh-Saxons* at the great Battle above-mentioned.

THE ſame Author likewiſe ſhews us in the Reign of K. *Gregory*, *Anno* 872. how the *Britains* came to be driven out of *Cumberland*, which they had till then enjoy'd, *viz.* That the *Britains* having by the Aſſiſtance of the *Danes*, expelled the *Scots* from divers *Territories*, endeavoured alſo by ſecret Treacheries to drive them yet further; but being ſurprized by K. *Gregory* were by him quite expelled *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, as a Puniſhment for having violated their Faith with him.

Pag. 313. *l.* 18. After *Eaſt-Angles*, add this. And *Bromton*'s Chronicle in this Year further adds, That *Ethelwald* having paſſed the *Thames* at *Crekelade* to *Brithenden*, and marched as far as *Brandenſtoke* (now *Bradenſtoke*) in *Wiltſhire*; ſo that as Mr. * *Camden* well obſerves, our Modern Hiſtorians have been much miſtaken, in making that Place to be *Baſingſtoke* in *Hampſhire*.

* Britan. Wiltſhire. *p.* 102.

BOOK VI.

*Pag.*8. *l.*1. You may ſtrike out the three remaining Lines after *Dunſtan*; for I am ſatisfied upon better Conſideration, that the Aſſertion therein contained is not true, as I have prov'd in the Introduction, *p.* 71, 72.

Pag. 12. *l.* 8. After the words *freely forgave him*, add this. That the *Low-lands* of *Scotland* continued under the Dominion of the Kings of *England* till the Reign of King *Edgar*, we have the expreſs Teſtimony of *John* of *Wallingford* Abbot of St. *Albans*, who wrote his Chronicle in the beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* the Third, and before ever the Diſpute concerning any Homage being due for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* was raiſed, which began not till the time of K. *Edward* the Firſt. This * Author thus relates it in the beginning of the Reign of King *Edgar*, *viz.* that about *Anno Dom.* 964, that King ſummoning the *Northumbrian* Barons (i. e. *Thanes*) to a Council at *York*, ordained divers things relating to the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom, among which he divided the Earldom of *Oſwulph* (Earl of *Northumberland* late deceaſed)

* P. 444, 445.

ceaſed) into two; for the King was not willing to beſtow ſo great a Part of the Kingdom on any as an Inheritance, leſt the *Northumbers* ſhould again aſpire to their antient Liberty; wherefore he beſtowed that Part of *Northumberland* lying between the *Humber* and the *Theys* upon Earl *Oſlac*, girding him with the Sword of that Earldom: But from *Theys* to *Mireferth* being the Sea-coaſt of *Deira*, he beſtowed upon Earl *Eadulf*, ſirnamed *Ethelwald*; and thus the two Kingdoms became two Earldoms, and ſo continued all the times of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings under their Gift and Juriſdiction; whilſt *Lothian* lying open to the Incurſions of the *Scots* was of no great concern to our Kings.

BUT *Keneth* K. of *Scotland* receiving a high Character of the Generoſity of K. *Edgar* from the two Earls above-mentioned, deſired the King's ſafe Conduct to come to *London* to viſit him, which being granted, the ſaid two Earls conducted him thither, where he was honourably received by K. *Edgar*, who often converſing friendly and familiarly with *Keneth*, he then repreſented to K. *Edgar*, that *Lothian* appertained to him as his Right, having been long poſſeſſed by the Kings of *Scotland* as their Inheritance: but the King not being willing to do any thing that he might afterwards repent of, referred the Determination of this Affair to his great Council; where the chief Men of the Kingdom would not aſſent to part with it, unleſs under a Homage to be yielded by the K. of *Scotland* to the K. of *England*; and that too only becauſe all Acceſs to that Country was very difficult, and its Government of little or no Profit: Whereupon K. *Keneth* aſſented to this Demand, and ſo received it under that Condition, did Homage for it accordingly, promiſing likewiſe many other things; as that the People ſhould ſtill remain under the Engliſh Name and Language, which continues to this day; and ſo the old Quarrel about *Lothian* was now happily determined, tho ſome new ones were often ſtarted. Thus the King of *Scots* became Feudatary to King *Edgar* on this occaſion; whence you may obſerve how the Scotiſh Nation became Maſters of *Lothian*, where *Edinburgh* the Capital City of the Kingdom is ſeated, and which City continued in the Hands of the Engliſh (as Mr. * *Camden* well obſerves from an antient Manuſcript he there cites) till the Reign of K. *Indulf*, viz. till about *Anno Dom.* 960.

* Vid. *Britan. Deſcript.* of Scotland.

You may add this to the Laws of King *Edgar* at the end of his Reign: *p.* 14. This King is alſo related by *William* of *Malmesbury* to have made a Law to reſtrain exceſſive drinking of great Draughts; by which Law it was ordained, that no Man under a great Penalty ſhould drink at one Draught below certain Pins that were ordered to be fixt within the ſides of the Cups or Goblets for that purpoſe.

Pag. 72. I confeſs I was ſo far miſled by the Authority of the *Saxon Annals* and *Matth. Weſtminſter*, as to believe that *Siward* mentioned under *Anno* 1043. had been conſecrated Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; but being now ſatisfied of the contrary, and having given good Reaſons againſt it in the Introduction, *p.* 115, 116. that Relation of *William* of *Malmesbury* from theſe words, *l.* 20. of which Author, may be thus altered. *That tho he was deſigned Succeſſor to this Arch-biſhop, and to that end was conſecrated his* Corepiſcopus (i. e. *his Coadjutor*) *yet that notwithſtanding he was ſoon after depoſed for his Ingratitude, in defrauding the weak old Man of his neceſſary Maintenance.* But that this alſo was a miſtake in this Author, ſee the Introduction, *p.* 115, 116.

Thus much I thought fit to advertiſe the Reader, ſince I had rather confeſs my own involuntary Miſtakes, than put another to the trouble of ſhewing them to the World; but however, ſince I do not pretend to be infallible, if any Perſon of greater Skill in our Engliſh Hiſtories, will take the pains to ſhew the World any other Errors or Omiſſions I have been guilty of in this Work, I ſhall be ſo far from taking it ill, that for the publick Satiſfaction, they ſhall be mended in the next Edition.

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THE
General Hiſtory
OF
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:
As well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil.

BOOK I.

From the Earlieſt Accounts of TIME; *to the Firſt Coming of* JULIUS CÆSAR.

SINCE I deſign (with God's Permiſſion) to write and digeſt the moſt Remarkable Things and Tranſactions that have occurred in this Kingdom from the earlieſt Accounts of Time, I ſhall follow Venerable *Bede*, as well as other Hiſtorians, in firſt giving a brief Deſcription of this Iſland.

Britain, the largeſt of all the *Europæan* Iſlands, (and one of the biggeſt in this Habitable Globe,) is ſcituate between 50 Degrees 16 Minutes, and 59 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, the whole Iſle lying in length from *Dunsby-Head*, the moſt Northerly Promontory of *Scotland*, to *Dover*, the ſpace of near Six hundred Miles; yet is the Climate more mild and temperate than could be expected in ſo Northerly a Scituation; the Winds from the Seas encompaſſing it on all ſides, ſo tempering the Air, that it is neither ſo cold in Winter, nor yet ſo hot in Summer, as the oppoſite Continents of *France*, *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries*; and alſo by the Indulgence of Heaven, as well as the Fertility of its Native Soil, it is plentifully furniſhed with all Things neceſſary for Human Life.

It was anciently called by the Greeks *Albion*, but whether from a Giant of that Name feigned to be the Son of *Neptune*, after the

Fabulous Humour of thoſe Times, in giving Names to Countries from Giants and Heroes; or elſe from the Greek word Ἀλφὸν, which according to *Feſtus* ſignifies *White*; ſince, this Iſland is on many ſides of it encompaſſed with Rocks of that Colour; or elſe from the Phœnician word *Alp*, which ſignifies *High*; or from *Alben*, which in the Hebrew Tongue ſignifies *White*, is uncertain, and therefore needleſs to be inſiſted on too much.

As for the Name of *Britain*, which *Nennius* and divers other Britiſh Writers derive from *Brutus*, (whom they likewiſe call *Brito*;) but others of them from the Britiſh words *Pryd Cain*, i. e. *Forma candida*, a white Form; it ſeems too far fetch'd; and beſides, we do not find that the Natives of this Iſle ever called it *Britain*.

Introduct. to Britan.

Mr. *Camden* derives it from the Welſh word *Brith*, which ſignifies *Painted*, (for the ancient *Britains* uſed to paint themſelves of a pale blewiſh Colour with *Glaſtum*, or *Woad*;) and Τανία, which in Greek ſignifies a *Region*, or *Country*. But this Etymology has this Inconvenience in it, that it is derived from too far different Languages; and beſides it ſeems very improbable, that ſuch an Accidental Cuſtom as that of painting their Bodies, ſhould give a Name to the whole Iſland, as well as its Inhabitants. Nor does this word, *Brith*, ſignifie in the Welſh Tongue, *Painted*, but rather *Spotted* with divers Colours; whereas the ancient *Britains*, as ſome write, did not paint themſelves with various Colours, but only ſtained their Bodies with one ſimple Colour, *viz.* Blue. We muſt therefore endeavour to derive it from ſome other Language, if it was not the *Britains* themſelves, but other Nations (as is moſt probable) that firſt called this Iſland *Britain*. Now it is certain, that there is no Word in the Greek Tongue from whence Βρετανία can well be derived, which Name only the more modern Greek Hiſtorians have given this Iſland; for thô * *Strabo* in his Geography calls it Βρεταννικὴ, yet ſince this word is an Adjective, it is plain that Νῆσος, i. e. *Inſula*, an Iſland, is to be underſtood: So that it ſeems the word Βρεταννικὴ muſt be more ancient than Βρετανία, and therefore Mr. *Camden*'s derivation of it will ſcarcely hold good: Yet *Ptolomy* never calls this Iſland Βρετανία, but Ἀλβίων, for when he ſpeaks of all the Iſlands lying together in theſe Seas towards the North, he calls them Βρεταννικαὶ Νῆσοι, or Αἱ Βρεταννίδες Νῆσοι; i. e. *Inſulæ Britannicæ*, the Britiſh Iſlands. And * *Pliny* in his Natural Hiſtory ſpeaking of all theſe Iſlands, ſays, *Albion ipſi nomen fuit, cum Britannicæ vocarentur omnes*; *i. e.* The particular Name was *Albion*, but the Iſlands together were called *Britiſh*.

* *Lib. III. c.* 2.

* *Lib. II. c.* 16.

But Monſieur *Bochart*, in his moſt Learned Work, Entituled * *Chanaan*, where he Treats of the Colonies and Language of the *Phœnicians*, hath given us a more probable derivation of the Name of *Britain*, which he ſuppoſes to be derived from the *Phœnicians*, who in their Language called this Iſland (as well as ſome others near it) *Barat Anac*, or more contractedly *Bratanac*, *i. e.* in the Land or Country of Tin or Lead; which being thus given it by the *Phœnician* Mariners, that firſt ſailed thither and diſcovered thoſe Iſlands, might afterwards by the *Greeks* be mollified into Βρεταννικὴ, and Βρετανία. Now, that the *Phœnicians* were the firſt that diſcovered thoſe Iſles, (which the *Gracians* called *Caſſiterides*, (and which are proved by Mr. *Camden* to be no other than our *Scilly* Iſlands,) and from whence, as * *Strabo* tells us in his Geography, "The *Phœnicians* firſt brought Tin, which thô

* *Lib. I. c.* 39.

* *Lib. II. c.* 2.

“ they vended to the Greeks, yet kept the Trade, as well as the “ Place, private to themſelves, may be believed upon theſe Authorities: “ * *Pliny* tells us, That *Midocritus* was the firſt who brought Lead from “ the *Caſſiterides.* But Monſieur *Bochart* there ſhews us, That it ought to be read *Melichartus*, who was the *Phœnician Hercules* of *Sanchoniathon*, and to whom the *Phœnicians* attributed their firſt Weſtern Diſcoveries.

Yet notwithſtanding the Care of the *Phœnicians* to conceal theſe Iſlands, the *Greeks* did at laſt diſcover them, (thô we cannot tell the certain time when,) giving them the Name of *Caſſiterides*, which ſignifies in the *Greek* Tongue, the ſame that *Barat-Anac* does in the *Phœnician*, viz. *The Land* or *Country of Tin*; which Name, thô given only to theſe Iſlands at firſt, was at laſt alſo communicated to the adjoyning Countries, now called *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*; from whence alſo the *Phœnicians* might bring this Commodity; and ſo by degrees this Name came to be given to all thoſe Iſlands thus lying together; ſince in thoſe Times (as well as now) it is probable, there might be Mines of this Metal in *Britain* itſelf, as well as in thoſe ſmaller Iſlands above-mentioned: In ſome of which Mr. *Camden* tells us, there are found Veins of this Metal even unto this Day; and there might be far greater Mines of it in former Ages, thô long ſince worn out.

But it is Objected, That Mr. *Camden*, in his Introduction to his *Britannia*, hath poſitively aſſerted, that *Britain* was not known to the *Greeks*, and therefore its Name could not be derived from them, or the *Phœnicians*: and for Proof of this, he cites a Place out of the Third Book of *Polybius*'s Hiſtory, which we ſhall here render into Engliſh thus. “ As for *Aſia* and *Lybia*, where they joyn to each “ other about *Ethiopia*, none can ſay poſitively to this Day, “ whether it be a Continent running to the South, or whether “ it be encompaſſed by the Sea. So likewiſe what lies between *Tanais* and *Narbon*, ſtretching Northward, is unknown to us at this “ preſent, unleſs hereafter by diligent Enquiry we may learn ſomething of it; they that ſpeak or write any thing of theſe Matters, “ are to be thought to know nothing, and to lay down meer Fables.] By which Words *Polybius* only means, That as it was doubtful whether the Sea encompaſſed the South Parts of *Africa*, ſo it was unknown whether the North Parts of *Europe* about *Narbon* were likewiſe ſo encompaſſed; whereas Mr. *Camden* underſtands the Words as if they were ſpoken in general, when indeed they related only to that particular Queſtion, Whether the Northern Tracts of *Europe* were invironed with the Sea or not, which notwithſtanding the great Improvement of Navigation ſtands unreſolv'd even unto this Day. But that *Polybius* writ not in this ſenſe, appears further, in that he himſelf deſcribes the Fountains of *Rhodanus* and *Ligeris*, with many other Places of *Gaul* which lie all above *Narbon.* But to put this paſt all Diſpute, in this very Third Book, *he promiſes particularly to write of the further or Weſtern Sea, as alſo of the Britanick Iſlands,* (for ſo he calls them,) *and of their manner of making Tin*: Which Promiſe of his required more than a Curſory Knowledge to perform: Since he ſays, *That the Trade into thoſe Seas was then very great*; now that he alſo performed this Promiſe, appears from * *Strabo* where *Polybius* is cited, as comparing the Opinions of *Pytheas*, *Dicæarchus*, and *Eratoſthenes*, concerning the Magnitude of *Britain*; but that theſe Iſlands were diſcovered by the

* Lib. VII c. 56.

* Lib. II.

Greeks long before *Polybius*'s time, appears alſo from *Herodotus*, who confeſſes, *he does not know the Iſlands* Caſſiterides, *from whence Tin is brought*; (that is, he did not know them any otherwiſe than by Report;) and if theſe ſmaller Iſlands were then diſcovered, can any one believe, that ſo great an Iſland as *Britain*, which lay ſo near them, could remain undiſcovered? But I have ſpoke enough, if not too much, of the Etymologies of the Names of this Iſland; ſince of all that may be counted Learning, nothing is more uncertain than this, nor is it often of any great uſe when known.

I ſhall therefore now proceed to ſomewhat more Solid and Uſeful, and try if we can diſcover who were the firſt Inhabitants of this Iſland; but ſince the Scriptures, as well as Prophane Hiſtories, are ſilent in this Point, it is impoſſible to tell the Name of the Man who brought the firſt Colony hither: Only thus much ſeems probable, That *Europe* was Peopled by the Poſterity of *Japhet*, either from one *Alanus*, (whom *Nennius* ſuppoſes to have been his Grandſon,) or elſe from *Gomer* his Son, from whom Mr. *Camden* derives the Names of *Cimmerii* and *Cimbri*, whom he ſuppoſes to be one and the ſame Nation, and by whom the ancient *Gallia* was firſt Inhabited, and from whom he brings the preſent *Welſh*, called in their own Language *Cymru*, which, if true, nothing is more certain and eaſie to believe, than that this Iſland was firſt Inhabited (at leaſt as to its more Southern Parts) from the Continent of *Gaul*, as is delivered by *Bede* in his firſt Chapter as a current Tradition in his Time; and Mr. *Camden* farther proves it out of *Cæſar*'s Commentaries: For thô he there tells us, that the Inland Parts of *Britain* were Inhabited by thoſe who called themſelves the Natives; yet that the Maritime Parts were poſſeſſed by ſuch, who to make War, and get Prey, had paſſed over from *Belgium* and *Gaul*, which were then called by the ſame Names as thoſe People from whence they came. Which may be alſo proved from other Arguments, as their Affinity in Cuſtoms, Language and Religion, with thoſe of *Gaul*, as they are there deſcribed by *Cæſar*, and alſo by other *Roman* Authors: Thô *Tacitus*, in his Life of *Agricola*, does not wholly agree with *Cæſar* as to this Particular, for he there tells us, "That the Northern Parts of *Britain* ſeem to have been Peopled by the *Germans*, as the Eaſtern Coaſts by their oppoſite Neighbours the *Gauls*, and the South Part by the *Iberi* or *Spaniards*: This he gathers from the different Complexion of the People, the Northern *Britains* (ſays he) are Fair, having large Limbs, and long yellow Hair like the *Germans*; but the *Silures*, or Southern *Britains*, were Swarthy, and had curled Hair like the *Spaniards*, whereas the Coaſt lying over-againſt *Gaul* agreed in Language, Cuſtoms, and in every thing elſe with the *Gauls*.

It was not from the Continent of *Gaul* alone, that this Iſland was firſt Inhabited, but alſo from *Ireland*, and the North Parts of *Germany*, or elſe from *Scandinavia*, now called *Sweden*; for *Bede* tells us in the Firſt Chapter of his Hiſtory, "That, after the *Britains*, the *Picts* came out of *Scythia* in long Ships, and landed firſt in the North of *Ireland*; but being there refuſed Habitation by the *Scots*, who then poſſeſſed that Iſland, they were adviſed to plant themſelves in the North part of *Britain*, which they then thereupon performed; and when the *Picts*, wanting Wives, deſired the *Scots* to beſtow ſome on them, they con-

" ſented to it on this condition, That when there was any diſpute about the Succeſſion to the Crown, they ſhould rather chuſe a King from the *Feminine*, than *Maſculine* Line of their former Kings, which is ſtill obſerv'd (ſays he) among the *Picts* to this day.

Now that this Country, which *Bede* here calls *Scythia*, could be no other, than the more *Northern* Parts of *Germany*, or elſe *Gothia* (now called *Sweden*) at the fartheſt, ſeems highly probable, ſince the beſt Writers of the middle Ages do all agree, that theſe parts were in thoſe times called by the general Name of *Scythia*. And you may ſee Authorities ſufficient for this, cited by Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* in the 15th Chapter of his learned work; *De Antiquitate Britannicarum Eccleſiarum*, and by the reverend Dr. *Stillingfleet* (now Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*) in his *Origines Britannicæ*; who allows *Hector Boethius* his Conjecture not to be be improbable, who derives them from the *Agathyrſi*, who came out of *Sarmatia* into the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, and from thence into *Scotland*. Cap. 5.

But that the *Scots* came into this *Iſland* many Ages after out of *Ireland* is alſo as certain, Since *Bede* tells us in the ſame place, that in proceſs of " time *Britain* receiv'd a Third Nation, *viz.* of the *Scots*, beſides the *Britains* and *Picts*, which *Scots* going out of *Ireland* under the conduct of one *Reuda*, took thoſe *Territories* which they have among the *Picts*, either by terms or agreement with them, from which *Reuda* even to this day they are called *Dalreudini*, for *Dal* in their language ſignifies a ſhare or portion, which *Reuda* in what Age he lived and brought over this Colony out of *Ireland*, ſince it hath bred a great diſpute among our Modern *Antiquaries*, I ſhall not take upon me now to decide: But that the *Scots* came at firſt from *Ireland*, is acknowledged by *John Fordon*, and *John Major*, their two eldeſt Hiſtorians extant; the latter of whom tells us, "*That as yet*, that is in his time, *almoſt half* Scotland *ſpoke the* Iriſh *Tongue, which they had brought over with them from* Ireland.

To return to the matter in hand it is evident from *Bede*, that in his time, *God* was ſerved in five ſeveral Languages in this Iſland, (*viz*) The *Engliſh*, the *Britiſh*, the *Scotiſh*, (or preſent *Iriſh*) the *Latin* (which they commonly uſed in Divine Service) and the *Pictiſh*; though what that Language was we cannot now tell; for the *Picts* being totally ſubdued by the *Scots*, and thereby incorporated into the body of that Nation, that Tongue is quite extinct; though if it had not been at leaſt different in Dialect from that of the *Britains*, it ſeems improbable that *Bede*, who was ſo near a neighbour to them, ſhould mention it as a diſtinct Tongue from all the reſt. And yet notwithſtanding by all the relicts we can now find of it in the Names of places in the *South* and *Weſt* parts of *Scotland*, they are purely *Britiſh*, as Mr. *Camden* hath learnedly proved in his ſaid Introduction, and therefore, ſince the name of *Pict* is indeed *Latin*, and ſignifies no more than painted Men, and that no *Roman* Author makes mention of them, before *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who lived about the end of the fourth Century, and is the firſt who calls the Inhabitants of the *Northern* parts of *Britain* by the name of *Picti*, diſtinguiſhing them into *Dicalidonii* (perhaps, it ſhould be *Deucaldonii*) and *Vecturiones*, which the learned Dr. *Lloyd*, late Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and now of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, in his Hiſtorical account of Church Government in *Britain*, probably enough derives from the *Britiſh Deucilyddion*, and *Chwithwrion*, that is *Southern Caledones*, or Borderers and *Northern* Men. It is probable that theſe *Picts* were no other than the remainder of thoſe

Britains, who preſerved their Liberty by reſiſting the *Roman* Arms, and were at laſt divided from the *Roman Britains*, by a Wall, now called the *Picts* Wall, (the Veſtiges of which are to be ſeen to this Day) drawn between the mouths of the Rivers *Tine* and *Eske*, to hinder their farther Incurſions into thoſe parts which were then under the *Roman* Empire.

But having ſaid enough concerning this *Iſland* in general, together with its firſt Inhabitants and their Languages; It is now high time to come to our main deſign, the Hiſtory of that part of it, called at this day *England*, and which was in the *Romans* time divided into ſeveral Provinces or Governments, as *Britannia Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*,*&c.* they may be ſeen in the Antient *Notitia* of the *Roman Empire*. We muſt therefore in the firſt place ingenuouſly confeſs, that till the coming in of the *Romans*, there are no certain or Authentick Hiſtories remaining of any tranſactions before that time; for *Gildas*, who liv'd not long after the *Saxons* were firſt call'd into *Britain*, " freely owns, " *that as for* the *Antient monuments* of his Country, (whatever they were) " being either burnt by Enemies, or carried beyond Sea by his baniſh'd " *Country men, they were not then to be found*, therefore I ſhall wholly omit that fabulous Succeſſion of *Celtick* Kings, who are feigned to be derived from *Samothes*, one of the Sons of *Japhet*, whom they ſuppoſe to have planted Colonies firſt on the Continent of *Celtica* or *Gaul*, and next in this *Iſland*, and thence to have named it *Samothea*, ſince they never had any exiſtence, but in the brain of *Amnius de Viterbo*, and by him vented in his counterfeit *Beroſus*, which is long ſince exploded by all that are any thing verſed in Antiquity.

But now I could heartily wiſh that we had any certain monuments of the Hiſtory of this Kingdom, which might juſtly ſupply their room; but having no Authentick accounts left us of the *Britiſh* Kings, that reigned in this Iſland till *Julius Cæſar*'s firſt Expedition hither, I could willingly have excuſed my ſelf from the drudgery of writing things ſo uncertain, nay in diverſe particulars utterly falſe, were it not that moſt Authors who have already writ our Hiſtory either in *Engliſh* or *Latin*, have thought thoſe long Succeſſions of Kings not unworthy a particular Recital, as ſuppoſing it ſcarce poſſible, that a deſcent of above Sixty Kings together, with ſo many tranſactions attended with ſuch particular Circumſtances, as the making of War and Peace, building of Cities and enacting Laws, ſhould be wholly Fabulous and Romantick, or that the names of ſo many ſucceſſive Princes ſhould never have been derived from any real Perſons.

For though it is true that *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* is look'd upon as the chief (if not only) Author of the Story of *Brutus* and his Succeſſours; yet it is certain that he pretends in the Proem to his Hiſtory, (which he dedicated to no leſs a Man than *Robert* Earle of *Glouceſter*, natural Son to K. *Hen. the I.*) that he received an antient *Britiſh* Hiſtory from *Walter*, Arch-Deacon of *Oxon*, which (as he ſays) he faithfully tranſlated out of the *Britiſh* Tongue into *Latin*, though *William Neobrigenſis*, (who lived ſome time after this *Geoffrey*) in the very beginning of his Hiſtory writes thus of him, " *In theſe our days (ſays he) a certain Writer is riſen*, who hath " deviſed many fooliſh Fictions of the *Britains*, he is named *Geoffrey*: " And a little after, thus, *with how* little ſhame, and with what great " Confidence doth he frame his Lyes! So that you may ſee his Hiſtory began to be cryed out againſt almoſt as ſoon as it was publiſhed. And

Yet for all this, it is certain, that *Geoffrey* was not the firſt Author of this Story of *Brutus*; for *Nennius*, who lived in the 8th Century (and is alſo Intituled *Gildas* in ſome Copies) in his Hiſtory makes the Iſle of *Britain* to be firſt inhabited by one *Brito*, the Son of *Hiſicion*, the Son of *Japhet*, or elſe from one *Brutus*, (it ſeems he did not know which) whoſe Pedegree he " derives from *Æneas* by his Son *Aſcanius*, and who (as he " ſuppoſes) reigned in *Britain* in the time that *Eli* Judged *Iſrael*, and " under whoſe *Conduct* the *Britains* in the third Age of the World firſt " came into this Iſland; which Calculation falls out right enough with our at preſent received Chronology: But as for *Sigebertus Gemblacenſis*, a *French* Monk, (who lived about Twenty Years before *Geoffrey*) tho' in ſome Editions he ſpeaks of *Brute* with his *Trojans* arrival in *Gaul*, and of his paſſage from thence into *Britain*, yet it is certain they are none of that Author's words, there being no ſuch thing to be found in the trueſt Edition of his Chronicle, publiſhed by *Mirræs. An.* 1608. as the above cited Lord Biſhop of *Coventry*, and *Litchfield*, in his learned Preface to his Hiſtorical account of Church Government in great *Britain* and *Ireland*, hath fully proved. But after him *Henry* Arch-Deacon of *Huntington*, an Author of Credit (who lived at the ſame time with *Geoffrey*) aſcribes the firſt habitation of this Iſland to *Brutus*, the Son of *Sylvius*, Grandſon to *Æneas*; whom together with his certain *Trojans* he ſuppoſes to have come into *Britain* in the third Age of the World, as the *Scots* did in the fourth into *Ireland*, which he ſeems to have taken out of *Nennius*, or ſome other ancient Author: But this muſt ſtill be confeſt, that the whole relation of the Actions of *Brutus*, and the Succeſſion of all the Princes that followed him, do all depend upon the Credit of *Geoffrey* and the truth of his tranſlation, and ſo was looked upon in the Age in which he publiſhed his Hiſtory: But to make this *Brute* to be a *Trojan*, and to give him a *Genealogy*, which is plainly contradicted by all the *Roman* Authors, is that for which his Hiſtory ought to be condemned: Yet thus much may be ſaid in Excuſe of him, and of all thoſe Authors who have aſcribed the Origine of the *Britains* to *Brute*, that they have imitated the Vanity of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, who derived their Kings from ſome *God* or *Heroe*. And have been followed in it not only by the *Britains*, but the *French* and almoſt all other Nations of *Europe*, ſince they began to write Hiſtories of their Originals.

Cap. 2. 3, 4.

But ſince it is fit that we ſhould give you ſome account (though as ſhort as poſſible) of this *Brute* and his Succeſſors, I ſhall contract their Hiſtory from *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* into as narrow a Compaſs as I can.

Brutus, who is ſuppos'd to have firſt Peopled *Britain* with Inhabitants of the *Trojan* Race, is ſaid to have been the Great Grandſon of *Æneas*, by his Son *Aſcanius*, who killing his Father *Sylvius*, King of *Alba*, accidently with an Arrow, was forced to fly his Country, and going into *Greece* joyned himſelf with the remainder of thoſe ſcattered *Trojans* he found there, and becoming their Leader, made War upon *Pandraſus*, the King of that Country, to whom he ſent this Meſſage, *viz.* " That the *Trojans* holding it unworthy " their Anceſtors to ſerve in a Foreign Kingdom, had retreated to the " Woods; chooſing rather a Savage, than a ſlaviſh Life; if that diſ" pleaſed him, then with his leave they might depart to ſome other " Soile. The particulars of which being tedious and fabulous, are here needleſs further to be inſerted. But at laſt that King being by them made a Priſoner, was forced to accept of terms of Peace, the Articles of which were, That *Brute* ſhould Marry *Inogena* the King's Daughter, and in Conſideration of her Dower ſhould have a Fleet given him, with Liberty to tranſport all ſuch as would be willing to follow his Fortunes: The Marriage being thereupon ſolemnized, *Brute* and his *Trojans* with a great Fleet betook themſelves to Sea, and within a ſhort time landed on a deſerted Iſland, where they found a ruin'd City, in which was a Temple, and an Image of *Diana*, that gave Oracles; whereupon *Brutus* conſulting with his Diviner and Twelve other of the Ancients, was adviſed to invoke the Goddeſs to tell him, in what Land or Region he ſhould find a place to ſettle in, and accordingly as we find it in *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, he is ſaid to Adreſs her thus,

Diva potens Nemorum, terror Sylveſtribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,
Infernaſque domos: Terreſtria Jura reſolve,
Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis.
Dic certam ſedem, quâ te veneremur in ævum,
Quâ tibi Virgineis Templa dicabo Choris.

Thus excellently well tranſlated by the Learned Mr. *Milton*.

Goddeſs of Shades, and Huntreſs who at will
Walk'ſt on the rouling Sphere, and through the deep,
On thy third Reign the Earth look now, and tell
What Land, what Seat of reſt thou bidſt me ſeek,
What certain Seat, where I may worſhip thee
For ay, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin Quires.

Whereupon the Goddeſs returned this following Anſwer.

Brute ſub Occaſum ſolis trans Gallica regna
Inſula in Oecano eſt undique cincta Mari.
Inſula in Oceano eſt, habitata Gigantibus olim,
Nunc deſerta quidem, Gentibus apta tuis.
Hanc pete, namque tibi ſedes erit illa perennis;
Hæc fiet natis altera Troja tuis
Hic de prole tua Reges naſcentur, & illis
Totius Terræ ſubditus Orbis erit.

Rendred thus,

Brutus, far to the *Weſt*, in th' Ocean wide
Beyond the Realm of *Gaul*, a Land there lies,
Sea-Girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fits thy People, thither bend
Thy Courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting Seat,
There to thy Sons another *Troy* ſhall riſe,
And *Kings* be born of thee, whoſe dreaded Might
Shall awe the World, and Conquer Nations bold.

But theſe Verſes being in *Latin*, when there was no ſuch Language ſpoke in the World, ſufficiently betray the moderneſs of the invention: So that were it no more to pleaſe, then inſtruct, I ſhould not have inſerted them here.

And now *Brute* being guided, as he thought by a Divine Conduct, Sails again towards the *Weſt*, and Landing in *Italy* meets with ſome other *Trojans* who had come thither with *Antenor*, many of whom he takes along with him, together with one *Corinæus* their Chief. With this recruit *Brute* puts again to Sea, and paſſing the Pillars of *Hercules*, at the mouth of *Ligeris* in *Aquitania* caſts Anchor, where they were ſet upon by one *Goffarius* a *Pictiſh* King of that Country, now called *Poictou*, with whom having ſeveral Battles, *Brute* at laſt Conquered and Expell'd him his Kingdom; but he ſollicitng the other Kings of *Gaul* to his aſſiſtance; *Brute* thereupon finding himſelf too weak for ſo great a force, called a Council, where 'twas reſolved, that ſince this was not the Land promiſed them by the Oracle, they ſhould again put to Sea: So embarking all their Forces, after a few days Sail they arrived at *Albion*, and Landed at a Haven, now called *Totneſſe* in *Devonſhire*. The time of which enterprize is ſuppoſed to be about 1200 Years after the *Flood*, and about 66. Years after the Deſtruction of *Troy*; if any certain time can be aſſigned for ſo uncertain a relation.

But *Brute* having at length (through many dangers and difficulties) attained this long wiſh'd for Iſland, ~~Lands~~ his *Trojans*, and marches up into the Country to take poſſeſſion of it, which he found in great part deſart, or Inhabited only by ſome Gyants; theſe he quickly deſtroys and to his People divides the Land, which in alluſion to his own Name he called *Britain*. On *Corinæus*, *Cornwall*, (as we now call it) was beſtowed: But here I omit as a Fable, only fit to be told Children, how this Hero, though no Gyant himſelf, yet took up the mighty Gyant *Gogmagog* in his Arms, and flung him off from a Cliff into the Sea, from whence the place hath been ever ſince called *Langoemagog*, that is to ſay, the Gyant's Leap.

went on ſhore with his

After *Brute* had thus conquer'd the Iſland, he choſe a fit place to build a City, which he called *Troja Nova*; (for it ſeems he ſpoke Latin though it were not then uſed in *Italy*) which Cities Name was changed in time to *Trinobantum*, or *Troynovant*, after to *London*: This he made the Seat of his *Kingdom*, (*Eli* being then High Prieſt in *Judea*), where he enacted ſeveral Laws, and having reign'd here Fifteen Years, he divided his Kingdom among his Three Sons; *Locrinus* the Eldeſt had that part called *Loegria* now *England*: *Camber* the ſecond poſſeſſed *Cambria*, now *Wales*. And *Albanactus*, *Albania*, now *Scotland*; but he ſome time after being invaded by one *Humber* King of the *Huns*, was ſlain in Fight, and his People driven back into *Loegria*, whereupon King *Locrinus* and his Brother *Camber* march'd againſt this *Humber*, who fighting with them, and being overcome, and drown'd in a River, left his Name to it. I deſignedly omit the long ſtory of the Lady *Eſtrildis*, whom *Locrinus* then taking Priſoner he fell in Love with, and privately enjoy'd, and would have Married, had it not been for fear of *Corinæus*, whoſe Daughter *Gwendolin*, he had already betroathed; but no ſooner was *Corinæus* dead, but he owned *Eſtrildis* for his Queen, which ſo incenſed *Gwendolin*, that although *Locrinus* was ſtrengthened by the addition of *Cambria* upon the Death of his Brother; yet ſhe goes into *Cornwall*, and by powerful ſollicitations in the behalf of her ſelf and her young Son *Madan*, the *Corniſh* are brought to aſſiſt her: With theſe Forces, ſhe marched againſt *Locrinus*, and in a pitch'd Battle nigh the River *Stour* he was overcome, and Slain, in the 20th Year of his Reign, upon this (juſt as ſhe would have it) the Kingdom fell to her Son

Madan, the Son of *Locrinus* by *Gwendolin*, although a Child, yet ſucceeded his Father, but under the Regency of the *Queen* his Mother, who out of Revenge, drown'd *Eſtrildis* and her Daughter *Sabra* in a River, which from her was called *Sabrina*, in *Engliſh Severne*; *Gwendolin*, her Son coming to full Age, reſigned her Power, and retired into *Cornwall*, after ſhe had Govern'd Fifteen Years: But *Madan* having had the fame of Ruling well for the ſpace of Forty Years in all, left behind him two Sons, *Mempritius* and *Manlius*; *Mempritius* the Eldeſt Son of *Madan* is ſuppoſed to have ruled over the whole Iſland, but *Manlius* his Younger Brother rebelling againſt him, he deſired a treaty with him, who giving his Brother a meeting, he treacherouſly murdered him, and now having put an end to that trouble, giving himſelf up to Luxury and Cruelty, and at laſt to unnatural Luſt, hunting in a Forreſt was devoured by Wolves; to whom ſucceeded *Ebrank* his Son, who was a Man of mighty Strength and Stature; he firſt after *Brutus* waſted *Gaul*, and returning rich and proſperous, built *Caerbranc*, now *York*, and in *Albania*, the Town of *Mount Agned*, now *Edinburgh* He is ſaid to have had Twenty Wives, and by them Twenty Sons and Thirty Daughters, which (as our Author relates) were ſent under the Conduct of their Brother to *Sylvius Alba* then King of *Italy* to be provided with Husbands, becauſe he had heard that the *Sabines* would not give their Daughters in Marriage to the *Latins*, which is ſo very ridiculous that it needs no Confutation. This Prince dying, after he had reign'd about Forty Years, left the Kingdom to *Brute*, Sir-named *Greenſhield* from the colour of his Target; he revenged thoſe Indignities, which had been put upon his Father by *Brunchild*, Prince of *Hannonia* or *Hainault* Conquering him near the banks of the *Scaldis*, i. e. the *Scheld*, but the modern names of *Hainault*, and *Brunchild* ſufficiently betray the Novelty of this *Fable*: He hath the Character of an Excellent Prince, Juſt, Merciful, and a moſt exact obſerver of his Word; and reigned Twelve Years, to whom ſucceeded

Leil his Son, who built the City of *Carliſle*, (in the Days of *Solomon*,) after called by the *Romans Lugubalia*, and did alſo repair *Caerleon*, now called *Cheſter*; he was a good Prince till the latter end of his days, when falling into ſeveral Vices, he occaſioned great diſſentions in the Kingdom, which did not end with his life, but after he had reigned Twenty five Years, left the Kingdom to

Rudhudibras or *Hudibras*, who compos'd the diſturbances begun in his Fathers days, and, ſtudying nothing more than to ſtrengthen and adorn his Kingdom, built ſeveral Cities, as *Caerkim* now *Canterbury*; likewiſe *Caer Guent*, now *Wincheſter*; as alſo Mount *Paladur*, after *Septonia* or *Shaftſbury*, and having reigned Twenty nine Years, was ſucceeded by,

Bladud his Son, who is ſaid to have been ſkill'd in Magick, and thereby to have found out thoſe Medicinal Waters, now called the *Bath*, where he alſo built a City, called *Caer Baden*; he is ſaid to be a Man of a good Invention, and having made himſelf Wings to flye, fell down from the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and broke his Neck, having governed *Britain* Twenty Years. To him ſucceeded

Leir his Son who built *Caer Leir*, now called *Leiceſter*: He had only Three Daughters, *Gonnilla*, *Regana*, and *Cordiella* his darling; but in his old Age, being jealous of their Affections, he called them before him, and demanded, that they would give him ſome aſſurance of their Love; the two Eldeſt called Heaven and Earth to witneſs, that they loved him Ten thouſand times dearer than their own Souls, and that they were not able to Expreſs their infinite kindneſs for him; and at laſt concluded their flatteries with horrid Oaths and aſſeverations of their Sincerity; but *Cordiella*, the Youngeſt, though having before her Eyes the preſent reward of an eaſie flattery, yet could not be moved from giving him this downright honeſt Anſwer: Father (ſaith ſhe) my Love toward you, is as my Duty bids, What ſhould a Father ſeek? What can a Child promiſe more? They who pretend beyond this flatter: This ſhort Anſwer not at all ſatisfied the old ſuſpicious *King*; for he ſhewed his reſentments by his neglect of her, and the ſuddain advancement of her Siſters, Marrying *Regana* to the *Duke* of *Cornwall*, and *Gonarilla* to the *Duke* of *Albania*; reſerving no portion at all for *Cordiella*, but it ſo happen'd, that *Aganippus* a Prince of *Gaul* (however he came by this *Greek* Name) hearing of her Vertue and Beauty deſired her in Marriage, to whom ſhe was welcome without any other Dower, but her own Vertues. King *Leir* having thus diſpoſed of his two Eldeſt Daughters, and dividing half his Kingdom between them, they within ſome time by their ſubtile practices work him out of all; ſo that he was forced to ſojourn with his Daughters by turns, who being ſet on by their Husbands, put ſo many affronts and Indignities upon him (needleſs here to be recited) that in the end he was conſtrained to leave the Realm, and take refuge with *Cordiella*. This rejected Daughter received him with all the Duty and Affection imaginable; and then appeared the difference between the down-right Love of ſome Children to their Parents, and the over talkative obſequiouſneſs of others, while the hopes of a large Inheritance obliges their Tongues to Expreſs more Duty than ever they mean to perform; but what was more ſignificant than Words, ſhe aſſiſted her Father with powerful aids, and in Perſon went to revenge his wrongs: So that bringing a great Army into *Britain*, ſhe deſtroyed his Enemies, and reſtored him to his Crown, which he held but for the ſpace of Two Years, whoſe Reign in all is computed to be about Forty Years, and then dying left the Throne to

Cordilla, who Governed the Kingdom for Five Years; but in the mean time her Husband *Aganippus* dying; *Morgan* and *Cunedage* her Nephews, by her Siſters *Gonorilla* and *Regana*, diſdaining to be under the Government of a Woman, rebelled againſt her; and ſo prevailed, that they took her Priſoner; but ſhe being a Woman of a high Spirit ſlew her ſelf, rather than to live under their Tyranny.

Whereupon *Cunedage* and *Morgan* poſſeſſing the whole Government, divided the Iſland between them; to *Morgan* fell *Albania*, to *Cunedage* all the Land on this ſide *Humber*; *Morgan* not being content with his Portion Invaded his Brother, but being driven by him into *Wales*, and there Slain, gave the Name of *Glan-Morgan* to that Country: *Cunedage* now Ruling alone built many Temples to his Gods, and dying, was buried at *Trinoyant*; after he had Ruled Thirty three Years, to whom ſucceeded

Rivallo the Son of *Cunedage*; in his time it rain'd Blood for Three Days together, from whoſe Putrefaction, Noiſom and Venemous Flies were bred; which in Swarms infeſted the whole Land, and brought great Contagion both upon Men and Beaſts. He, after he had Ruled Forty ſix Years, was ſucceeded by

Gurguſt his Son, of whom nothing is recorded worth mentioning; he is ſaid to have Reign'd Thirty ſeven Years: Nor is there more left of *Jago* his Nephew,

Nor yet of *Sillius*, or *Sicillius*, thô how related to the former is not ſaid: But to him, after Forty nine Years Reign, ſucceeded

Kinemare, ſaid to be Brother of *Jago*, of whom there is nothing Recorded, but that he was Buried at *York*: To whom ſucceeded

Gorlodug, the Son of *Kinemare*, he is noted for Tyranny: But dying, he left behind him two Sons

Ferrex, and *Porrex*, who Reigning joyntly at firſt, did within a few Years begin to contend, who ſhould have the whole Kingdom; in which Contention, after a great Battle Fought between them, *Ferrex* was Slain, whoſe Death affected his Mother with ſo great a Grief, that tranſported by Revenge, ſhe by the help of her Maidens, Slew her other Son *Porrex* whilſt he was a Sleep; an unheard of Example, and too ſtrange to be true.

After his Death, the Blood Royal of *Brute* being extinguiſhed by his Death, there happned cruel Wars, ſo that the Kingdom was rent into five parts; one *Pinnor* made himſelf King of *Loegria* or *England*: *Stator* ſeized *Albania*; *Rudock*, *Cambria*, and *Cloten*, *Cornwall*: But as to the fifth diviſion, the Story is ſilent; this *Pentarchie* is ſuppoſed to have laſted above Fifty Years, the Kingdom in the mean time being miſerably harraſſed by Civil Wars, until

Dunwallo Molmutius, Son of *Cloten* King of *Cornwall*, excelling in Valour and Comlineſs of Perſon, by ſubduing the other four Princes, reduced the whole Iſland again into a Monarchy, and is ſaid to be the *Firſt in* Britain *that were a Crown of Gold*; *and therefore by ſome reputed the firſt King*: But what he got by Force he managed with great Prudence and Moderation; Enacting ſeveral excellent Laws, which *Geoffrey* ſays were tranſlated into *Latin* by *Gildas*; and in *Saxon* afterwards by King *Alfred*. But ſince no ſuch work of his is any where extant, I ſhall not give them ſo much Credit as to recite them; though Mr. *Selden* hath not thought them unworthy of a place in his learned Treatiſe; called, *Janus*, *Anglorum*. But this King, after he had governed Forty Years, died, and was buried at *Trinovant*, to whom ſucceeded his two Sons

Belinus and *Brennus*, who after ſome Controverſies, divided the Kingdom between them, *Brennus* being to have all that lay *North* of *Humber*, and *Belinus* the reſt; but the Younger being not long ſo contented, did upon new deſigns Sail into *Norway*, and enter into a League with *Elſing* King of that Country, and Married his Daughter, which *Belinus* hearing of, did in his abſence diſpoſſeſs him of his Kingdom; *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians* makes toward *Britain*, but is encounter'd by *Guithlac*, a *Daniſh* King, who laying claim to his Bride purſued him at Sea, and being there vanquiſh'd in a Fight, was forced to get away with a few Ships; but *Brennus* nevertheleſs recollecting his ſhattered Navy, landed in *Albania*, and gave Battle to his Brother, who totally routed him and forced him to fly into *Gaul*, with no more than one ſingle Veſſel.

But *Belinus* being now rid of his Brother, turns his Thoughts to Arts of Peace, and amongſt other things they reckon his making the Four great Ways or Streets, which are ſtill to be ſeen, to run croſs the Kingdom, which they will have him, and not the *Romans*, to have firſt laid.

Brennus in the mean while having been kindly received by *Seguinus* King of *Armorica*, now *Britagn* in *France*, and having Married his Daughter, was by him aſſiſted with a powerful Army to regain his Kingdom, and Landing in *Britain*, was now ready to give Battel to his Brother; when their Mother *Conwenna* mediated between them, and ſo perſwaded them, that embracing each other they were perfectly reconciled; ſo that going to *Trinovant*, they reſolved to turn their united Forces on Foreign Parts, and then Sailing into *Gaul*, the Author tells us, that under theſe two, not only all that Country, but alſo *Italy*, was Conquered; as you may find in the *Roman* Authors. If thoſe were *Britains* and not *Gauls* which took *Rome*, which is not worth our while to Diſpute: Some ſay, that *Belinus* went not into *Gaul* with his Brother, or if he did that he ſoon returned. After which he made it his Buſineſs to adorn his Kingdom, Building ſome Cities, of which *Caer-Uske*, now *Caer-Leon* upon *Uske* was one; and he alſo adorn'd *Trinovant* with a Gate called to this Day *Belin*'s Gate, having a Tower on the Top of it; at the Foot of which he made a Harbour for Ships: He is alſo ſaid to be the firſt Founder of the Tower of *London*. After he had Reigned Twenty-ſix Years died, and his Body being burnt on a Funeral Pile, his Aſhes were put in a golden Urn, and placed on the Top of the Tower that he himſelf had Built.

Gurguint, Sirnamed *Brabtruc*; his Son, ſucceeded him, in whoſe Reign the *Danes* refuſed the Payment of the Tribute, which had bin impoſed by *Belinus*, when their King *Guithlac*, being driven by force of Weather upon the Coaſt of *Northumberland*, was made a Priſoner, nor could be ſet free, without an Engagement to pay Tribute for himſelf and Succeſſors, which being now denied, *Gurguint* now Sailed into *Denmark*, and by force of Arms obliged the *Danes* to renew their Treaty, and received Homage of their King and Chief Nobility, and then Embarqued again for *Britain*: In his return he met with a Fleet of Thirty Sail about the Iſle of *Orkeney*, theſe he encountred, and having taken their Captain *Bartholain*, he demanded of him what he was, and the Reaſon of his coming into thoſe Parts; *Bartholain* anſwered, that he and his Followers were named *Balences*, being baniſhed from *Spain* (their Country) with their Wives and Children, and thereupon had put to Sea to ſeek out new Habitations, whereupon it is ſaid this King aſſigned them *Ireland*, being a Place not then Peopled. This King is ſuppoſed to have Built *Caer-Werith* or *Lancaſter*, *Caer-Peris* or *Portcheſter* in *Hampſhire*, and *Caer-Gaurvie* now *Warwick*, where he was buried, after he had Reigned Nineteen Years; to whom ſucceeded

Guintelin his Son, he was a Prince Learned, Prudent, and of ſingular Juſtice and Moderation; he is ſaid to have had a Wife of as great Vertue, named *Martia*, to whom *Geoffrey* falſly Attributes the making of the Laws called *Mercenenlage*, which was indeed ſo called not from her, but but from the *Mercians*, by whoſe Kings they were firſt enacted. This King is alſo ſaid to have Reigned Twenty ſix Years, and was ſucceeded by

Sicilius the II. his Son, being about Seven Years of Age, but under the Government of his Mother *Martia*, he is ſuppoſed to have Reign'd Fifteen Years, Seven under the Tuition of his Mother, and Eight after his full Age; and having given all the Signs of a hopeful Prince, he was ſuddenly ſnatched away by Death, and then the Crown fell to

Kimarus the Son of *Sicilius*; but he being of a wild and ungovernable Temper, and wholly given up to all manner of Exorbitances, was killed in the Woods, in purſuit after his Game, ſome ſay by an Ambuſh, others by wild Beaſts: He Reigned but three Years, then

Elanius, or *Danius* his Brother ſucceeded. This King was not Inferior to his Predeceſſor in Wickedneſs of Life, inſomuch, that ſome make them the ſame Perſon, ſo exactly did theſe two Princes correſpond in their Vices. He held the Scepter about Ten Years; then ſucceeded his Son

Morvidus, or *Morindus* (by a Concubine) a Man of great Strength and Comelineſs; as to the Qualities of his Mind, he was Liberal, but withal exceeding Paſſionate: In his Days the *Moriani*, or rather *Morini*, a People of *Gaul*, Landing in *Northumberland* with Fire and Sword waſted that Country, which *Morindus* hearing of, with all Expedition gathered his Forces, and with long and weariſom Marches made up to them, and in one Battel utterly defeated them, and then put all the Priſoners to Death with exquiſite Torments; but not long after, hearing of an hideous Monſter, which, coming out of the *Iriſh* Sea, ſeized and devoured many that lived near the Shore. The King beholding the lamentable Deſtruction of his Subjects, fought the Monſter himſelf: the Conteſt held for a while doubtful, but at laſt the Monſter prevailed and devoured the King. This is ſaid to have happened in the Ninth Year of his Reign, to whom ſucceeded

Gorbonian his eldeſt Son, a religious Prince, which he evidenced to the World by repairing decay'd Temples, and erecting new ones in ſeveral Places in his Dominions: He is ſaid to have built *Grantham* in *Lincolnſhire*, and ſome ſay *Cambridge*, antiently called *Caer-Grant* and *Grant Cheſter*. He Reigned Ten Years, and was ſucceeded by his Brother

Archigallo, the Second Son of *Morindus*; he endeavoured to depreſs the Nobility, by depriving them of all Power and Command, and preferring Mean and unworthy Men, and by taking away Men's Eſtates to enrich his own Treaſure; all which Oppreſſions the Nobility of the Kingdom not being any longer to bear, they roſe up in Arms, and depoſing him, placed

Elidure his Brother in the Throne; he was called by his Subjects *Elidure the Pious*; for as he went on Hunting one Day in the Wood *Calater*, in the midſt of the Foreſt he met with his Brother *Archigallo*, and being ſtruck with Pity of his Misfortunes, he ſecretly conveyed him Home to his own Houſe at the City of *Alchluid*, where feigning himſelf ſick, he aſſembled all the Nobles of his Realm, and there partly by Perſwaſions, partly by Commands, he engaged them again to receive his Brother *Archigallo* for their Sovereign; and afterwards calling a general Aſſembly of his People at *York*, he there publickly reſigned his Crown, and taking it off his own Head, placed it on his Brother's, after he had Reigned Three Years.

Archigallo being thus Reſtored, by his wiſe and ſober Deportment regained the Affections of his People; for he diſcarded his former Favourites,

rites, and adhered to the prudent Advice of his Nobility, and Reigning to the general Liking of his Subjects for the ſpace of Ten Years, died and was buried at *Caer-brank*, or *York*.

Elidure, after the Death of his Brother, became once more King of *Britain*, and ſo with much Honour and Reputation received the ſecond time the Crown, but was ſoon depoſed by the Ambition of his Brethren, *Vigenius* and *Peridurus*, after One Year's Government; when being ſeized by them, and his Perſon confined to the Tower of *London*, they divided the Kingdom between them; *Peridurus* took *Albania*, and *Vigenius* all the Country on this ſide *Humber* for his ſhare.

x Trinovant or

Vigenius dying after he had Reigned Seven Years, the whole Kingdom devolved to *Peridurus* who managed it with great Moderation and Juſtice, and having governed Nine Years died, then *Elidure* again reſumed the Crown, being delivered out of Priſon by his Subjects, and after he had Reigned Four Years to the general Satisfaction of all Men, then dying, was ſucceeded by his Nephew or Grandſon, the Son of *Gorbonian*, who is called

Regin, by *Mat* of *Weſtminſter*, though not named particularly by *Geoffrey*; He was a worthy Prince, and Reigned with the general Approbation of all his People, to whom ſucceeded

Morgan, or *Margan*, the Son of *Argigallo*, he Reigned Fourteen Years in Tranquillity: After him

Ennian, or *Emerian*, another Son of *Archigallo's* was advanced to the Throne, who, quite different from his Brother, govern'd Tyrannically, and was in the Sixth Year of his Reign Depos'd, and then ſucceeded

Idwallo the Son of *Vigenius*, who warned by the Misfortune of his Predeceſſor avoided Tyranny; after whom Reigned

Rinco the Son of *Peridurus*, an heroic Prince and a great Warriour Then next follows, in *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, a long deſcent of Kings, who either did nothing, or had no Body to Record it; theſe make up Seventeen Kings in all, *viz.* *Gerantius* the Son of *Elidurus*, to whom ſucceeded *Catellus* his Son, then *Coillus*, and after him *Porrex* the Second; then *Cherin*, or *Cherim*; then ſucceeded *Fulgentius* the Eldeſt Son of *Cherin*; next him *Androgeus* the Third Son of *Cherim* enjoyed the Crown; then after him

Urianus the Son of *Androgeus* began to Reign, who giving himſelf up to all Riot and Intemperance, ſoon died; and to him ſucceeded

Eliod; then *Elidavius*, then *Cledanus*, or *Cletanus*, called alſo by others *Detonus*; but here ariſes ſo great a Difference amongſt the Writers of this long Bed-Roll of *Britiſh* Kings, that there is nothing of Certainty concerning their very Names, much leſs of their Actions, for their Names are variouſly recited by *Geoffrey*, and thoſe Authors that lived after him, and pretend to correct or enlarge him; but you muſt take them as we find them. Then ſucceeded

x*Gurguntius*; then *Merianus*, and after him *Bledunus*; then *Capenus*; next to him *Siſilius* the Third; then *Blegabred*, who is ſaid to have been excellently well Skill'd in Vocal as well as Inſtrumental Muſick; he Reigned Ten Years: After him ſucceeded

Arthimallo his Brother; and after him *Eldol*: Then follow Nine Kings more, without any thing Recorded of them, but their bare Names, *viz.*

Rodianus or *Redian*, then *Redarchius* or *Redargius*, then *Samuil*, then *Peniſill*, then *Carpoir* or *Corporius*, and after him *Geiduellus* or *Dinellus* the Son of *Carpoir*, a Prince Modeſt and Prudent in all his Actions, who left his

x I can find nothing [illegible]
[illegible] notice concerning this
King, onely ~~in~~ that which is
called the blacke Booke [illegible]
belonging to ~~the univers~~
~~of~~ Cambridg, ~~it is~~ the
founding of that univers
ity is ascribed [illegible] one
Cantaber a Spaniard in
[illegible] this Kings [illegible]
[illegible]
cited by Dr Caius in his [illegible]
[illegible] of the Antiquity of the
university of Cambridge [illegible]
[illegible] of this [illegible]
yet [illegible] in his Church
History as also in that of this

university, printed at the end of that volume. was not thought fit to insist
matter of so small an Authority, I shall not take the paines any further to
since ~~as~~ this whole History of Geoffreys is uncertain, if not false: then certain
concerning
Cantaber must be so likewise
especially since they
that have written
concerning it, do not
agree in the very name
of the founder.
Polydore Virgil
in his History lib.
calling him Cantha-
lonicus a Cantabri-
an, (or Spaniard of
Biscay) not that his
name was Cantaber
as the Cambridge book
~~and~~ stiles him.

his Son *Heli* his Succeſſor, who Reign'd Forty Years, and was ſucceeded by

Lud his Eldeſt Son, who is reported to have been a Vertuous Prince, making divers excellent Laws, and Correcting many Abuſes in the Government; he Adorn'd the City of *London* with new Walls and Towers, and therein built a Gate, which is ſtill called after his Name, *Lud-Gate*; and is ſaid to have built himſelf a Palace not far from it: And, after he had Reigned Eleven Years, died, leaving behind him two Sons, *Androgeus* and *Theomantius*, under the Tuition of his Brother

Caſſibelan, whoſe Bounty and Worthy demeanour ſo wrought upon the People, that he eaſily got the Kingdom transferr'd upon himſelf; yet neverthleſs ſhewing ſome Favour to his Nephews, he conferred freely upon *Androgeus London* with *Kent*, and upon *Theomantius Cornwall*; reſerving to himſelf a Superiority over them both, till the *Romans* for a while eclipſed his Power.

I ſhall not here trouble my ſelf to ſet down, much leſs to confute the Errors that may be found in the Chronology of theſe Kings Reigns, ſince *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, from whom they are taken, hath bin ſo cautious, as not to give us any account in what Year of the World they Reign'd; ſometimes telling us (tho' with no certainty at all) the Names of the Judges and Kings of *Iſrael*, whom he makes Contemporary with them. But as for his laſt Nine and Twenty Kings from *Elidure* to *Lud*, he has given us nothing but their bare Names, without ſo much as ſetting down how many Years they reign'd, as if he himſelf, or thoſe Authors he had Tranſlated had bin aſhamed, or weary of their own tedious Stories, and ſo would make it as ſhort as they could.

But as for *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter*, *Ponticus Virunnius*, *Polydore Virgil*, and one *Richard White*, (who calls himſelf *Baſinſtoke*) I do not think it worth while to put down their pretended Corrections, Emendations, and Additions of *Geoffrey*'s Hiſtory, ſince, if he had no Authority to invent, I am ſure they can leſs pretend to Correct his Inventions, or alter his Courſe of Succeſſion of the *Britiſh* Kings, as *Polydore* has done, under pretence of making them more ſuitable to his own Accounts of time: But *White* has exceeded all others in this, making bold with *Geoffrey*, not only altering the Names of his Kings and their Courſe of Succeſſion in many Places, but alſo referring them in particular to the Years of the World, in which he ſuppoſes them to have Reigned, adding alſo the Years of their Reigns where-ever he thought *Geoffrey* to be deficient, but without vouchſafing to give us the Names of any Authors from whence he took them: So that ſince we have indeed no better Authorities than *Geoffrey* himſelf, I ſhall not go about to Confute the Faults that might be found in the Chronology which ~~Mr.~~ *White* has given us of theſe Kings Reigns; though it were no hard Matter to ſhew diverſe Abſurdities in it. But this much is evident from the diſagreement of theſe Authors, about the Names of their Kings and the Years of their Reigns, that they had nothing but their own Fancies to rely upon, for what they wrote; whence proceeds ſo great a Confuſion in this part of their *Britiſh* Hiſtory, that no Body can certainly conclude any thing from hence, unleſs that they were all miſtaken: Nor is it only the uncertainty of Kings Names and Succeſſions that we here find fault with, but the great Improbability (I might ſay Impoſſibility) of divers Matters of Fact related by *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, in this Hiſtory of the *Britiſh* Kings: As for Inſtance, that of

King *Ebrdne*'s ſending his Thirty Daughters to find Husbands in *Italy*; which Story plainly took its riſe from the *Sabines* denying their Daughters to thoſe People, which *Romulus* many Years after got together. Not to mention the ~~Story~~ of *Morindus*'s being devoured by a Sea-Monſter, whereas neither our Seas nor Rivers do now (or ever did) afford any ſuch noxious Creatures; divers other more improbable Relations (becauſe I would not tire the Reader with ſuch Fooleries) I have here omitted. Beſides all which, the very Names of many of theſe Kings, ſuch as *Jago*, (which is the ſame with *James* in Engliſh) *Molmutius*, *Morindus*, as alſo *Archigallo*, *Gorbonian*, *Ennianus*, *Geruntius*, *Fulgentius*, *Androgeus*, *Archimalus*, *Rodianus*, ſufficiently betray ſome a Phœnician, ſome a Grecian, and ſome a Roman Original, and could never be derived from any ~~the~~ British ~~Original.~~ [illegible] Roots

Laſtly, There is great difference between this part of the *Britiſh* Hiſtory (eſpecially from *Elidure* to *Lud*) and all other Hiſtories; for whereas theſe commonly are barren of particular Tranſactions in their beginning, and afterwards enlarge themſelves ſtill more and more the further they proceed. This Hiſtory is quite contrary, and the farther we go, the more confuſed we find the Succeſſion of their Kings, and the leſs there is Recorded of their Actions; for from *Elidure* to *Lud* there are Nine and Twenty Kings, of whom nothing almoſt is Recorded but their bare Names; and which is alſo very remarkable, from this *Elidure*, *Geoffrey* makes no mention of the Years of their Reigns. What we find of this kind hath been added by thoſe that writ long after him, who have done it very prepoſterouſly, allowing not above Ten Years one with another to Thirty Kings, which are ſuppoſed to have Reign'd in about Two Hundred Years; ſo that if there were any Truth in this Hiſtory, it ſeems more rational to believe theſe Kings not to have ſucceeded each other, but many of them to have bin Contemporary Rulers of particular Provinces of this Iſland.

I ſhall therefore conclude this Part of the Hiſtory with Mr. *Milton*'s Words concerning theſe Kings. "Thus far have we gone relying up-
" on the Credit of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* and his Aſſertors, though,
" for the Reaſons above-mentioned, I have not thought it beſide my
" Purpoſe to relate what I have found, whereto I neither oblige the
" Belief of other Perſons, nor ſhall over-haſtily ſubſcribe my own.

But ~~Yet~~ granting theſe things not to have been true, but invented by the Author above-mentioned; yet ſince even Romances, as well as true Hiſtories, may furniſh us with Obſervations ſufficient to Inſtruct us, not only in the Humours and Paſſions of Mankind, but alſo in the Cauſes as well as Effects of human Actions: And ſince Ambition, Luſt, and the Deſire of Revenge are commonly in their turns the Motives that incite Princes as well as private Men to Tranſgreſs the Laws of Reaſon; let us look back and ſurvey ſome of the moſt remarkable Actions of thoſe Princes, whoſe Hiſtory we have here cited.

These are [illegible]

From thoſe frequent Diviſions we here read to have been made of the Kingdom between ſeveral Brothers, we may learn, that the *Britains* had no Notion of any Right in the Eldeſt Brother to Command over all the Reſt, no not after they became Chriſtians; the Welch Princes ſtill dividing their Territories among all their Sons alike, though we may ſee the Inconvenience of this Courſe, by their making War upon each

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other about their particular Shares: Whence we may conclude, that Sovereignty ought to be left undivided, and the more Shares there are in it, the more Cauſes there are of Civil Wars and Diviſions; nor have any prov'd more fatal than thoſe among Brothers, of which we have ſufficient Examples, not only in this, but other Hiſtories.

From ſo many Kings being depos'd for their Tyranny, we may obſerve, that the ancient *Britains*, though under a Monarchy, yet did not think themſelves oblig'd to ſuffer their Kings, by becoming Tyrants, to make their People Slaves; but knew how to caſt off that Yoke when it grew inſupportable.

Laſtly, from *Caſſibelan*'s being made a King by the People, for his Valour and Worth, it plainly appears, that if the Kingdom were ~~then~~ Hereditary; yet the Eſtates ~~did then~~ still reſerved a Power to themſelves, during the Minority of the Right Heir, to place in the Throne that Prince of the Blood-Royal, who was like to prove moſt able to defend them either againſt Foreign or Domeſtick Enemies; as this Prince in the War with *Cæſar* evidenced to the World. I have made bold to add theſe few political Obſervations, that the Reader as well as my ſelf may profit ſomewhat by Reading a Hiſtory otherwiſe ſo dry and uninſtructive.

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THE

THE
General Hiſtory
OF
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:
As well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil.

BOOK II.

Containing the Annals of ENGLAND, *from the Firſt Landing of* JULIUS CÆSAR, *to the* Romans *Total Deſertion thereof, being about Four Hundred and Ninety Years.*

HAVING in the former Book deduced the Succeſſion of Britiſh Kings (as well as I was able) from *Brute* to the Beginning of the Reign of *Caſſibelan*, in whoſe Time *Cæſar* Landed in *Britain*; and having hitherto wandred through divers Ages of Fictions, or Uncertainties at beſt, like a Man in a dark Night, who knows not well whether he is in or out of his Road, yet is ſtill forced to Travel on, till Day-light overtake him: So we having hitherto gone forward, though in the dark, are at laſt arrived at a Period, which will give us a more certain Light into our *Britiſh* Hiſtory; though no *Roman* or *Greek* Hiſtorian did ever undertake to write a Hiſtory on purpoſe concerning this Iſland, during all the time that the *Roman* Emperors govern'd here, either in Perſon or by their Lieutenants. For thoſe Authors that are extant, only write of the Affairs of *Britain* occaſionally, and as they ſtood intermix'd with other Parts of the *Roman* Hiſtory: Hence we find that they rarely mention the Affairs of *Britain*, but by the bye, when an Expedition, occaſioned by ſome freſh Rebellion or ſudden Commotion, oblig'd them either to come in Perſon, or to ſend Forces over hither. Nor is there any Author, except *Tacitus* in his Life of *Agricola*, who expreſly treats of the whole Government or Actions of any one Lieutenant of all thoſe that govern'd here; whence it is that we have ſo imperfect an Account of the Civil State of this Iſland, or what particular Laws were made for the Government of it, whilſt it continued part of the *Roman* Empire, farther than we may pick up from ſome Laws diſperſed here and there in the Code, and Digeſt; or elſe from the *Notitiæ* of the *Roman* Empire: To which may be alſo added (that which is yet worſe than all the reſt) the great Loſs Civil Knowledge has undergone, by the periſhing of ſo many excellent Hiſtories both in Greek and Latin; ſo that whoever pleaſes to ſurvey them will find of thoſe few that remain, ſcarce one of them is come to us entire, but has loſt ſome conſiderable Part or other: All which, if we had them together, would without doubt make a Compleat Roman Hiſtory of this Iſland, which now it is impoſſible to perform, having nothing left us during ſeveral Emperors Reigns, but ſome lame Epitomes, or immethodical Lives in the *Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ*. This I premiſe, that you ſhould not wonder if you find ſuch large gaps in this Period, as to things perform'd in *Britain*, during ſeveral Succeſſions of *Roman* Emperors: So that if it were not for ſome old Altars, and votive Inſcriptions that have been dug up of late Years in divers Places of this Iſland, we could not certainly have known any further than by gueſs, that thoſe Emperors, whoſe Names are there mentioned, had any thing to do here; and as for *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, and thoſe few Modern Writers who take upon them to treat of theſe Matters, they are ſo falſe and uncertain, that they are rarely to be relied upon, and indeed never to be made uſe of, but when we are at a loſs for any other Account of thoſe Times. So that this (as I ſuppoſe) hath bin the Reaſon why ſome of our late *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, for want of other Matter, have ſtuffed out their Hiſtories, not only with what the *Roman* Emperors did in *Gaul*, or *Britain*, but all the other Parts of the *Roman* Empire, where they had occaſion to make Wars; which is indeed rather to give a General Hiſtory of the then known World, than of one ſingle Iſland or Province.

But ſince I intend to confine my ſelf only to write of ſuch Actions as were perform'd within the compaſs of this Iſle, either by the *Roman* Emperors or their Lieutenants during the time they govern'd here; I ſhall rather chuſe ſometimes to leave a gap in the Story it ſelf, than to write Things foreign and impertinent to the Subject I am to treat of: And indeed I could willingly have forborn Writing this Part of the Hiſtory at all, ſince it hath been done already by Mr. *Camden* in Latin, and Mr. *Milton* in Engliſh, who have ſcarce omitted any thing which is worth the Collecting out of the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, that was neceſſary to compleat this Period. Therefore, were it not for leaving too great a Chaſm in our intended Work, I could very willingly have excuſed my ſelf from ſo ungrateful a Task, in which I confeſs it is hard to equal, and much more to exceed ſuch great Authors. But ſince I find there is a Neceſſity, in order to render the Hiſtory entire, to give an Account of what was done in this Iſland during the *Roman* Empire, I ſhall perform it as well as I am able.

But that I may follow *Cæſar*'s Example, give me leave from him, as well as other *Greek* and *Roman* Authors, to give you a ſhort Account of the Religion and Manners of the antient *Britains*, as well in *Cæſar*'s Time as ſome Ages after, before we ſay any thing of his Expedition hither.

That Great Man in the Fifth Book of his admirable Commentaries tells us, that in his Time there were “ in *Britain* a vaſt number of Men “ and Cattel, the Houſes thick, and built almoſt like to thoſe of the “ *Gauls*; that they uſed Copper or Iron-Plates weighed by a certain “ Standard inſtead of Money: That they counted it againſt their Re- “ ligion ſo much as to taſte of a Hare, Hen or Gooſe. And a little after proceeds thus; “ Of all People thoſe which inhabit *Kent* were moſt “ human, neither differ'd much from the Gallick Cuſtoms: The more “ Inland People for the moſt part ſowed no Corn, but lived upon Milk “ and Fleſh, being cloathed with Skins. But all the *Britains* ſtain'd “ themſelves with Woad, which made them of a blewiſh colour, and “ thereby of a more terrible aſpect in Battel: They wore long Hair, “ but ſhav'd all the reſt of their Bodies, beſides the upper Lip. Ten “ or twelve Men had Wives among them in common, chiefly Bre- “ thren with Brethren, and even Parents with their Children, but the “ Children that were got by them were looked upon as theirs, by whom “ thoſe Women were taken in Marriage.

As for their manner of Fighting, I ſhall leave that to be related when I come to *Julius Cæſar*'s War in *Britain*.

Strabo in his Geography * tells us, “ That the *Britains* exceeded the “ *Gauls* in Stature, he having ſeen ſome of them at *Rome* who were half a “ Foot higher than the talleſt Men there, but that they were looſer made. He ſays farther, “ That they were like the *Gauls* in Diſpoſition, but more “ ſimple and barbarous; ſo that ſome of them knew not how to make “ any Cheeſe, though they abounded in Milk; and that divers of them “ were ignorant of dreſſing Gardens, as well as other Parts of Husban- “ dry: That they had many diſtinct Governments among them; their “ Woods ſerv'd them inſtead of Cities, for with Trees cut down, when “ they had incloſ'd a large Circle, they build themſelves Cottages, and “ Stables for their Cattle within it, though for no very long time.

* *Lib. IV.*

Diodorus Siculus deſcribes the *Britains* to be Aborigines, and living after the Manner of the Antients, and in Fight uſing Chariots like the *Greek* Heroes in the *Trojan* War; that they made their Houſes for the moſt part of Reeds or Wood; that they laid up their Corn in the Ear in Granaries, from whence they fetch'd as much as would ſerve for one Day's Uſe; that they were ſimple and uncorrupt in their Manners, Strangers to the Craft and Subtilty of that Age, and liv'd content with very mean Diet and Apparel, remote from Riches and Luxury that attends them; and that the Iſle abounded in a multitude of Men, who were ſubject to divers Kings and Princes.

Lib. Hiſt. Lib. IV.

* *Pomponius Mela* in his Treatiſe *de Scitu Orbis* relates, That *Britain* produced much People and divers Kings, but that they were all rude and unpoliſhed; and that the farther they were from the Continent, the more ignorant they were of Foreign Riches, abounding chiefly in Cattle. That they died their Bodies with Woad, uncertain, whether for Ornament, or ſome other Cauſe. That they ſought frequent Cauſes of War, and diſturbed each other, from Ambition of Empire, and deſire of enlarging their Dominions. That they fought not only on Horſeback and on Foot, but alſo arm'd like the *Gauls* in Chariots, whoſe Axeltrees were arm'd with Scythes.

* *Lib. III.*

Cornelius

* Cap. 2. *Cornelius Tacitus* in his * Life of *Agricola* tells us, " That the *Britains* " were very like the *Gauls*, whether the ſame Original, or the likeneſs of " Climate ~~were~~ the Cauſe of it; ſo likewiſe their Speech was not much " different. They had the ſame boldneſs in ſeeking out Dangers, and " the ſame fear in declining of them when they were at hand: Yet that " the *Britains* ſhew'd greater fierceneſs, as whom long Peace hath not " yet ſoftned; for we have heard (ſays he) that the *Gauls* were once famous for War, but Cowardice ſoon ſucceeded ſlothfulneſs, their Valour and Liberty being loſt together; which hath alſo happened to the " *Britains* already Conquer'd; but that the reſt of them remained ſuch " as the *Gauls* once were: their chief Strength was in their Foot, but " that ſome Nations of them us'd alſo Chariots in fight; the Charioteers " were more Noble, their Followers fighting for them. That in Times " paſt they obey'd Kings, but were then divided by their Princes into " Factions and Parties; neither is there any thing ſo advantagious for the " *Romans* against the ſtrongeſt Nations, ~~then~~ as that they do not conſult " in Common; for there are very ſeldom Aſſemblies for two or three " Cities to repel common Danger; ſo whilſt they fight ſeparately they " are all alike overcome. And in the next Chapter he goes on thus; " The *Britains* chearfully yielded to the Preſſing of their Men, paying " Tribute, and all the other Duties impos'd by the Emperor, provided " Injuries were not done them; theſe they will hardly endure, for they " ſubmit that they may obey, not that they may ſerve as Slaves.

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Lib. LXIII. *Dion Caſſius* (epitomized by *Xiphilin*) ſpeaking of the more Northern *Britains* relates, that they Tilled no Ground, but liv'd on their Fruits and Hunting, for of Fiſh, though they had great Store, they never taſted. That they liv'd in their Cabines naked and barefooted. They had their Wives in Common, and all of them maintain'd the Children. The chief Authority, for the moſt part, reſided in the People. They were much addicted to Steal. They fought from Chariots, and had little nimble Horſes; their Footmen ran very faſt, and alſo ſtood very firmly to their Poſts. Their Arms were a Shield and a ſhort Spear, at whoſe lower end there was a Ball of Braſs, that when they ſhake it they may terrifie their Enemies with the noiſe. They wore long Daggers. They can bear Hunger, Cold, and all ſorts of Labour; being in the Woods they can live upon the Bark of Trees. They have ſtill ready a certain ſort of Food upon all Occaſions, of which if they take the quantity of a Bean, they will not be Hungry or Thirſty for a great while after.

Lib. XI. But *Herodian* is the firſt who deſcribes the Northern People, then the moſt barbarous ſort of *Britains*, and who, I ſuppoſe, were afterwards called *Picti* (that is, painted Men) to have had their Bodies mark'd with divers Figures; which, whether it was their Cuſtom in *Cæſar*'s Time, may be doubtful, ſince he makes no mention of it. But this Author thus proceeds: The *Britains* know not the uſe of Garments, but gird their Bellies and Necks with Iron, thinking it an Ornament as well as a Sign of their Riches, in the ſame manner as other Nations prize Gold. They mark'd their very Bodies with divers Figures of all ſorts of Animals, wherefore they will not wear Cloths, leſt they ſhould hide the Painting of their Bodies. It is a warlike Nation, and moſt greedy of Slaughter, and uſe only a narrow Shield and a Lance, beſides a Sword hanging from their naked Bodies. They knew not the uſe of the

Breaſt-plate or Helmet, thinking them a hinderance to them in their running over the Bogs, of which they had great Store.

Pliny relates (among their other Cuſtoms) that they wore Rings on their middle Fingers, and manured their Land with Marl; which can be only meant of the more civilized *Britains*, who undertook Husbandry; which improvement is uſed with us in ſome Countries to this day: but as for their Drink, *Solinus* tells us, they made it of Barly as we do now: and as *Dioſcorides* alſo notes, who calls it, (though corruptly) *Curmy*, for *Curw*, for ſo the modern *Britains* ſtill call Ale.

Lib. XXXIII. *cap.* 1. *Lib.*XVII. *c.* 8.

So that whoever will but conſider the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Ancient *Britains*, may find them not to be much different from thoſe of the naked *Indians* of ſome part of *America*; when they were firſt diſcovered: only they had the uſe of Braſs and Iron, which thoſe wanted until they were brought to them from other places: and alſo had Horſes and Chariots, the uſe of all which were unknown to the *Americans*: but in other things you will find them much alike, only the latter ſeem to have been a better temper'd and more Vertuous People; from whence the Reader may judge of the likelyhood of thoſe Stories in *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, when he makes ſuch deſcriptions of the ſtately Cities, Palaces, and Fleets of the *Britiſh* Kings; whilſt *Cæſar*, and *Lucan*, and *Pliny* deſcribe their Veſſels to have had their Ribs and Keels made of ſlight Timber, interwoven with Wicker like our Baskets, and covered with Hides, ſowed together; not having the Art of making Saws to cut out Boards or Planks.

Cap. 35.

Having given you an account of their Ancient Manners and Government; I will next ſay ſomewhat of their Religion. *Cæſar* tells us, that the Religion of the *Britains* and *Gauls* were much the ſame; that they had the ſame Gods, and the ſame Prieſts, *viz.* The *Druids*, who had a great Authority, not only in Religious, but Civil Matters; ſo that they could Excommunicate whom they thought fit; and a Perſon ſo interdicted could not be admitted to their Sacrifices, but was eſteem'd among the number of the Accurſed: ſo that all Perſons ſtudiouſly avoided him, not daring to come near him, for fear of being infected with ſo dangerous a Curſe.

Theſe *Druids* taught the People that the Soul was Immortal, and went out of one Body into another: But whether they had learned this from the *Greeks*, who traded amongſt them, or from the antient *Phœnicians*, is uncertain.

Cæſar Comment. Lib. IV

But as for their Gods, they were the ſame with the *Gauls*. *Jupiter* was Worſhipped under the Name of *Taramis*, or *Taran*, for *Taran* ſtill ſignifies in *Welſh* Thunder. *Maximus Tyrius* writes, That they Worſhip'd the higheſt Oak they could find, as the Figure or Repreſentation of this God.

Tutates the God of Travellers is ſuppos'd to be the ſame with *Mercury*, and by the *Britains* called *Duw Taith*, the God of Journeys. *Mars* was Worſhipped by the *Gauls* and *Britains* under the Name of *Heſus*; as alſo *Camulus*, as Mr. *Camden* proves, from a Coin of *Cunobelin*, of which he gives us the Draught, being a Man's Head with an Helmet on it, and with theſe Letters, *CAMU*. The next God of the *Britains* was *Apollo*, Worſhipped by them under the Name of *Beleus* or *Belinus*, as appears by a Paſſage of *Julius Capitolinus* in his Life of *Maximin*. He is alſo ſuppos'd to have bin called *Belatucadrus*; there being divers Altars and Inſcriptions dug up of late Years out of the Earth, all of them with this Title, *DEO BELATUCADRO*, which Name ſeems to be deriv'd from the *Aſſyrian* God *Bel*, or *Belus*.

As for Goddeſſes, they Worſhipped *Diana* under the Name of *Camma.* Another Goddeſs the *Britains* had, who is call'd by *Dion Andraſte*, or *Andrate*, and is ſuppos'd to have bin the Goddeſs of *Victory*; ſhe had a Temple at *Camalodunum* (now *Maldon* in *Eſſex.*) As for their Sacrifices, though they were moſt often Beaſts, at ſometimes they alſo Sacrific'd Men, as *Cæſar* expreſly tells us; and *Tacitus* relates, That it was uſual for the *Britains* to conſult the Gods by the Entrails of Men; *Pliny* alſo tells us, That the Miſletoe growing upon an Oak, being cut with many Ceremonies, was made uſe of in all their Sacrifices and other Religious Rites; and alſo ſays, that *Britain* in his time did ſo Superſtitiouſly cultivate Magick Arts, and that with ſo many Ceremonies; that they might have communicated it even to the *Perſians* themſelves.

Theſe are the chief Things, which antient Authors have left us, concerning the *Britiſh* Cuſtoms and Manners, relating either to their Religious, Civil, or private Life, which, if it ſeem tedious to you, may be paſſed by: So I now come to my main Deſign, and give you *Cæſar*'s own Account of his firſt Invaſion of *Britain*, out of the Fourth and Fifth Books of his Commentaries.

Comment. Lib. IV. *Julius Cæſar* having now ſubdued moſt part of *Gallia*, and quieted the *Germans*, and ſtopped their Incurſions into his Province, reſolv'd on an Expedition into *Britain*: his Pretences were theſe, That the *Britains* had underhand ſent Supplies to the Cities of *Armorica*, who the Year before had revolted from his Obedience, and had joined with the reſt of *Gaul* in a general and dangerous Rebellion, and not only ſo, but that they had received into their Protection the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, who had fled to them for aid. Theſe *Cæſar* there aſſigns as the Cauſes to juſtifie this Invaſion.

But though theſe were the ſeeming Cauſes that moved *Ceſar* to this ſudden Expedition, yet certainly a Soul ſo great as his could not be tempted, by the mean hopes of getting the *Britiſh* Pearls, to ſo dangerous a War, as *Suetonius* in the Life of *Cæſar* ſuppoſes, though he mentions his comparing their weight and largeneſs by poiſing them in his Hand; yet I will not deny, but he might even propoſe the getting of theſe as a Bait to encourage his Souldiers in this Enterprize. By his paſt as well as future Actions we may gueſs, that beſides Glory his main Deſign in Invading *Britain*, was to inure his Souldiers to Hardſhip, and to accuſtom them to the moſt uncouth and barbarous Enemies; that they might not be afterwards terrified at the moſt dangerous Enterprizes, but wholly depend upon his Fortune and Conduct.

Cæſar therefore, although Summer was almoſt ſpent, and Winter coming on very early in the Northern Parts of *Gaul*, yet reſolved to paſs over into *Britain*, and if the time of the Year ſhould not ſuffer him to make War, yet he thought it might be to good purpoſe if he ſhould but Land upon the Iſland, and underſtand the Natures of the Inhabitants, and come to know the chief Places, Harbors and Acceſſes to it, all which, he ſays, were as yet unknown to the *Gauls*; for, beſides Merchants, no Body commonly went thither, and even to thoſe ſcarce any thing was known beſides the Sea-coaſt, and thoſe Countries which were oppoſite to *Gallia*: Therefore though the Merchants were called together from all Parts, yet could he not underſtand what Nations they were that inhabited it, nor what ſort of War they made, nor what cuſtoms they uſed, nor what Ports were fitting to receive a Fleet of great Ships: Though by the way this ſeems very ſtrange, if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told *Cæſar*, that *Divitiacus* King of the *Soiſſons* had a little before held *Britain* alſo under his dominion; beſides the *Belgian* Colonies, which he affirms to have named and Peopled many Provinces there, as alſo what he tells us in the Sixth Book of his Commentaries, that thoſe who deſired to know the *Druids* Diſcipline went thither Yearly on purpoſe to learn it.

But be this as it will, he thought it neceſſary before he expoſed his own perſon, to ſend *Ca. Voluſenus* thither with one Galley to diſcover theſe things, commanding him to return as ſoon as this could be effected, whilſt he with all his Forces marched towards the Country of the *Morini*, now the Province of *Picardy*. Becauſe thence was the ſhorteſt cut into *Britain*; hither he draws together his Ships from all parts of the neighbouring Provinces, as alſo that Fleet which he had built laſt Summer for the *Armorican* War, in the mean time when his deſign was made known, being carried over by the Merchants into *Britain*, Ambaſſadours came to him from divers Princes and States of this Iſland, who promiſed to give Hoſtages, and to obey the *Roman* Empire: All which being heard, *Cæſar* as largely promiſing and exhorting them to continue ſtill in that mind ſent them back; and with them *Comius* of the *Atribates* (now called the Country of *Arras*,) whom upon the conqueſt thereof he had made King, and of whoſe Courage and Fidelity *Cæſar* was very well aſſured: him he enjoyns, that he ſhould go to as many of the States as he could, and perſwade them to come into the *Roman* Intereſt, and ſhould alſo inform them that he himſelf would ſpeedily come over thither. But *Voluſenus* having only ſurveyed the Country at a diſtance (which was all he could do, ſince he durſt not go out of his Ship, nor truſt himſelf with theſe *Barbarians*) on the Fifth day return'd to *Cæſar*, and related to him whatſoever he had there obſerved.

Cæſar having ſettled the *Morini* by taking Hoſtages of them, then gathered together about Eighty Ships of burthen, which he judged ſufficient for the tranſporting of two Legions; but all his Gallies he diſtributed to his Quæſtor and Lieutenants; there were alſo Eight Ships of burthen more, which lay Wind bound at a place Eight Miles diſtant, ſo that they could not reach the ſame Port; Theſe he appointed for the Horſe, the reſt of the Army he committed to Q. *Titus Sabinus*, and L. *Aurunculus Cotta*, with orders to march into the Country of the *Menapii*, and into thoſe Towns of the *Morini*, from whence Ambaſſadours had not yet come to him. But P. *Sulpicius Rufus* his Lieutenant he commands to keep the x Port with a ſufficient Garriſon. All things being thus diſpatched, and having now got a fair Wind, about the the Third Watch, he ſet Sail, commanding the Horſemen to march to the further Port, and thence to go on board and follow him, which orders proved too ſlowly executed. But he himſelf together with the firſt Ships about Four a Clock in the Afternoon reached *Britain*, where he found divers ſtrong Troops of the Enemies lodged on the Hills; the nature of which * place was ſuch, theſe Hills hanging ſo ſteep over the Sea, that a Dart might be caſt from the higher ground to the Shore; therefore judging this no fit place to Land his Men, he lay at Anchor till Nine of the

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x his

* 'Tis ſuppoſed by Mr. Somner to have been near Dover.

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the Clock, that the reſt of the Navy could come up to him: in the mean time calling a Council of his Lieutenants and Tribunes, he communicates thoſe things he had learn'd from *Voluſenus*, and alſo what he would have done; telling them that the Nature of all Military (and eſpecially Maritime) Affairs, having a ſudden and unconſtant motion, all things ſhould be executed by his orders, and that in due time. Theſe being diſmiſſed, and having got the Wind and Tide both with him, the ſignal being given, and the Anchors weighed, he ſailed again forward about Eight Miles from that place, to an open and plain Shore, where he came to an Anchor. But the *Britains* knowing the *Roman*'s deſign, having ſent their Horſes and Charioteers before (which they were chiefly wont to uſe in Fight) followed with the reſt of their Forces, and hinder'd the *Romans* from landing: The difficulty of which was great in theſe reſpects, becauſe the Ships by reaſon of their great bulk were not able to ride, but in a deep Sea; whilſt the Souldiers having their hands taken up with their Arms, were yet in unknown places, not only to Leap down from the Ships and to withſtand the Billows, but alſo at the ſame time to Fight their Enemies; whilſt they either fighting on the Shore, or elſe marching but a little way into the Water, and having their hands free, fought in places where they were well acquainted, and boldly ſpurr'd on their Horſes already managed and uſed to it; but the *Romans* being terrified with theſe things, and altogether unskill'd in this ſort of fighting, did not ſhew the ſame briskneſs and courage, as they were wont to expreſs in Land Service; which when *Cæſar* perceived, he ordered the long Ships or Gallies (as both unuſual to theſe *Barbarians*, and more ready for uſe) to fall off a little from the Ships of burthen, and to be rowed towards the Shore, and being laid againſt the naked ſide of the Enemies, to drive them back with Slings, Darts, and other Engines; which ſtood the *Romans* in good ſtead, for the *Britains* being terrified with the ſtrange ſhape of their Gallies, the motion of their Oars, and thoſe unuſual kind of Engines, firſt ſtood ſtill, and then began a little to retreat: But the *Romans* ſtill delaying, becauſe of the depth of the Sea, the Enſign of the Tenth Legion firſt invoking the Gods, that this action might prove fortunate and ſucceſsfull, cried out, Leap down fellow Souldiers, unleſs you mean to betray this * Eagle to the Enemies, for I will certainly perform my duty to the Commonwealth, and to the General: When he had ſpoke thus with a loud Voice, he caſt himſelf into the Sea, and began to carry the Eagle towards the Enemy; Then the *Roman* Souldiers encouraging one another not to ſuffer ſo great a diſgrace as the loſs of their Enſign, all leap'd out of the Ship, whom when the others from the next Ships had beheld, they alſo followed them, and quickly reaching the Shore, preſſed upon the Enemy.

* *Note the* Roman *Enſigns were then all Eagles, tho afterwards they took the Figures of other Animals.*

The Fight was ſharp on both ſides, but the *Romans* were not able either to keep their Ranks, nor get any firm footing, nor yet to follow their Enſigns: So that every Man being forced to joyn himſelf to the firſt Enſigns he met with, they were hard put to it, whilſt the Enemies acquainted with all the ſhallows, when ever from the Shore they beheld any marching from the Ships, immediately ſpurring on their Horſes, they charged them at diſadvantage, many encompaſſing a few, whilſt others aſſaulting them on the * unarmed ſide, caſts Darts againſt the reſt; which when *Cæſar* perceived, he commanded the Long Boats of the Gallies, and ſmaller Veſſels to be mann'd with Souldiers, and ſent them

* i. e. *that ſide which was undefended by their Shields.*

to the aſſiſtance of thoſe whom he beheld moſt diſtreſſed. The *Romans*, as ſoon as they got on Shore, making head, all together charged the Enemy, and joyning and put them to flight, yet could not purſue them far for want of Horſe; this only was deficient to *Cæſar*'s wonted Fortune.

The *Britains* being worſted in fight, as ſoon as they got together again, preſently diſpatched Meſſengers to *Cæſar* deſiring Peace; promiſing that they would give him Hoſtages, and do whatever he injoyned; together with theſe Ambaſſadours came *Comius* of *Arras*, whom (as I have before who ſhown) had been already ſent by *Cæſar* into *Britain*; him, as ſoon as he came out of the Ship, and had related the General's Meſſage, they laid hold on, and put into bonds; but the fight being over they ſent him back, and Petitioning for Peace, caſt the blame upon the common People; and deſired that becauſe of their Ignorance this fault might be pardoned: but *Cæſar* complained, That when they had of their own accord, by their Ambaſſadours ſent to him into the Continent deſiring Peace: Yet that they had without any Cauſe made War; But (he ſaid) he would pardon their Folly, and therefore again injoyned them to ſend Hoſtages, part of whom they gave him preſently, the reſidue they promiſed (being to be ſent for,from places more remote) to ſend him within a few days, whereupon their Princes came from all parts, and commended themſelves and their States to *Cæſar*.

Peace being thus concluded, within Four days after his arrival in *Britain*, the Eighteen Ships which are already mentioned to have taken in the Horſe; ſailed from the farther Port on the oppoſite Shore with a gentle Gale, but when they drew near the Iſland, and could be now diſcern'd from the Camp: So great a Tempeſt ſuddenly aroſe, that none of them could hold their courſe; but ſome were driven back to the ſame place from whence they ſet forth, whilſt others were carried to the further part of the Iſland lying toward the *Weſt* with very great hazard; for caſting out their Anchors they took in ſo much Water, that they were forced (thô in the Night) out to Sea again, and to Steer towards the Continent: It alſo happened the ſame Night that the Moon was at the full, which is wont to make the higheſt Tides in the Ocean; but was then unknown to the *Roman* Mariners: So that at the ſame time the Spring Tide had filled all thoſe Gallies with Water in which *Cæſar* had tranſported his Army; though he had now drawn them on Shore; whilſt the Tempeſt had ſhattered the Veſſels of burthen which lay at Anchor, neither was it in their Men's power any ways to help them; ſo that many Ships being Wrack'd, the reſt, their Cables, Anchors, and other Tackle being broken or ſpoiled, became unfit for Service; this cauſed a great Conſternation in the Army, for there were not any other Ships left, in which they could be again tranſported, and all things neceſſary were wanting to refit them, nor was there any Corn provided for them to Winter in theſe parts; all which being known to the *Britains*, their *Princes*, though after the Fight they had agreed to perform thoſe things which *Cæſar* had injoyned; yet when they underſtood that the *Romans* wanted Horſes, Ships, and Proviſions, and had alſo judged of the paucity of their Souldiers from the ſmall circuit of the *Roman* Camp, which ſeemed the leſs, becauſe *Cæſar* had tranſported his Legions without any Baggage; they thought it the beſt courſe again to take Arms, and thereby to hinder the *Romans* from fetching in Corn or other Proviſions, and ſo to protract the War till Winter came on, for they thought if theſe were once vanquiſh'd and cut off from ever returning into *Gaul*, none of them hereafter would again preſume to tranſport an Army into *Britain*; Therefore the Plot being thus laid, they began by little and little to ſteal out of the Camp, and privately to draw their Men out of the Fields.

But *Cæſar* although he did not then know their deſign, yet from the late diſaſter of his Ships, as alſo from their neglecting to ſend in their Hoſtages, ſuſpected what would happen, therefore provided for the worſt, for he every day brought in Corn out of the Fields into the Camp, and as for thoſe Ships that were moſt ſhatter'd, he made uſe of their materials to refit the reſt, and what things were farther neceſſary he ordered to be brought from the Continent, all which being executed by his Souldiers with the utmoſt labour and diligence, only twelve Ships being loſt, he fitted out the reſt ready to go to Sea: Whilſt theſe things were in action, the ſeventh Legion being by courſe ſent out to Forrage, and that there was at that time no appearance of War, whilſt great part of their Men remain'd in the Fields, and others of them went, and came between that and the Camp, thoſe Souldiers who kept guard at its Entries, gave notice, that there appear'd a greater duſt than was uſual in that part of the Country toward which that Legion had marched; whereupon *Cæſar* ſuſpecting that the *Britains* were undertaking ſome new deſign, commanded thoſe *Cohorts* which were then upon the Guard, to march with him towards that Quarter, ordering two more to take their places, and the reſt to Arm, and immediately to follow him; when he had marched ſome diſtance from the Camp, he perceived his Souldiers to be overcharged by the Enemy, and hardly able to ſuſtain their aſſault, and that the Legion being drawn up cloſe together, Darts were caſt at them from all quarters; for the Corn being cut and carried away in all other parts, one piece was left, and the Enemies gueſſing that the *Romans* would come thither for it, had laid an ambuſh in the Woods, and ſuddainly aſſaulting them, being then without their Arms, and buſie in reaping, killing ſome, thereby routed the reſt, being then out of their Ranks, hemming them in both with their Horſe and **Chariots*: For in their Battles they make uſe for the moſt part of Chariots, with which they firſt of all ſcowre through all parts, caſting Darts as they go, and ſo by the terror of their Horſes, and ratling of their Chariot-wheels, they often break the *Roman* Ranks, and when they have got in among the Troops of Horſe they leap down from their Chariots, and Fight on Foot, in the mean time the Charioteers retire a little from the Battle, and ſo place themſelves, that if they ſhould be preſſed by any number of their Enemies, their Maſters may find an eaſie retreat; by which way of fighting they had both the ſpeed of Horſe-men, and the ſteadineſs of Foot Souldiers; and had ſo enured themſelves by daily uſe and Exerciſe, as that they were able to ſtop their Horſes in full ſpeed, though running down ſteep places; as likewiſe they had been uſed to turn their Chariots in a narrow compaſs, to run along the * *Pole*, to ſit upon the † *Yoke*, that joyn or couple the Horſes together, and from thence quickly to return into their Chariots. The *Romans* being much aſtoniſhed with this new way of Fighting; *Cæſar* in a lucky moment came to their reſcue: At whoſe approach the Enemies ſtopped, and the *Romans* began to recover themſelves, which tho' done, yet *Cæſar* thinking it no fit time further to provoke the Enemy, nor then to renew the Fight, kept his ground

Eſſeda *a ſort of open Waggons.*

* *Temo.*

† *Jugum.*

and preſently led back the Legions to the Camp; whilſt theſe things were doing, the *Britains* who where in the Fields alſo retired.

During many days following there happned continual bad weather, which both kept the *Romans* in the Camp, and hindered the Enemies from attempting any thing againſt them.

But in the mean time the *Britains* ſent Meſſengers into all parts, publiſhing abroad the ſmall number of the *Roman* Forces; and how great a booty they were like to get, that this was the time of freeing themſelves for ever, if they could but take the *Roman* Camp: Upon which great numbers of Horſe and Foot being now drawn together came to the Camp: *Cæſar* although he foreſaw the Event by that which had happen'd before, and that the Enemies if once ſtoutly repulſed, would avoid the danger by flight; having got about Thirty Horſe, whom *Comius* of *Arras* had brought over with him at his coming into *Britain*, drew out the Legions in Battle before his Camp, which when joyned, the Enemy being not able to bear the aſſault of the *Roman* Souldiers, turned their backs; whom *Cæſar* follow~~ed~~ ing as long as his Men's ſpeed and ſtrength would permit; After a great ſlaughter, and burning of the Villages round about, ~~but~~ & they ~~they~~ return'd to their Camp. The ſame day Meſſengers came from the *Britains* to treat of Peace, from whom *Cæſar* demanded double the number of Hoſtages, which he had before enjoyned, commanding them to be brought over to him to the Continent; becauſe the *Equinox* approaching, he did not think a Winter Voyage was to be undertaken with ſuch weak, crazy Veſſels; therefore having now got a convenient Seaſon, a little after midnight he hoiſted Sail, ſo that all the Ships got ſafe to the Continent.

It is not pertinent to our Hiſtory to relate here how *Cæſar*'s Men as ſoon almoſt as they came on Shore, were ſet upon by the *Morini*, whom he had before left in peace, and whom notwithſtanding he routed, and killed a great number of them till they were quite ſubdued.

But it ſeems the *Britains* had no great Opinion of *Cæſar*'s Power, for only Two States of all *Britain* ſent him Hoſtages, the reſt neglecting it. Theſe things being thus performed upon the reading of *Cæſar*'s Letters, Twenty days ſupplication to the *Gods* was decreed by the *Senate*.

Thus far we have given you *Cæſar*'s own account of his firſt Expedition into *Britain*, of which he had no great cauſe to boaſt; ſince, had it not been for his own good conduct, aſſiſted by the timorouſneſs of the *Britains*, he had never return'd to make this relation ^ but this much is to be acknowledged, that his landing here is a noble monument of his skill in Military affairs, for *Cicero* writing to his friend *Atticus*, tells him in one of his Epiſtles, that the acceſſes to the Iſland were wonderouſly fortify'd with ſtrong works, or banks.

^ and that he was
not ~~fea~~ skilled [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] the Britains
may be gathered from the
verse in Lu
cans Pharsalia
Territa quaesitis osten
dit terga Britannis

But *Valerius Maximus*, as alſo *Plutarch* in his Life of *Cæſar*, have given us a noble Example of the *Roman* Courage, as well as diſcipline, who both relate that in the confuſed fight which happen'd at *Cæſar*'s firſt landing, *Sceva* a *Roman* Souldier having preſſed too far among the Enemies, and being beſet round, after incredible valour ſhewn, ſingle, againſt a Multitude, ſwam back ſafe to his General, and in the very place that rung aloud with his praiſes earneſtly deſired pardon, for his raſh adventure againſt Military diſcipline; which modeſt confeſſing his fault after no bad event for ſuch an action, wherein Valour and Ingenuity outweighed the transgreſſion of Diſcipline, eaſily gain'd him pardon and preferr'd him to be a Centurion: this was that *Sceva* who afterwards gave good occaſion to have his name remembred at the Battle of *Dyrachium*, between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, whoſe ſide he had then took.

This is all we can find concerning *Cæſar*'s firſt Expedition into *Britain* either from himſelf or others;* ~~more~~ than that *Oroſius* in his Hiſtory from ſome accounts that are now loſt, tells us, that moſt of *Cæſar*'s great Ships which were to bring over his Horſe, were caſt away in that violent Storm, he had already told us of, which might be one reason he w

* Authors of any credite for as for the Story related by Geo [illegible] Mon [illegible] -nius Brother to King Cassi-b[illegible]n [illegible] fou-ght with Juli-us Caesar hand to hand in y^e Fight last men-tion'd and y^e the[m]-ing met with by La-bienus one of Caesars Officers he was by him kill'd upon y^e place, till at last Caesar flying to his Ships returned into Gaul. it seems but a meer Inventi-on of that Au-thor. so y^t I can find no more concern-ing this first Expedition than

The Winter following *Cæſar* returned into *Italy* as his Cuſtome was, then p for ſome Years before; but upon his return thence finding that moſt of take in the *Britains* had neglected to ſend him their Hoſtages according to their former agreement, he reſolved to make a freſh deſcent upon them, and in order to this (in the Fifth Book of his Commentaries) he tells us that upon his going into *Italy* he had commanded his Lieutenants, whom he had ſet over the Legions, that they ſhould take care to build as many new Ships as poſſibly they could that Winter, and to repair the old ones, ſhewing them the model of thoſe that he would have built: And, for the more ready taking in of Men and Horſes, to be of ſomewhat a lower make, than thoſe that are uſed ~~of~~ in the Mediterranean Sea; and for the more ſpeedy lading and unlading them, to be alſo ſomewhat broader and flatter bottomed than ordinary, as well for the tranſporting of the Horſes as baggage, but to be all made to be rowed with Oars, to which purpoſe their low building contributed much, but all things neceſſary for the rigging out of theſe Ships he ordered to be brought out of *Spain*.

Cæſar upon his return from *Italy*, having ſettled all things in the hither *Gallia*, made a ſhort Expedition into *Illyricum*, and having ſettled affairs there, return'd into *Gaul*; where he found built by the extraordinary induſtry of his Souldiers, about Six hundred Veſſels of that kind already deſcribed, (notwithſtanding the great ſcarcity of all neceſſary materials) together with Twenty Eight Gallies, all which did not want much of being ready to be launched within a few days; ſo having much commended his Souldiers, and Overſeers of the Work, he then commanded them all to meet at the Port called *Ictius*, from which (he had already known) was the moſt convenient paſſage into *Britain*, being about Thirty Miles from the Continent.

Concerning which Port, give me leave to ſay ſomewhat by the bye, ſince there are ſo many ſeveral Opinions whether it be ſtill in being, or elſe is deſtroyed by the Sands; and indeed there is ſuch a great difference about this Port, that there is ſcarce a Haven, or Creek upon all the Coaſt of *Flanders* and *France*, from *Bruges* to *Buloign*, but ſome Writer or other would make to be this *Portus Ictius* now mentioned by *Cæſar*; but ſince there can be but Three places on this Coaſt, *viz. Calice*, *Whitſand*, and *Buloign*, that can with any probability pretend to have been this *Portus Ictius*, I ſhall neglect to ſpeak of any of the reſt, except theſe Three.

As for the firſt of theſe, though it be the neareſt cut between *France* and *England*; yet it is not likely to have been that Ancient Haven: For though it be the ſhorteſt, yet it was not the moſt convenient paſſage in *Cæſar*'s time; both which are to be taken notice of, ſince he himſelf in his former Book calls it the ſhorteſt; but in this, the moſt convenient paſſage, and therefore cannot anſwer the diſtance from *Calice* to *Dover*, which is but Twenty Miles; whereas *Cæſar* deſcribes this Port to be about Thirty Miles diſtant from *Britain*, nor was this place ſo much as known in *Cæſar*'s time, being never uſed as a Port, till of latter Ages that *Whitſand* was quite ſtopped up by the Sands driven into it. Nor was *Calice* ever commonly uſed for a Port till *Philip* Earl of *Buloign* built and walled this Town, before which time there is little mention made of it: But as for *Whitſand*, though it had much fairer pretences than *Calice*, as having been the ancient Port from whence Men uſually paſſed from *France* into *England*, for above Five hundred Years before; till it was at laſt about the Fourteenth Century become utterly unſerviceable for the Reaſon already given: Yet that this could not be the *Portus Ictius*, is proved by the learned *Cluverius*, in his Geography, nor was it any ancient Port, being ſeldom or never made uſe of as ſuch in the *Roman*'s time; none of the Military ways leading at all to it.

And therefore only *Boloign* can with any probability pretend to be this *Portus Ictius*, as being the antient *Geſſoriacum*, from whence the *Romans* moſt commonly paſſed into *Britain*, and beſt agrees with the diſtance that *Cæſar* here ſets down, being alſo proved by the above-cited *Cluverius*; and by our Learned Antiquary Mr. *Somner*, to have been the true *Portus Ictius*, by many unanſwerable Arguments and Authorities. And as for the only Objection made againſt it, that it is not likely that one Place ſhould have ſo many ſeveral Names: It ſignifies not much, ſince the ſame Place might be called by ſeveral Names in different Ages. That which was *Portus Ictius* in *Cæſar*'s Time, being afterwards, (when a Town came to be Built there,) called *Geſſoriacum*, which in after-times was named *Bononia*, and now *Buloigne*. But whoſoever deſires to know more concerning this Matter, may conſult the ſaid *Cluverius*'s *Antient Germany*, as alſo his *Geography*; but eſpecially that * Treatiſe of Mr. *Somners*, wherein he proves againſt Monſieur *Chiflet*, that neither St *Omers*, nor *Mardick*, could be the *Portus Ictus* mention'd by *Cæſar*: Which Treatiſe, together with another of the Learned Monſieur *Du Freſne*'s upon the ſame Subject, hath bin lately Publiſh'd in *Latin* by my worthy Friend Mr. *Edmund Gibſon*, of *Queen*'s Colledge, *Oxon.* together with an Ingenious Diſſertation of his own upon the ſame queſtion. But to return to the Matter in Hand, from which we have too much digreſſed.

* *De Portu Ictio.*

Anno ante Chriſt. LII.

Cæſar in the Fifth Book of his Commentaries tells us, That having found a fit time, he had Commanded his Souldiers again to Embarque for *Britain*, when there happen'd a Mutiny rais'd by *Dumnorix* with his *Æduan* Horſe, who would have left the Expedition and gone home; but he being kill'd by ſome of *Cæſar*'s Souldiers, whom he had order'd to do that Execution, all thoſe Horſemen return'd again to him. Things being thus ſettled, *Labienus* was left behind on the Continent with Three Legions and Two Thouſand Horſe to defend that Port, and to provide Corn, as alſo to obſerve the Motion of the *Gauls*.

Then *Cæſar* with Five Legions, and an equal Number of Horſe, to what he had left behind, about Sun-ſet weigh'd Anchor, and ſailed on with a gentle Southern Gale; but about Mid-night the Wind failing, he could not hold on his Courſe; but Day coming on, found he had bin carried away by the Tide, and that he had left *Britain* too much on his Left Hand: But then again taking Advantage of the Change of the Tide,

Anno ante Chriſt. LII.

he endeavour'd, by the help of Oars, to reach that part of the Iſland, where he had found before to be the beſt Landing the laſt Year; wherein the Souldiers deſerved a great Commendation, who made the heavy Tranſport Ships, by the conſtant Labour of Rowing, keep almoſt equal ſpeed with the Gallies. About Noon they arriv'd at *Britain* with all their Ships, but there was not any Enemies to be ſeen in that Place; for, as *Cæſar* learn'd afterwards from the Priſoners, the *Britains* had been there with great Forces, but were terrified with the vaſt Multitude of the Ships, which, with Veſſels of Proviſion and others upon private Accounts, amounted to above Eight Hundred; ſo that the *Britains* had quickly left the Shore, and retired into Places more remote. *Cæſar* having Landed his Army, and choſen a fit Place for his Camp, as ſoon as he learn'd from the Priſoners in what Place the Enemy's Forces were Encamped, about the Third Watch of the Night marched toward them, being not concern'd for his Ships, becauſe he left them at Anchor in a ſafe and bold Shore, with Ten *Cohorts*, and Three Hundred Horſe to guard them, under the Command of *Q. Atrius*. But Marching that Night about Twelve Miles (towards *Chilham* in *Kent*, as is ſuppos'd) he at laſt ſaw the Enemies Forces, who with their Horſe marching down to the River *Stoure*, lying between them, began [from the higher Ground] to aſſail the *Romans*, and to give them Battel; but being repulſed by the Horſe, they convey'd themſelves into the Woods, where having a Place ſtrongly Fortified, as well by Art as Nature, and which it ſeems they had before provided during their own Domeſtick Wars; for all the Avenues to it were cloſ'd up with Trees laid overthwart the Paſſages. The *Britains* fought ſtraggling out of the Woods, and hinder'd the *Romans* from entring within the Fortification: But the Souldiers of the Seventh Legion making a * *Teſtudo*, did by a Mount raiſ'd againſt their Fortification ſoon take it, and drove them out of the Woods, having themſelves receiv'd very little Loſs; but ſince they fled, *Cæſar* forbad to purſue them too far, becauſe he was ignorant of the Place; and a great part of the Day being ſpent, he would employ the reſt of it for the Fortifying of his Camp.

were

^ Sail

(* i. e. *A kind of an Arch made with their Shields clap'd cloſe to each other, like the back of a Tortoiſe, from whence it had its Name.*

The next Day, early in the Morning, he ſent his Foot Souldiers and Horſemen, being divided into Three Bodies, upon another Expedition, that they might now purſue thoſe that fled: But before they had march'd any great diſtance of Ground, the Enemy being in ſight, ſome Horſemen came from *Q. Atrius* to *Cæſar*, telling him, that a great Tempeſt having riſen the Night before, almoſt all the Ships were ſhatter'd and caſt on Shore, neither the Anchors nor Cables being able to hold them, nor could the Maſters of the Veſſels nor Mariners withſtand the Force of the Tempeſt; ſo that by the Ships falling foul upon each other, great Damage was receiv'd; which when *Cæſar* knew, he return'd to his Ships, and he himſelf beheld what he had heard from the Meſſengers; ſo that about Forty Ships being loſt, the reſt might be refitted, though not without much Labour. Therefore he choſe ſome Carpenters out of the Legions, and Commanded others to be ſent for from the Continent, and he writ to *Labienus*, that he ſhould by the help of thoſe Legions he had with him, ſpeedily get ready as many Ships as he was able, whilſt he himſelf (although it was a buſineſs of great Toyl) thought it was moſt convenient to have all his Ships haled on Shore, and to encloſe them within the ſame Fortification with his Camp; in which Work he ſpent about Ten Days without any Intermiſſion of Labour Day or Night. The Ships being thus drawn up, and the Camp ſtrongly Fortified, he left the ſame Forces to guard them as before, whilſt he himſelf marched forward to the ſame Place from whence he had laſt return'd: When he came thither, he found much greater Forces of the *Britains*, there aſſembled from all Parts. The Chief Command for managing this War being by their common Conſent committed to *Caſſibelan*, whoſe Territories the River *Thames* divided from the Maritime States, being about Eighty Miles diſtant from the Sea. There had been in former Times perpetual Wars between him and the Neighbouring Cities. But the *Britains* being now terrified by this ſecond Invaſion, had given him the Supreme Command over them all. *Anno ante Chriſt.* LII.

Now from hence you may ſee the Falſhood of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, who makes this Iſland to have bin a Monarchy before *Cæſar*'s coming, and *Caſſibelan* to have bin the Sole King; whereas we find him only to have been a ſmall Inland Prince, and the reſt of the Iſland divided into many Petty States or Principalities. The reſt of what *Cæſar* here tells us concerning the Manners of the *Britains*, as alſo the Situation of this Iſland, theſe being either already related, or elſe needleſs, as ſufficiently known, I ſhall paſs over, and return to *Cæſar*'s Actions, as he relates them in the ſame Book.

In this March the *Britiſh* Cavalry and Charioteers fought ſharply with the *Roman* Horſemen, yet neverthele ſs theſe were Superior in all Places, and drove them to the Hills and Woods, many being ſlain; but the *Romans* purſuing them too eagerly, loſt ſome of their own Men. Some time after this the Enemy on a ſuddain ſallied out from the Woods, the *Romans* not being aware of them, (being buſie in Fortifying their Camp) and charged briſkly upon thoſe who were upon the Guard before the Camp. But two Cohorts (the chief of two Legions) being ſent by *Cæſar* to their aſſiſtance, whilſt they made a halt, as being ſurpriz'd with their new way of Fighting; the Enemy boldly charg'd back again through the midſt of them, without the loſs of a Man: So that Day *Quintus Laberius Durus*, a Tribune, was kill'd; but the Enemy, upon the ſending out of freſh Cohorts, were repell'd, and forc'd to ſave themſelves by flight.

This Skirmiſh thus fought before the Camp, and in the Eyes of all Men, made it evident, that the Legionary Soldiers, being neither able, for the weight of their Arms, to purſue thoſe that retreated, nor yet daring to go far from their Enſigns, were no equal Match for ſuch a kind of Enemy; and that the Horſe fought with much greater Danger, becauſe the *Britains* oftentimes retired on purpoſe, and when they had drawn the *Romans* a little from the Legions, leap'd from their Chariots and fought on Foot, to the great Diſadvantage of the *Romans*. But the manner of their Cavalries fighting brought the ſame or equal Danger to thoſe that retir'd, as to thoſe that purſu'd: To which you may add, that they never fought in cloſe Order, but ſcatter'd, and at ſome diſtance, and had their Men ſo Poſted, that they could eaſily Succour each other, freſh Men ſtill relieving thoſe that were wounded or weary.

The next Day the Enemies made a ſtand upon the Hills at a diſtance from the Camp, and began to ſhow themſelves leſs frequently, being not ſo forward to Skirmiſh with their Horſe as they were the Day before; but about Noon, when *Cæſar* had ſent out the Three Legions with *C. Trebonius*,

Anno ante Chriſt. LII.

bonius to Forage, they ſuddenly on all ſides ſet upon the Foragers, and charg'd up after them to the very Legions and Enſigns, whilſt the *Romans* charging them with great Courage, repell'd them. Nor made they an end of chaſing them, until the Horſe, who were ſupported by the Legions behind them (and not giving them time either to ſtand ſtill to rally, or to get down from their Chariots as they were wont) had ſlain a great many of them. After this Rout the *Britiſh* Auxiliaries which had come from all Parts return'd home; and from that time the *Britains* never fought the *Romans* again with their whole Forces: But *Cæſar* gueſſing their Deſigns, drew his Army toward the River *Thameſis* into the Confines of *Caſſibelan*'s Territories, which River was only fordable (and that very hardly) in one place: At his arrival he found great Forces of the Enemy's there Encamp'd, and the Bank Fortify'd with ſharp Stakes, and many of the ſame ſort were alſo fix'd under Water, which being made known by the Priſoners and Fugitives, the Horſe being ſent before, he order'd the Legions immediately to follow; but the Soldiers march'd with that Courage, that, though their Heads only appear'd above Water, yet the Enemy, not enduring the Force of the Horſe and Legions, quitting the Banks committed themſelves to flight. This Ford is ſuppos'd by Mr. *Cambden* in his *Britannia*, to have been at *Coway-Stakes* near *Lalam* in *Middleſex*, where the remainder of thoſe Piles plac'd by the *Britains* were of late Times ſtill to be ſeen, being bound about with Lead, and of the thickneſs of a Man's Thigh; and ſome of them have been of late Years pull'd up, as hindring the Paſſage of the Barges.

Caſſibelan having now loſt all hopes of doing any good by downright Fighting, having diſmiſs'd the greater part of his Forces, retain'd only about Four Thouſand Charioteers, who obſerv'd the *Roman* Marches; and going a little out of the way, hid themſelves in woody and intricate Places, driving away the Men and Cattle into the Woods: But in thoſe Parts of the Country where he knew the *Romans* were to march, whilſt the Horſe were diſperſed abroad into the Fields, either for Forage or Booty, he ſent out his Charioteers from the Woods, by all the known ways, and there fought the *Roman* Horſe-Men, putting them in great hazard; whereupon *Cæſar* ſtrictly commanded them not to march too far from the Legions, and that they ſhould only burn and deſtroy the Country as far as the Legionary Soldiers alone could ſafely perform it in their Marches. In the mean time the *Trinobantes*, being one of the ſtrongeſt States of all thoſe Parts, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, promiſing to ſubmit themſelves to him, and perform his Commands, deſiring that he would defend *Mandubratius* from the Injuries of *Caſſibelan*, and would ſend him to them, that he might receive the Supreme Authority of their State. This *Mandubratius* being a young Prince, had fled to *Cæſar* in *Gallia*; for his Father *Immanuentius* had been King of that Country, but having been ſlain by *Caſſibelan*, his Son avoided the like Fate by flight. Whereupon *Cæſar* ſent him to them, enjoyning them to give him Forty Hoſtages, and Corn for his Army; they ſpeedily perform'd his Commands, and ſent him that number of Hoſtages, as alſo the Corn. The *Trinobantes* being defended from the Violence of the Soldiers, the * *Segontiaci*, *Anacalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Caſſi*, having alſo ſent Embaſſies, ſubmitted themſelves to *Cæſar*: By theſe he underſtood that the Town of *Caſſibelam* (ſuppos'd to be *Verulamium*) was not far off, being ſtrongly Fortified with Woods and Bogs, in which a great number of Men and Cattle was got together.

You

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* *I ſhall not undertake to Engliſh theſe Names, becauſe they are very uncertain.*

Anno ante Chriſt. LII.

You may here alſo obſerve *Cæſar*'s Deſcription of a *Britiſh* Town: The *Britains*, ſays he, when they have taken in ſome woody Place, and encloſed it with a Ditch, or Rampire, call it a Town, to which, to avoid the Incurſions of their Enemies, they are wont to retreat, But thither *Cæſar* marched with his Legions, and found the Place ſtrongly Fortified both by Art and Nature; yet when he began to Storm it on both ſides, the Enemies not enduring the Aſſault of the *Roman* Legions, threw themſelves out from another Part of the Town, and ſo made their Eſcape, whilſt many were kill'd as they fled: Here *Cæſar* found great Multitudes of Cattle.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, *Caſſibelan* ſent Meſſengers into *Kent*, in which Parts were four petty Princes, (whom *Cæſar*, for his own Glory, calls Kings,) *viz. Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus* and *Segonax*; theſe he orders, that with all the Forces they could make, they ſhould aſſault upon the ſudden, and take the *Romans* Naval Camp. Theſe Princes, with their Forces, marching to the place, the *Romans* ſallying out upon the *Britains*, killed many of them, and taking *Cingeterox*, a noted Leader, Priſoner, returned again to their Camp without any Loſs. *Caſſibelan* hearing of the Succeſs of this Fight, having had his Borders thus waſted, and received ſo conſiderable Loſſes, but being chiefly terrified with the Defection of ſo many States, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, by the Mediation of *Comius* of *Arras*, to treat about a Submiſſion: *Cæſar* being reſolved to paſs the Winter in the Continent, becauſe of the ſudden Commotions in *Gaul*, and that there was not much of the Summer left, and which might be eaſily ſpun out, demanded Hoſtages, and ſet how much yearly Tribute the *Britains* ſhould pay to the People of *Rome*; and having farther forbad *Caſſibelan*, either to moleſt *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*, Hoſtages being taken, *Cæſar* marched back his Army to the Sea-ſide, where he found all his Ships re-fitted; but becauſe he had a great number of Priſoners, as that alſo ſome of his Ships were loſt by the Tempeſt, he reſolved to tranſport his Army at two ſeveral Returns; yet it happen'd, that out of ſo great a number of Ships, in ſo many Voyages to and fro, neither in this, nor the former Year, any Ship that carried the Soldiers was wanting; whereas, of thoſe which were ſent him empty from the Continent, and which afterwards *Labienus* had taken care to have new-built, (being to the number of Sixty) very few reached the Port; almoſt all of them being loſt, or driven back; Theſe when *Cæſar* for ſome time had in vain expected, leſt he ſhould be debarr'd from going over by the Seaſon of the Year, becauſe the *Æquinox* now approached, he was forced to crowd his Soldiers the cloſer together; and having found a calm Seaſon, about the Second Watch of the Night he ſet Sail; and by Break of Day reached the Continent.

M.

This is the Account which *Cæſar* himſelf gives us of both theſe Expeditions: Howbeit, other Ancient Writers have ſpoken more doubtfully of *Cæſar*'s Victories here, and that in plain Terms he fled from hence; for which that noted Verſe in *Lucan*, with divers Paſſages here and there in *Tacitus*, are alledged. *Paulus Oroſius*, who took what he wrote from an Hiſtory of *Suetonius*, now loſt, writes, That *Cæſar* in his firſt Journey being entertained with a ſharp Fight, loſt no ſmall number of his Foot; and by Tempeſt, nigh all his Horſe: But be it as it will, *Pliny* tells us, That at his Return to *Rome*, as from a glorious Enterprize, he offered to *Venus*, the Patroneſs of his Family, a Breaſt-plate embroider'd with *Britiſh* Pearls.

I ſhall

Anno ante Chriſt. XL.

I ſhall not much trouble you with the Relation of *Caſſibelan*'s Actions after *Cæſar*'s Departure, ſince we have no other Account of them, but from *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*: But, according to his Relation, *Mandubratius* (whom he calls *Androgeus*) was not reſtored to the Kingdom of the *Trinobantes*; whether through the ill Will of *Caſſibelan*, or the general Hatred the People had to him, is uncertain: So that leaving *Britain*, he again betook himſelf unto *Cæſar*, and attended him to *Rome*, where he was entertain'd as a King of *Britain*, and a Friend to the *Roman* Commonwealth. *Caſſibelan*, after the Departure of the *Romans*, is ſaid to have reigned Ten Years; which Time he employed in revenging himſelf upon the Cities and States that had revolted from him during the Wars with *Cæſar*.

After whom, until the Time of the Emperor *Claudius*, the *Britains* were free from the *Roman* Yoke, living under their own Kings, and being govern'd by their own Laws: So that for a while we muſt take our Farewell of the *Roman* Hiſtory, collecting it only as we find it ſcatter'd here and there, and follow the Succeſſion of the *Britiſh* Kings, according to *Geoffrey*.

Then *Theomantius*, or *Tenantius*, Nephew of *Caſſibelan*, is ſaid by him to have ſucceeded his Uncle, having before enjoyed the Principality of *Cornwall*; far remote from the Troubles of theſe Times, and by that means not engaged in the Quarrel, was not obliged, either to take into the *Roman* Intereſt; or by aiding *Caſſibelan*, to juſtifie his Violences; by which indifferent Carriage, by the general Applauſe of the People he is ſaid to come to the Crown.

Anno ante Chriſt. XL.

In this King's Reign it is ſuppoſed, that *Octavius* (the Grand-child of *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s Siſter) obtain'd the Empire of *Rome*: But before he had fully poſſeſſed himſelf of it, *Geoffrey* relates, That *Tenantius* ſent his Son *Kynobelin* to attend him in his Wars; hoping thereby to ingratiate himſelf with *Auguſtus*, and obtain a Relaxation of the impoſed Tribute: And that *Kynobelin* ſo well behaved himſelf, that he grew into ſpecial Favour with the Emperor, and accompanied him to *Rome*, where he was ſaluted by the Name of *FRIEND of the Commonwealth*; and that during his Reſidence there, *Tenantius* paid no Tribute at all; which (as the *Britiſh* Hiſtorian relates) was in reſpect of his Son's great Favour with *Auguſtus*. But the *Roman* Authors ſeem rather to make the Troubles of the Empire, and the Bandyings of the Factions againſt each other, after the Death of *Julius Cæſar*, the Cauſes of the Quiet of the *Britains* during thoſe Civil Diſſentions.

But *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who ſucceeded his Uncle *Julius* in the Empire, either contemning this Iſland, as a place of no Importance, and whoſe Enmity or Friendſhip conduced nothing to the good or ill Fortune of the Empire; or as *Tacitus*, in his Life of *Agricola*, relates, becauſe of the Civil Wars that had lately happen'd, cauſed a long Quiet to *Britain*: * Yet we find *Auguſtus* once advanced as far as *Gallia*, in order to the Reducing of *Britain* under his Obedience; and had not a Revolt in † *Pannonia* diverted him, he had certainly attempted it. Yet about Seven Years after, with the ſame Reſolution, he once more drew down into *Gallia*; but the *Britains* hearing thereof, ſent their Ambaſſadors thither to him, to beg Peace; which for the preſent he accepted of, becauſe it required ſome Time to ſettle his Affairs in *Gaul*, which were then much out of order: The Year following, he again reſum'd his Reſolutions of making an Expedition into *Britain*, becauſe they had not perform'd their Articles

* *Dion. Caſ. l.* 49.

† *Ibid. l.* 23.

with him; but he was again hinder'd by freſh Inſurrections in *Spain*. The *Cantabrians* and *Aſturians* being revolted, *Tenantius* having reigned in *Britain* Thirty two Years; then dying, was ſucceeded by

Anno ante Chr. XIV.

* *Kymbelein*, or *Kynobelin*, who, if he was not educated at *Rome*, yet the good Correſpondence between the *Romans* and *Britains* about theſe Times, gave fair Occaſion to the *Britiſh* Writers to feign it: For now, it ſeems, the *Britains* began to learn the *Roman* Arts, to flatter for Advantage, and by Gifts to appeaſe a powerful Prince, and buy off a War. So they ſent their Tribute to † *Auguſtus*, with Offerings and Sacrifices to the *Roman* Gods, to be offered in the *Capitol*; where, in the Temple of *Mars*, they ſwore Fidelity to the Senate and and People of *Rome*. Which Obſequious Addreſſes, as I ſuppoſe gave Occaſion to || *Horace* to write thus:

Though we believe that thund'ring Jove
In Heaven reigns, yet here below
Auguſtus *we a God* ~~*do*~~ may *prove;*
Since Britains, *and proud* Perſians *too,*
Are to his Empire made to bow.

Nay, ſo conformable to the *Roman* Cuſtoms was this *Kynobelin* himſelf, that he cauſed Coins to be ſtamped after the manner of the *Romans*, ſome of which are ſtill to be ſeen; whereas before, all Payments among the *Britains* were made with Rings of Iron, and Plates of Braſs, of a certain Weight: And his Image was made after the manner of the Emperors; and on the Reverſe is *CAM:* ſignifying *Camolodunum*, (now *Maldon*) his Royal Seat: And it is to be ſuſpected that Tribute was paid with it; for in a Coin of his, *TASCIO* is found in Great Letters, with a Man on the Reverſe, ſitting Hammering of Metal: Which Word implieth Tribute, as you may find in that Collection of Coins before Mr. *Camden*'s *Britannia*.

* *Geoff. Mon.*

† *Dion. ibid.*

|| Car. Lib. III. Od. 5.
Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: præſens Divus habebitur
Auguſtus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio, gravibuſque Perſis.

Anno Dom. XIV.

The Emperor *Tiberius*, who ſucceeded *Auguſtus*, being given up to Eaſe and Luxury, thought it beſt to obſerve * *Auguſtus*'s Advice, of contracting, rather than enlarging the Bounds of the Empire: So that as he had no Deſire to trouble the *Britains*, they had alſo as little to provoke him; though 'tis certain that they ſtill paid their uſual Cuſtoms and Tolls for thoſe Commodities they tranſported to the *Romans*, into *Gaul*; and exchanged with them Things wrought in Ivory, for Chains and Trinkets of Amber, which they wore for Pendants and Bracelets. The *Roman* Cuſtomers collected them at firſt after a precarious manner; and (as *Strabo* writes) not daring to compel them. Beſides, their Courteſie to *Germanicus*'s Soldiers, who had been Ship-wrack'd on the *Britiſh* Shore, and had been by them ſent back to their General, produced a like kind Return from the *Romans*.

* *Suet. in Aug.*

Anno Dom. XXXVII.

Caius Caligula, who ſucceeded *Tiberius*, being a Prince of a cruel Nature and fantaſtick Humour, having paſſed the † *Alpes*, and come into *Gaul* and *Belgium*, to peel thoſe Provinces, and having received into his Protection *Adminius*, the Son of *Kynobelin*, (above mentioned,) who being expell'd by his Father, fled to *Caligula*, and excited him to invade *Britain*. Whereupon, as if the whole Iſle had been yielded up to him, he ſent magnificent Letters to *Rome*, giving a ſtrict Charge to the Couriers, that they ſhould drive their Chariots into the *Forum*, to the very *Curia*; and ſhould not deliver their Letters, but in the Temple of *Mars*, and

† *Sueton. in Calig.*

Anno Dom. XXXVII.

* *Dion. l.* 15.

† *Suet. ibid.*

and in a full Aſſembly of the Senate. But *Caligula*, after this, marched his Army to the *Belgick*-Shore, making as if he would paſs over into *Britain*; but being (as is ſuppos'd) aſſur'd that the *Britains* were ready to oppoſe his Landing, if he ſhould attempt it, * thereupon he thought it ſafer to let them alone: Yet however, he put out to Sea in a Galley; and after he had row'd a little diſtance from the Shore, return'd again to Land; and then mounting on an high Tribunal, ordering the Trumpets to ſound a Charge, gave his Soldiers the Signal of Battel; then all on the ſudden commanded them to gather their † Helmets and Laps full of Cockles, Muſcles, and other Shells: Having gotten theſe Spoils (as he call'd them) of the Ocean, (as wanting others to adorn his Trophies,) he grew as proud as if he had conquer'd the Ocean it ſelf; and rewarded his Soldiers for this great Victory, with a Donative of an Hundred *Denarii* a Man, bidding them all depart *Rich and Happy*. After which, he erected an high Tower on the *Belgick* Shore, out of which, as from a *Pharus*, Lights might direct Mariners to ſteer their Courſe by Night; the Ruins of which *Pharus* are ſuppoſed, even to this Day, to be ſeen at very low Tides, on the Coaſt of *Holland*; being call'd by the Inhabitants, to this Day, *Britten Huis*. Nor did *Caligula* ſtop here; but was ſo vain, as to carry theſe Shells to *Rome*, (together with the Galleys in which he went out to Sea;) where, when he had required a Triumph for this noble Enterprize, finding the Senate averſe to it, he had Thoughts of murthering them all for refuſing him Triumphal Honours; but he was not long after murther'd himſelf.

Anno Dom. XLIII.

* *Lib.* 60.

But that we may return again to the Affairs of *Britain*, which remain'd in Peace till the Reign of *Claudius*; and then *Cynobelin* (according to *Geoffrey*) after Threeſcore Years happy Reign, died, (not long before the *Roman* Invaſion.) This Prince had many Sons; (*viz.*) *Adminius*, who, as we have already heard, was baniſh'd by his Father: As alſo, *Togodumus*, who is thought to be the ſame with him whom *Geoffrey* calls *Guidar*, or *Guinder*; and whom he ſuppoſes to have reign'd, ſome ſay Four, and others Eight and Twenty Years; in whoſe Reign, *Claudius* the Emperor invaded *Britain*. But * *Dion Caſſius* makes no Mention of this Prince, and only names *Togadumnus* and *Caractacus*, being Brothers, to have reign'd in this Iſland; but whether with Equal, or Subordinate Authority, he does not mention; only gives us an exact Relation of the Invaſion by *Claudius*, the Occaſion of which he thus relates: That one *Bericus*, (though what he was, he doth not further ſay) having been driven out of this Iſland by a certain Sedition, and highly reſenting it, was the Man who excited *Claudius* to invade his Country: And that the *Britains* being provok'd at the Receipt of theſe Fugitives, and their not being given up when demanded, thereupon forbad all Commerce with the *Romans*. So a War being reſolv'd on, *Plautius*, then Prætor in *Gaul*, was immediately order'd by the Emperor to tranſport thoſe Legions he had with him, into *Britain*: But the Prætor, who was to carry over this Army, could very hardly get them out of *Gaul*; being much concern'd that they were to make War (as it were) in another World; ſpending a great deal of Time in Delays, before they would yield to go along with him. But when *Narciſſus*, (*Claudius*'s Freed-Man) being ſent by him to perſuade the Army to march, had aſcended the Tribunal, and went about to make a Speech to them, the Soldiers being inflam'd with Indignation, began preſently to cry out, *Io Saturnalia*; (for in the Feaſt of the *Saturnalia*, it

Anno Dom. XLIII. is the Cuſtom for Slaves to act the Part of their Maſters:) Yet nevertheleſs, they were at laſt perſuaded to follow *Plautius*, and go on Ship-board. But the Forces being divided into Three Parts, leſt coming all to one place, they ſhould be hinder'd from Landing, were kept back in their Paſſage by contrary Winds, and ſuffer'd great Hardſhip: Yet, taking freſh Courage, becauſe a Meteor had ſhot from Eaſt to Weſt, (the very Courſe they were to ſteer,) they at laſt reach'd the Iſland, no body hindring them; for the *Britains* not believing the *Romans* would have come over, (for the Reaſons you have already heard,) had prepar'd no Forces to prevent them; and therefore, not drawing together, had hid themſelves in the Woods and Marſhes, with Hopes of drawing on the *Romans* by Delays, as had before happen'd under *Julius Cæſar:* So that *Plautius* ſpent much Time in finding them out; but after he had once found them, he overcame firſt *Caractacus*, and afterwards *Togadumnus*, the Sons of *Kynobelin*, (their Father being dead ſome time before:) For the *Britains* did not enjoy a Popular Liberty, but were then ſubject to divers Kings: Yet all theſe being put to flight, he receiv'd a part of the *Boduni* into his Subjection, who before obey'd the *Catuellani*; and a Garriſon being left there, he march'd to a certain River which the *Britains* ſuppos'd the *Romans* could not paſs over without a Bridge, and ſo lay there the more careleſly encamp'd on the other ſide: Wherefore *Plautius* ſent over the *Germans* firſt, who being accuſtom'd in their Armour to ſwim over the ſwifteſt Rivers, ſet upon the Enemy on a ſudden, but kill'd none, only wounded the Horſes which drew their Chariots; wherewith they were ſo gall'd, that they would not endure their Riders. Then *Plautius* ſent *Flavius Veſpaſian*, (who afterwards was Emperor,) together with *Sabinus*, his Brother, as his Lieutenant; who alſo paſſing the River, kill'd many of the *Britains* at unawares; yet did not the reſt, for all this, run away, but the next Day renew'd the Fight with doubtful Succeſs, until *C. Sidius* (tho' he had like to have fallen into the Enemy's Hands) ſo routed them, that although he had never been Conſul, he had nevertheleſs Triumphal Honours beſtowed upon him.

From hence the *Britains* retired to the Mouth of the River *Thames*, and eaſily paſs'd it, knowing all the Fords and Shallows; whither the *Romans* following them, were in great danger: But when the *Germans* had again ſwum over, and that ſome others had likewiſe paſs'd by a Bridge that lay higher, the *Britains* being every where routed, they made a great Slaughter of them; though purſuing the Reſidue too raſhly, they fell into the Marſhes, and many were loſt. For theſe Reaſons, and becauſe the *Britains* were not, by the Death of *Togadumnus*, (who was kill'd,) now at all diſcourag'd, but rather more eager to revenge his Death, *Plautius* doubting the Succeſs, would not proceed farther; but putting Garriſons into thoſe Places he had conquer'd, ſent notice to the Emperor *Claudius*, who had before order'd him to do ſo, if any thing extraordinary or unexpected ſhould happen.

Anno Dom. XLIV. *Claudius* having receiv'd this Meſſage, immediately got all things ready (together with divers Elephants) for this Expedition; and being now the Third Time Conſul, and having choſen *Britain* for his Province, he committed the Care of the City and Soldiers to *L. Vitellius*, his Collegue, (who was Father to *A. Vitellius*, afterwards Emperor.) But *Claudius* ſailing from *Oſtia*, landed at *Marſeilles*, though by the way † he had like, by foul Weather, to have been caſt away, firſt on the Iſlands *Stæchades*, and then

† *Sueton. in Claudio.*

Anno Dom. XLIV.

then on the Coaſt of *Liguria*; yet landing, he paſs'd through *Gaul*, as far as *Geſſoriacum*, (now *Bologne*;) where again embarking, he paſs'd over into *Britain*, and joyn'd his Forces that expected him near the *Thames*; then paſſing over the River, he fought with the *Britains* in a pitch'd Battel, and obtain'd the Victory; taking *Camolodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Kynobelin*, together with many Priſoners, ſome by Force, and ſome by Surrender. For theſe Exploits, he was oftentimes by his Soldiers ſaluted *Imperator*, or *General*, though againſt the received Cuſtom of the *Romans*; for it was not lawful before to aſſume that Title more than once in the ſame War. *Claudius* having thus diſarm'd the *Britains*, leſt them to the Government of *Plantius*; ordering him to ſubdue thoſe that remain'd unconquer'd: But as for thoſe that ſubmitted, he remitted the Confiſcation of their Eſtates; which ſo oblig'd the *Britains*, that they built him a Temple, and ador'd him as a God. But whilſt he return'd towards *Rome*, his Sons-in-Law *Pompeius* and *Silanus* were ſent before with the News of his Victory, which was accompliſh'd in Sixteen Days. For no longer ſtay'd he in *Britain*, and that with ſo little Noiſe, that it gave occaſion to *Suetonius* (thô erroniouſly) to write, that he ſuddu'd *Britain* without ever a Battel, or any Blood-ſhed.

Claudius returning thus Triumphantly to *Rome* (from whence he had been abſent but Six Months in all) the Senate decreed his Son the Sirname of *Britannicus*, to himſelf a Triumph, and annual Games, with two Triumphal Arches, one in the City, the other in *Gaul*, from whence he had paſſed into *Britain*. In his Triumph (performing all things according to Cuſtom) he aſcended the Stairs of the *Capitol* on his Knees, his two Sons-in-Law ſupporting him on each ſide; he then beſtow'd on thoſe who had ſerv'd with him in this Expedition (not only ſuch who had been *Conſuls*, but even bare *Senators*) Triumphal Ornaments. I ſhall not trouble you with the reſt of this Solemnity, ſince it is not much to the Matter in hand, and alſo tranſacted out of this Iſland, only I ſhall S. Remark, That it appears this Conqueſt of *Britain* was look'd upon as ſo conſiderable, that the Senate thought fit to Decree as high Honours to the Emperor, who had now ſubdu'd but part of this Iſland; as they had done for any former Conquerors, and the Sirname of *Britannicus*, was eſteem'd as Glorious as that of *Germanicus*, *Africanus*, or *Aſiaticus*: And even in the heighth of the *Roman* Grandure it was eſteem'd ſo conſiderable a part of the Empire, that it was held not Inferior to any of the forementioned Provinces, and coſt more Legions in gaining and preſerving it than all *Aſia*, and was never forſaken by the *Romans*, but in their laſt Extremity.

I ſhall now by the way take a little notice of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*'s Relation of this *Britiſh* War, which is much different from the *Roman* Accounts of it, he making *Claudius* to Land at *Portcheſter* in *Hampſhire*, and to have Beſieg'd that Town, to the Relief whereof *Guiderius*, or *Guider* (the above-mention'd King of the *Britains*) quickly came, and that a Battel enſuing it went on the *Britains* ſide; until *Hamo*, a *Roman*, diſguiſing himſelf like a *Britain*, ſlew the King; whereupon *Arviragus* his Brother, (leſt the *Britains* ſhould be diſcourag'd) conceal'd the King's Death, and arming himſelf in his Armour, continued the Battel, and ſo obtain'd a great Victory, and then ſucceeded his Brother *Guider*. But ſince none of the *Roman* Hiſtorians make any mention of theſe Kings, nor of *Hamo* (who is here ſuppos'd to have kill'd *Guider*) it is probable,

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that their very Succeſſion is as Fabulous as *Arviragus* his Encounters with *Hamo*; and his Marriage with *Genuiſſa*, a ~~ſuppoſed~~ Daughter of *Claudius*; as likewiſe his Treaty with that Emperour and homage done to him; Therefore leaving ſuch Fables, we will come to what the *Romans* performed in this Iſland after *Claudius* his departure to *Rome*. Which is thus related by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*.

Tacitus Annal. Lib. XIII. c. 32.

Aulus Plautius being left by *Claudius* as his Lieutenant in *Britain*, after the Emperour's departure, diligently proſecuted the War; and ſo behav'd himſelf in quieting the revolting Countries, and gaining new Conqueſts as far as the Weſtern parts of the Iſland, that *Claudius* allow'd him an * *Ovation*, and at his Entrance into *Rome*, himſelf went to meet him, giving him the Right hand both in going and coming. Neither were the Actions of *Veſpatian* (afterwards Emperour) leſs remarkable in this War; for partly under the Conduct of *Claudius* himſelf, and partly of *Plautius*, he fought Thirty Battles with the *Britains*, and brought two moſt powerful Nations, and above Twenty Towns, together with the Iſle of *Wight*, under his Subjection; for all which noble Actions he received Triumphal Ornaments, and a little while after two Sacerdotal Dignities, together with the Conſulſhip: His Son *Titus*, then ſerving under him in the quality of a *Tribune*, was much renowned for his Valour and Diligence; he had alſo the good fortune to reſcue and relieve his Father: And his modeſt Behaviour was as ſignal, as his Courage; as appears by many Inſcriptions, under his Image, diſperſed through divers Provinces.

* *A ſort of petty triumph performed on foot.*

Sueton. in Veſpaſ.

An. XXV. Id. Annal. Lib. XII. c. 31.

Oſtorius Scapula ſucceeded *Plautius* in the Quality of *Proprætor*, a Man no leſs experienced in Martial Affairs: At his firſt entrance into his command he met with many Commotions and Troubles; for that part of *Britain*, which was not yet ſubdued broke in upon their Neighbours, who had entred into League, or made any ſubmiſſion to the *Romans*, waſting their Country; and with ſo much the more Vigour, for that they thought this new *General* (as not yet acquainted with his buſineſs, nor having Experience of his Army) would not be ſoon able to revenge it; eſpecially conſidering that Winter was near, and that a Seaſon unfit for Action: but *Oſtorius*, knowing that the firſt Succeſs makes the greateſt Impreſſion of Fear, or Confidence, reſolved to put a ſtop to their Inroads betimes, before they proceeded too far; and for that end he quickly took with him ſome of his lighteſt Cohorts, and unexpectedly ſeting upon them, killed many, following thoſe that fled ſo cloſe, that he gave them no time to rally; and leſt for the future a treacherous unſtable Peace might prove more dangerous, and troubleſome, as well to himſelf as his Souldiers; he diſarmed all whom he ſuſpected moſt likely to revolt, and ſet Garriſons on the two Rivers, *Severn* and *Antona* (now *Avon*,) thereby to hinder the Incurſions of the *Britiſh* Army: By this means he reduced the moſt Southerly parts of the Iſland into the form of a Province; having alſo planted there a Colony of *Veterane* Souldiers, and to ſecure his Conqueſt the better, he gave ſeveral Cities to *Cogidunus*, to be held as Tributary to the *Roman* Empire, under the Title of King: by which he ſtrongly engaged him to its intereſt; it being an antient and received Policy of that State (as *Tacitus* well obſerves) to make Kings the Inſtruments of it's Ambition, as well as of their own Servitude.

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But the *Iceni*, (who Inhabited what we now call *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntington-ſhires*) a potent Nation and not yet waſted by War, becauſe they had voluntarily entered into alliance with the *Romans*; not brooking theſe proceedings of *Oſtorius*, took Arms, and by their Example encouraged many of their neighbouring Nations to do the like: this done, they encamped in a place choſen for that purpoſe, caſting up a Rampire of Earth; leaving a very narrow Entrance, for fear, leaſt the Enemy's Horſe ſhould break in upon them.

Oſtorius, although he had not his Legions, but only his Auxiliaries with him; yet reſolved, if he could, to break down this Fence, which he perceived was but rudely thrown up, and ſetting all his *Cohorts* to work, the Horſe alſo alighting to that Service, he himſelf giving the Signal, at once they flung down the Works, and drove the Enemy from their Fortreſs: But the *Britains*, as well through the Conſciouſneſs of their Rebellion, as becauſe all ways of eſcaping were blocked up, made a notable Defence: In which Battel, *M. Oſtorius* the Son of the Lieutenant, gained the honour of having ſaved a Citizen.

Tacit. An. lib. 12. cap. 32.

The *Iceni* thus overcome; the other *States*, who hitherto ſtood in a doubtful Poſture between War and Peace, were confirmed in their Obedience by their ſufferings. After this Succeſs, *Oſtorius* marched into the Country of the *Cangi* (who they were is not well known) where he plundered and laid waſte their Fields, they not daring to give him Battel; and if at any time they ventur'd out of their Coverts to fall on his Rear, they always met with ſharp entertainment: At laſt he approached near the *Iriſh* Sea, where news was brought him of ſtirs among the *Brigantes*, (ſuppoſed to have been the Inhabitants of *Torkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and the other *Northern* Countries). Upon this he reſolves to return, intending not to attempt any new Deſign, till he had fully quieted thoſe Commotions behind him: and indeed the *Brigantes* were ſoon quieted; thoſe few who took Arms being all Slain, and the reſt pardoned. But the Nation of the *Silures* (the Inhabitants of the now South *Wales*) were not to be won by Clemency, or terrified by Severity; but would needs have a War, and if ſubdued, were to be kept in obedience by Garriſons of Legionary Souldiers.

† *Ib. cap.* 33.

So he marched againſt theſe *Silures*, who, beſides their natural Fierceneſs, were much exalted with the Opinion they had of the Courage and Conduct of *Caractacus*, who by many doubtful, and ſome Fortunate Attempts, had raiſed himſelf to a greater Reputation in Arms than any of the *Britiſh* Generals: he finding himſelf over-matched in Strength made uſe of Policy: he knew his Advantage lay in choice of Ground, to that end he transferr'd the War to the rough unacceſſible Country of the the *Ordovices* (now thoſe of *North Wales*) chuſing for the Seat of the War, a place, whoſe Avenues were moſt difficult to the *Romans*, and eaſieſt of Acceſs to themſelves: there he raiſed a Fortification with great Stones on the tops of the Mountains: and where a River running near made a dangerous and uncertain Ford, placed a range or breaſt-work of larger Stones to defend the paſſage: which place (as Mr. *Camden* Conjectures) has ſtill from him the Name of *Caer Caradoc*, lying on the Weſt edge of *Shropſhire*: *Caradoc* being in the *Britiſh* Tongue ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Caractacus* in the *Latin*. *Oſtorius* having drawn hither all his Forces (ſince *Caractacus* reſolved here to Fight it to the laſt) the Officers went about, encouraging their Men, diminiſhing their Fears, and enlivening their Courage by all the Rhetorick of War. But *Caractacus* notably beſtir'd himſelf, and with quick motions going from place to place, *Cry'd out, this was the Day, and this the Field, which would be either the recovery of their Liberty, or the beginning of a new and perpetual Slavery: and then invoked the Names of his glorious Anceſtors, who had driven out* Cæſar *the Dictator; and by whoſe Valour they had hitherto been freed from the* Roman *Axes and Tributes; and ſtill kept their Wives and Children preſerved from diſhonour.*

At theſe, or ſuch like Speeches, the Army teſtified their Joy by loud Shouts and Acclamations; and every one, according to his Country Superſtition, bound himſelf by Oath, that neither Force nor Wounds ſhould make them yield.

Tacit. An. lib. 12. *cap.* 35.

This Couragious alacrity in the Enemy ſtartled the *Roman* General: eſpecially when he deſcried the River before him, and the Rampire made upon its Banks, both of great difficulty to be paſſed; whilſt the ſteep Hills full of Armed Men hanging over their heads, gave a diſmal proſpect, and made a terrible Scene of War: but the Common Souldiers being eager for Battel required the Signal; *Crying out, nothing was impregnable to Valour:* This impatience was increaſed by the *Prefects* and *Tribunes*, who were of the ſame Opinion. Then *Oſtorius* having firſt tried which Fords were paſſable, and which not, led them on as inſenſible of Danger; who with no great difficulty wading through the River, when they were come near to the Rampire, and that it came to be diſputed with Darts and Javelins, greater loſs followed on the *Roman* than *Britiſh* ſide: So that not being able longer to endure it, the Legionary Souldiers joyning cloſe together made a Teſtudo; whereupon this rude Fortification of rough Stones being thrown down, and the *Romans* meeting with them hand to hand, the *Barbarians* ſoon fled to the tops of the Mountains: but thither alſo the heavy as well as the Light-Armed Souldiers quickly followed them; whilſt the *Britains* aſſaulting them with their Darts, theſe received them in cloſe order, whereby their Ranks were ſoon broken, who made uſe of no defence, either of Breſt-plates or Helmets: So that, if they could have reſiſted the Auxiliaries, yet they were beat down by the Swords and Darts of the Legionary Souldiers; and if they turned from theſe, they were again routed by the broad Swords and Spears of the Auxiliaries. The Victory was very remarkable, the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* being taken Priſoners, and his Brethren ſubmitting to Mercy.

Ib. cap. 36.

But though he had committed himſelf to the Fidelity of *Cartiſmandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, (yet as unſafe Counſels prove commonly unfortunate) he was by her, delivered bound to the *Victors* in the Seventh Year (according to *Tacitus*,) but indeed in the Ninth Year after this War was begun in *Britain*. Nevertheleſs *Caractacus* his Fame being carried through all the Neighbouring Provinces, was alſo Celebrated as far as *Italy*, and they deſired to ſee the Man that had for ſo many Years deſpiſed the *Roman* Forces: ſo that the name of *Caractacus* became famous at *Rome* it ſelf; and *Cæſar* whilſt he extoll'd his own Victory, added glory to the conquered; for the People being ſummoned as to ſome ſolemn Spectacle, the *Prætorian Cohorts* ſtood to their Arms in the Field, which lay before their Camp; The King's Servants marched before, bearing

Anno Dom. **XLIV.** bearing his Gold Chains and other Ornaments, with what ever elſe he had gained in Foreign Wars; preſently after came his Brethren with his Wife and Daughters, and laſt of all He himſelf: The behaviour of others, through fear was mean and degenerate; he only neither in Countenance, Word, or Action, appeared dejected: But ſtanding at the Tribunal of *Cæſar*, Spoke to this purpoſe.

If my mind, O Cæſar, *had been as moderate in the Heigth of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignity was Eminent, I might have entred as a Friend, rather than a Captive into this City; nor couldſt thou have diſliked one for a Confederate, ſo Noble by Deſcent, and Ruling ſo many Natinos. My preſent Eſtate, tho to me diſgraceful, to thee is Glorions: I had once Riches, Horſes, Arms, and Men; no wonder if I was not contented to loſe them, but if you will extend your Empire over all others; then of neceſſity all others muſt obey you: If I ſooner had been brought to yield, my Miſfortune had been leſs notorious, your Conqueſt leſs renowned: but by a ſevere treatment of me, both will be ſoon forgotten: if you grant that I may Live, I ſhall live a laſting Monument of your Clemency.*

Cæſar mov'd at ſo ſad a Spectacle of Fortune, but eſpecially at the Nobleneſs of his bearing it, gave him Pardon, as alſo to his Wife and Brothers; they being all unbound went alſo to do the like Reverence to the Empreſs *Agrippina*; who ſat not far off on another Throne, no leſs conſpicuous: a new indeed, and unwonted ſight, far different from the Manners of the ancient *Romans*, to ſee a Woman in her *Feminine* Pride, preſiding over the *Roman* Enſigns; but indeed ſhe looked upon her ſelf as a Companion, and Sharer of the Empire obtained by her * Anceſtors.

Tacit. An. lib. 12. *cap.* 38. The *Senators* being then alſo ſummon'd, made long and pompous Diſcourſes upon this taking of *Caractacus*; ſaying, it was no leſs famous than when *P. Scipio* ſhewed *Scyphax*, or *L. Paulus*, *Perſeus*, or any other *General*, who had expoſed Captive Kings to the view of the *People* of *Rome*; ſo that they decreed to *Oſtorius* all the Enſigns of a Triumph.

After this, Affairs continued ſome time proſperous; but preſently after became more doubtful: either becauſe that *Caractacus* being now remov'd, he thought the *Britains* as good as ſubdued, and ſo the Wars was leſs eagerly purſued; or whether the Enemy in Compaſſion of ſo great a King burnt more fiercely with Revenge; for they had beſet the Governour in his Camp, and fell upon the Legionary *Cohorts*, who had been left to build Forts among the *Silures*; and unleſs Aſſiſtance had come in to them ſpeedily from the Neighbouring Garriſons and Caſtles, the whole Army had then periſhed; nevertheleſs the *Governour* with Eight *Centurions*, and the moſt forward Souldiers of each Company were cut off, and not long after they routed thoſe that were Forraging, as alſo ſome Troops ſent to their Relief.

Then *Oſtorius* drew forth his Light Armed *Cohorts*, nor had he thereby put a ſtop to his Mens flight, unleſs the Legions had alſo engaged in
Ib. c. 39. the Fight, by whoſe Force it firſt became equal, and at length quite turned the Scale; for the Enemies fled, thô with ſmall Loſs, becauſe the Day was declining; afterwards followed frequent Skirmiſhes, more like Robberies than Fights, they often meeting in the Woods or Marſhes, as Deſign or Chance gave them opportunity; often commanded, ſometimes

without

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* *As being the Daughter of* Germanicus.

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without any command: all which proceeded from the remarkable obſtinacy of the *Silures*, whom that common ſaying of the *Roman General* had much provoked, *That as the* Sicambri *had been formerly deſtroyed, ſo alſo the very name of the* Silures *ought wholly to be extinguiſhed.* Therefore they intercepted two Auxiliary *Cohorts*, who through the Avarice of their Officers were too ſecurely pillaging: and beſtowing the Priſoners and Spoils on certain neighbouring Nations, drew them alſo into a Revolt: When *Oſtorius* being now worn out with Cares and Troubles ended his Days. The *Britains* rejoycing, that thô not a Battle; yet a lingering War had taken off ſo great a Souldier.

But *Cæſar* underſtanding the Death of his Lieutenant, leſt the *Province* ſhould remain without a *Governour*, ſent *A. Didius* in his room, who quickly arriving there, found Affairs but in an ill Condition; for in the mean while there had happened an unſucceſsful Engagement of that Legion over which *Manlius Valens* commanded: the Fame of which Exploit being alſo much increaſed by the Enemy's reports, that thereby they might terrifie the new *General*, which was alſo much increaſed by himſelf, that if the War were well ended he might win the greater Glory, or if otherwiſe, he might gain the eaſier pardon. But the *Silures* had already done much miſchief, and made Incurſions all abroad, until by *Didius*'s meeting of them they were repelled; which being one of the laſt Actions that happened in *Claudius*'s Reign, I ſhall only take notice that he lived about Three Years after his ſending *Didius* hither, and died (as is ſuppos'd) of Poyſon given him by his Wife *Agrippina*; therefore ſince by his Conqueſt of ſo great a part of *Britain*, he is accounted by moſt Authors as the *Sovereign* power thereof; I ſhall for the future give you the Names of all the *Roman* Emperors his Succeſſours, that ruled here, till their quitting of this *Iſland*, whether they were here in Perſon or not. *Claudius* was ſucceeded by

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Nero his Wive's Son by Birth, and his own by Adoption, of whoſe Reign I ſhall ſay nothing, but what relates to the particular Hiſtory of this Iſland. Therefore ſince *Tacitus* tells us, that thoſe things, which were done under the two Prætors, *Oſtorius* and *Didius*, for the ſpace of many Years, he had for their better remembrance put all together; It plainly appearing, that moſt of thoſe things he there treats of, are to be referr'd to *Nero*'s Reign; I ſhall make bold to place in the beginning of his Time that long War between the *Romans* and *Venutius*, which *Tacitus* thus relates.

Id. Ibid.

After *Caractacus* was gone, *Venutius* a Prince of the *Jugantes*, was the moſt remarkable for Military skill, having continued faithful hitherto; being defended by the *Roman* Arms, as long as he kept Queen *Cartiſmandua* for his Wife; but a Quarrel happened between them, and preſently after a War; in which he at laſt took up Arms againſt the *Romans*, to which *Tacitus* tell us in another place, he was highly provoked, not only upon the account of his natural Fierceneſs, but by the injuries of the Queen his Wife; who, being proud of her Nobility, had increaſed her power, after her taking of *Caractacus*, as you have heard; ſo that abounding in Wealth, and wallowing in Luxury, ſhe deſpiſed her Husband *Venutius*, and made *Vellocatus* his Armour-bearer the partner of her Bed and Kingdom: So that upon this, immediately the whole State became divided; on the Husband's ſide were the inclinations of the Nation; for the Adulterer, the Queen's Luſt and Violence; from whence proceeded

a Civil

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a Civil War among themſelves; for *Cartiſmandua* by her Stratagems had intercepted the Brother and Kinſman of *Venutius:* whence thoſe of his party were the more provoked; meer ſhame egging them on, leſt they ſhould be ſubject to the command of a Woman*:* whereupon a ſtrong Party of the choiceſt Troops Invade her Kingdom, which being foreſeen; and certain *Cohorts* being ſent to her aſſiſtance, they fought a ſharp Battel, whoſe beginning though doubtful, yet the Concluſion proved proſperous, thô the Legion which *Ceſſius Naſica* Commanded, fought with different Succeſs.

L

Hiſtor. III.

But *Tacitus* tells us in another place, that *Venutius* ſending for more Supplies (I ſuppoſe from his own Kingdom,) as alſo by a general defection of the *Brigantes* themſelves, brought *Cartiſmandua* into extream hazard; ſo that ſhe was forced to ſeek Aid of the *Romans*, whoſe *Cohorts*, though in diverſe Battels they freed the Queen from danger, yet was the Kingdom ſtill left to *Venutius*, and the War continued on the *Romans*: I ſuppoſe *Tacitus* means this, during the times of all other Lieutenants, though not expreſly mentioned by him; for he tells us in his Life of *Agricola*, That *Veranius* ſucceeded *Didius*, and dying within the Year, that then *Suetonius Paulinus* found aſſairs proſperous for the firſt Two Years: yet it ſeems could not drive *Venutius* out of his Kingdom. But thô *Tacitus* afterwards in the Third Book of his Hiſtories relates this Story of *Cartiſmandua*, as if it had fallen out in the time of *Vitellius*, and that the Diſcord and Civil Wars which then happened in the *Roman* Empire, had encouraged the *Britains* to take Arms under the Command of *Venutius*; yet it is evident from what he hath already ſaid in his *Annals*, that this War with *Venutius* muſt have been begun in *Nero*'s time, ſince *Didius* was the firſt Lieutenant in *Britain*, who ſent any aſſiſtance to *Cartiſmandua*; and who muſt be ſuppoſed to have been dead, or remov'd ſome time before the Death of *Nero*; or elſe there would be no room left for his two Succeſſors above mentioned; the latter of which ended his Government with the Reign of *Vitellius*.

Annal. [illegible].

But to return to our Hiſtory, it is certain that *Veranius* the Succeſſor of *A. Didius* did little, except his waſting the *Silures* by many ſmall Incurſions; being hindred by Death from carrying the War any further. A Man of great reputation for his Diſcipline, but, as appears by his laſt Words in his Teſtament, guilty of manifeſt Vanity and Ambition; for after many things ſpoken in Flattery of *Nero*, he ſaid that he would have ſubjected all, *viz.* *Britain*, to him, if he might have lived but two Years longer.

Ibid. c. 38.

After him *Paulinus Suetonius* governed *Britain*, being in Reputation and Military Skill a Commander equal to *Corbulo*; but ſince in *Paulinus*'s Time the *Romans* received ſo great a blow in *Britain*, Let us take *Tacitus*'s account of it.

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This General deſiring to equal *Corbulo*'s glory in recovering *Armenia*, by taming the *Britiſh* Rebels; endeavoured to Conquer the Iſland *Mona* (now called *Angleſey*), ſtrong in People and a Receptacle of Fugitives. To which end he built many flat bottomed Veſſels, for that ſhallow and uncertain Shore*:* his Foot thus waſted over, his Horſe waded, or ſwom, where thick upon the Strand ſtood ſeveral groſs bands of Men well Armed; many Women like Furies running to and fro in diſmal Habits, with their Hair hanging looſe about their Shoulders, held Torches in their Hands: The *Druids* (who were their Prieſts, of whom we have

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ſpoken in another place) with Hands liſt up to Heaven, ſtood m uttering direful Imprecations: All which ſo aſtoniſh'd the Soldiers with the Novelty of the Sight; that at firſt they yielded themſelves, without any Reſiſtance to their Enemies Blows; but then being encourag'd by the Exhortations of their General, and encouraging one another, that they ſhould not fear this Womaniſh, Phanatick Rout, they led on the Enſigns; and routing all they met, ~~overturn'd~~ them into their own Fires. flung After this, a Garriſon was impos'd upon the Conquer'd; and the Groves, ſacred to their cruel Superſtitions, were cut down; for they look'd upon it as piece of Religion to ſacrifice Captives, and to conſult the Gods by inſpecting Humane Entrails. But whilſt *Suetonius* was thus in Action, Word is brought him, that a ſudden Defection had happen'd in his Province; the Occaſion of which is thus farther related by our Author.

* *Praſutagus*, King of the *Icenians*, abounding in Wealth, had left *Cæſar* Co-heir with his two Daughters, thereby hoping to have ſecur'd from Wrong both his Kingdom, and his Family; which fell out far otherwiſe: For, under Colour to Overſee and take Poſſeſſion of the Emperor's new Inheritance, his Kingdom became a Prey to the Centurions; his Houſe to ravenous Officers, his Wife *Boadicia* being violated with Stripes, and his Daughters raviſh'd: And, as if the *Romans* had gotten the whole Kingdom as a Legacy, the cheifeſt Men of the *Icenians* are turn'd out of their ancient Eſtates, and thoſe of the Royal Family treated like Slaves. By which Indignities, and for fear of greater Evils when they ſhould be reduc'd into the Form of a Province, they took Arms. The *Trinobantes* were alſo moved to rebel, whilſt others who were not as yet reduced to Servitude conſpir'd with thoſe that were, to regain their former Liberty. This proceeded from a cruel Hatred againſt the Veterane Soldiers, who being planted in the late Colony of *Camalodunum*, drove Men from their Houſes and Eſtates in the Country, calling them Slaves and Captives: The other Soldiers alſo encouraging this Violence of the Veteranes, as well through a Likeneſs in Manners, as through an Hope of the ſame Licenſe. To which may be alſo added, That the Temple dedicated to *Claudius* was look'd upon as a Badge of their Eternal Slavery; and the Prieſts ordain'd for it, under a Shew of Religion, ſeiz'd upon divers Men's Eſtates. Nor did it ſeem difficult to deſtroy a Colony, defended by no Fortifications; which was but little fore-ſeen by the *Roman* Commanders, who rather had ſtudied their Pleaſure, than Safety.

* Tacit. lib. 14.

To all which Provocations, † *Dion* alſo adds, That *Catus Decianus* the Procurator, endeavour'd to bring all Men's Goods under the Compaſs of a new Confiſcation; by diſavowing the Remiſſion of *Claudius* himſelf. Laſtly, *Seneca* (only in his Books a Philoſopher) having drawn in the *Britains* to borrow of him vaſt Sums, upon fair Promiſes of an eaſie Loan; and for Re-payment, to take their own Time; all on a ſudden compell'd them to pay both Principal and Intereſt at once, with great Extortion: Which you will find in * *Tacitus*, expreſſed at large, in a long Speech by the injur'd *Britains*.

† Lib. LXII.

* *In Vita Agric.* cap. 14.

Thus provok'd by the heavieſt Sufferings, and invited by Opportunity in the Abſence of *Paulinus*, the † *Icenians*, and by their Example the *Trinobantes*, and as many more as hated Servitude roſe up in Arms; but of theſe enſuing Troubles many foregoing Signs appear'd, among which the Image of *Victory* at *Camalodunum* fell down of it ſelf, with the Face backward, as if ſhe had turn'd to the Enemy: And certain Women, in a

† *Annal.* Lib. XIV. Cap. 31.

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kind of Ecſtaſie, foretold great Calamities to come: In the Council-Houſe by Night, ſtrange Noiſes were heard; and in the Theatre, hideous Howlings; but in the River *Thames*, horrid Appearances were ſeen, as of a *Colony* deſtroy'd, but what theſe were, *Dion* tells us more plainly, *viz.* That in that River there were diſcover'd the Ruins of Houſes under Water: Beſides, the Ocean ſeem'd of a bloody hue, whilſt at the Ebb appear'd the Shapes of human Bodies left upon the Sands: All which as it rais'd in the *Britains* new Courage, ſo in the *Romans* it cauſed unwonted Fears: Therefore ſince *Suetonius* was now far off, they deſired from *Catus Decianus* ſome Aſſiſtance; but he ſent them ſcarce above Two Hundred Men, and thoſe ill Arm'd.

There was within the Town a moderate Garriſon of Soldiers, who truſted in the Strength of the Temple; but ſome who were conſcious of the intended Rebellion, had perplex'd their Councils, and hindred them from drawing any Line about the Place; nor were the Old Women and Children turn'd out, and the Fighting Men (as they ought to have done) only left behind. Thus the *Romans* being ſecure, as in the midſt of Peace, were circumvented by a Multitude of Barbarians, ſo that all Places were quickly Spoil'd and Burnt at the very firſt Aſſault; the Temple, in which the Soldiers had gotten together, held out Two Days, but was at laſt taken. The *Britains* being thus Victors, marched out to meet *Petillius Cerialis*, Lieutenant of the Ninth Legion, then coming to their Succour, they routed his Legion, and killed all the Foot; but *Cerialis* with the Horſe eſcaped into the Camp, which was defended by the Trenches. *Catus Decianus* the Procurator, whoſe Covetouſneſs, and the hatred of the Province that enſued upon it, had been the Cauſe of this War, fled like a Coward into *Gaul*.

Ibid. cap. 33.

But *Suetonius* not diſmay'd with this ſad News, marched through his Enemy's Country to *London*, which, thô not honoured with the Title of a *Colony*, yet was then famous for the great Concourſe of Merchants, and plenty of all Proviſions; where being arriv'd, he was doubtful whether or no he ſhould make it the Seat of War; but having conſider'd the ſmall number of his Soldiers, and taking warning from *Cerialis*, he reſolved to preſerve the whole by the loſs of this one City: So that he was not moved by the Crys and Tears of thoſe who implored his Protection, from giving his Men the Signal of Departure; only taking thoſe into his Army, who would or could march along with him; they who, through weakneſs of Sex, or Age, or love of the Place, ſtay'd behind, were deſtroy'd by the Enemy, as was alſo *Verulam*, a *Roman Municipium*, or Free City: For the Barbarians omitting Forts and Caſtles, pillag'd the richeſt Places firſt, and then went eaſily forward to others more eminent for Strength: So that, as it afterwards appear'd, about Seventy Thouſand Citizens with their Confederates in the Places above-mentioned, loſt their Lives: None might be ſpared, none ranſom'd; but they endeavour'd by Gibbets, Fire, Croſſes, and all other ways of Slaughter, to return thoſe Puniſhments they had ſuffered, and prevent any Revenge that was to be taken upon them.

Dion here alſo adds, That the *Roman* Wives and Virgins being hung up naked, had their Breaſts cut off and ſow'd to their Mouths, that even dead they might be ſeen to eat their own Fleſh; whilſt the *Britains* Feaſted in the Temple of *Andate*, their Goddeſs of *Victory*.

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† *Suetonius* having then with him the Fourteenth Legion, with the Standard Bearers of the Twentieth, which, together with the Auxiliaries, made in all about Ten Thouſand Men ; reſolving to lay aſide all Delays, prepar'd to joyn Battel, having choſen a Place acceſſable, only by a narrow Lane, and defended behind by a Wood ; knowing well enough that the Enemies could do nothing but upon his Front, and that the open Plain was without danger of an Ambuſcade : he drew up the Legionary Soldiers in cloſe Order, and being defended on each ſide with the light Arm'd Men, and the Horſe that made both the Wings. But the *Britiſh* Forces being drawn up here and there in ſmaller Companies and Squadrons, appear'd a great Multitude; being ſo fierce and confident of Victory, that they carried their Wives along with them in Wagons to behold it, which were placed in the outward Borders of the Field.

† *Tacit. Ibid. chap.* 34.

Let us here alſo add what * *Dion* ſays of *Boadicia*, the Widow of *Praſutagus*, who chiefly ſtired up and perſwaded the *Britains* to make this War upon the *Romans*. *Boadicia* (ſays he) was a *Britiſh* Lady of a Royal Race, who did not only Govern with great Authority in Peace, but alſo order'd the whole War : Her Diſpoſition was more Maſculine than became a Woman, being of a tall Stature, and a ſevere Countenance, having a harſh Voice and yellow Hair, which being let looſe, hung diſhevel'd below her Waſt, wearing a great Gold Chain about her Neck, and having on a looſe Coat wrought with divers Colours, and a thick Mantle button'd over it, holding a Spear in her Hand. Having now gotten together an Army of an Hundred Thouſand Men, which were drawn up ready to fight, the Queen getting up on a high heap of Earth, made a Speech to her Soldiers, which, ſince it is tedious and moſt likely to be made only to ſet out the Eloquence and Invention of the Author, I ſhall paſs over, and ſhall rather give you what ſhe is ſuppos'd to have ſaid, out of || *Tacitus* ; as being ſhorter and more to the Purpoſe ; who relates it thus.

* *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid. cap.* 35.

Boadicia carried her Daughters with her in a Chariot, in which being driven about to every Nation that compos'd her Army, ſhe ſpoke to this Effect : " That ſince it was no new thing for the *Britains* to make a " War under the Conduct of a Woman, therefore for her part, thô " deſcended of Noble Anceſtors, ſhe ſought not ſo much to Revenge " the loſs of her Kingdom and Treaſures, but rather (as one of the " Common People) the loſs of her Liberty, the bruiſing her Body with " Stripes, and the violated Chaſtity of her Daughters. That the *Roman* Luſt was ſuch, that they did not leave either old Age or Virginity undefil'd : That the Gods had hitherto favour'd her juſt Revenge, " one Legion being already cut off, which dared to fight; the reſt having hid themſelves in their Camps ſought how to run away, as not " being able to endure the Shouts and Clamours of ſo many Thouſands, " much leſs their Power : So that if they would but conſider their own " great Forces, they ought either to overcome or die in that Battel.

* Neither was *Suetonius* ſilent in ſo great a Danger ; and although he truſted much in his Soldiers Valour, yet thought good to give them ſome Encouragement, to this effect ; That they ſhould deſpiſe the empty, noiſy Threats of thoſe Barbarians ; That they beheld more Women, than Fighting Men among them ; That being unwarlike, and unarm'd, they would preſently give way, as ſoon as they felt the ſharp Swords and Valour of their Conquerors, by whom they had been ſo often routed ; and

* *Ibid. cap.* 36.

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† *Tacit.* c. 37. † Yet all the Legion ſtood unmov'd, keeping that ſtrait Entrance as a Defence before them: But when the Enemy had approached nearer, and had ſpent their Darts, the Legion ſallied forth all at once upon them, in the form of a Wedge. The like Aſſault was alſo made by the Auxiliaries; whilſt the Horſe, with their Spears, routed all that ſtood before them: The reſt turn'd their Backs and fled, but could hardly eſcape, becauſe their own Wagons had cloſed up all the Avenues: But the Soldiers gave no Quarter, not ſo much as to the Women; and the very Draught-Cattel being run thorough, increas'd the Heap of the dead Carcaſes. This Victory was very eminent; and the Glory of it equall'd thoſe of Ancient Times, ſince it is related, that not leſs than 80000 *Britains* were then ſlain; but of the *Roman* Soldiers, not above 400, and about as many wounded. *Boadicia* ended her Life by Poyſon: And *Pænius Poſthumus*, the Commander of the Second Legion, when he heard the good Succeſs of thoſe of the Fourteenth and Twentieth, ſince he had defrauded his own Men of the like Glory; and had alſo, contrary to the Rules of War, refuſed to obey the Orders of his General, run himſelf through with his own Sword.

The Army, after a general Review, ſtill kept the Field, to make an end of the War; and *Suetonius* increaſed his Forces with 2000 Legionary Soldiers, and 8 Cohorts of Auxiliaries, together with 1000 Horſe ſent out of *Germany*; by whoſe coming, the Ninth Legion was recruited: Whereupon, all thoſe Cohorts, with ſome others, were put into Winter-Quarters: Whatſoever Nations continued either Enemies, or Neuters, were now deſtroy'd with Fire and Sword. But nothing afflicted them ſo much as Hunger; having been careleſs to ſow Corn, becauſe they reckon'd upon the *Roman* Proviſions as their own; all their Hands being employ'd in the War. But theſe fierce Nations were the leſs inclin'd to treat of Peace, becauſe *Julius Claſſicianus*, who ſucceeded *Catus*, differing with *Suetonius*, their private Animoſities hinder'd the publick Good; the former giving out, that a new Lieutenant was to be expected, without the Rancour of a Conqueror, and who would treat thoſe that ſubmitted to them with Mercy and Clemency: Having alſo written to *Rome*, that there was no End to be expected of this War, unleſs *Suetonius* were remov'd; attributing all Miſcarriages to his ill Conduct; and any happy Succeſs, to the good Fortune of the Commonwealth.

* Ibid. cap. 39. * *Polycletus* therefore, one of *Nero*'s Freed-men, is ſent to inſpect the State of *Britain*, with great Hopes that he might by his Authority, not only procure an Agreement between the Lieutenant and the Procurator, but alſo work the Minds of the Barbarians to a Peace. *Polycletus*, after having been burthenſome, both to *Italy* and *Gaul*, with his great Retinue and having croſs'd the Ocean, did not omit to become terrible alſo to the *Roman* Soldiers. This gave Matter of Sport to the Enemy, who then

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enjoying Liberty, had not yet known the Power of theſe Freed-men; but wonder'd that ſo great a General, and an Army who had fought ſuch Battels, could obey Slaves. But though all things were ſoften'd, and fairly repreſented on the General's behalf; yet becauſe (whilſt he was otherwiſe employ'd in Affairs) he had loſt a few Galleys near the Shore; he was commanded, though the War yet laſted, to deliver up the Army to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who was then juſt out of his Conſulſhip; who, neither provoking the Enemy, nor being provoked by them, gave his own Slothfulneſs the honourable Title of Peace.

* But *Tacitus* alſo, in the Life of *Agricola*, having given a ſhort Relation of this War with *Boadicia*, (whom he there calls *Voadicia*) owns, that *Britain* had been loſt if *Paulinus* had not ſpeedily come to its Aſſiſtance, moſt of which he reſtor'd by one Battel to its ancient Subjection; though many ſtill continued in Arms, whom either the Guilt of Rebellion, or the Fear of the Lieutenant, ſtill kept out; who, though he was a worthy Man, yet carried himſelf too haughtily toward thoſe that ſubmitted; and, as a Revenger of his own Injuries, impoſed too hard Terms upon the Vanquiſhed: Therefore *Petronius Turpilianus* was ſent in his ſtead, as being more exorable; who, as one altogether ignorant of the Enemy's Failings, would be more eaſie to their Repentance; but all former Differences being compoſed, he durſt do nothing farther; and ſo deliver'd the Province to *Trebellius Maximus*; who being a Man of an unactive Temper, and no Experience in Military Affairs, govern'd the Province by a Softneſs and Complaiſance; yet nevertheleſs, he continued ſtill in the Government till the Reign of *Vitellius*.

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But † *Tacitus* here farther tells us, That the *Britains* had now learnt to approve of the pleaſant Vices of the *Romans*, whilſt the Intervention of their Civil Wars gave them a juſt Excuſe for their own Cowardice.

But one thing is by no means to be paſſed by without particular Notice; that it was in the Reign of one of theſe Emperors, either *Claudius*, or *Nero*, though uncertain in which, that *Gildas*, as do divers other later Authors, ſuppoſes the Goſpel to have been firſt preached in this Iſland; though by whom, is alſo unknown, no ancient Church-Hiſtorian making any mention of it: And indeed, there is much difference in the Accounts of latter Writers about it; ſome attributing it to St. *James*, the Son of *Zebedee*; ſome of the Modern *Greek* Eccleſiaſtical Writers, to *Simon Zelotes*, or St. *Peter*; others of them, to St. *Paul*, who is ſaid to have Ordain'd one *Ariſtobulus*, (afterwards a Martyr) to be a Biſhop in *Britain*; as you may ſee at large in the firſt Chapter of Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s *Antiquities of the* Britiſh *Churches*. But though he there underſtands thoſe Paſſages in *Gildas*, where he ſpeaks of *Chriſt*, the true Sun's affording his Rays, *i. e.* the Knowledge of his Precepts, to this Iſland, then ſhivering with Icy Cold, as if it referr'd to the very firſt Preaching of the Goſpel, in the Reign of *Tiberius*; yet the learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, now Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*, hath very ingeniouſly ſhewn us in his learned Work, called * *Origines Britanicæ*, that the Word *intereà*, *in the mean time*, (with which *Gildas* begins this Diſcourſe) is to be referred to the Times before-mention'd by him, (*viz.*) that fatal Victory over *Boadicia* and the *Britains*, by *Suetonius Paulinus*; and the Slavery they afterwards underwent in *Nero*'s Reign. So that the Doctor ſuppoſes *Gildas* to ſpeak of a double Shining of the Goſpel; one more general to the *Roman* World, the other more particular to this Iſland: The former, he ſays, was in the End of

* Cap. 16.

† Ibid.

* Cap. 1.

Anno Dom. LXIX.

Tiberius's Reign, the latter was *interea*, in the time that is between *Plautius*'s coming over in the Time of *Claudius*, and the abovementioned Battel between *Boadicia* and *Suetonius*; and *this* the *Dr.* thinks to be moſt probably the Time which *Gildas* has there pitched upon, for the firſt Preaching of the Goſpel in this Iſland. Since therefore there is ſo great a difference between thoſe Authors, who have taken upon them exactly to aſſign the time when it was firſt Preached (as you may find by the Citations given us by the ſaid Archbiſhop, it were to no purpoſe croud this Hiſtory with thoſe uncertain Relations, and therefore I ſhall refer you to the ſaid Learned Work, if you ſhall deſire any further Satisfaction.

To which period of Time may be alſo referred the Story of *Joſeph* of *Arimathæa*'s and his Twelve Companions coming to Preach the Goſpel in *Britain*, which, thô it wholly depends upon ſome Legends and Traditions of the Monks of the Abbey of *Glaſtenbury*, for no ſuch thing is to be found in *Gildas*, *Nennius*, or any ancient *Britiſh* Author; yet ſince they have been ſo commonly receiv'd, it deſerves a particular Notice, thô the ſaid *Archbiſhop* in the * Book but now cited alſo tells us, That he believes thoſe Stories to be not antienter than the coming in of the *Normans*, as ſmelling plainly of the Superſtition of thoſe latter Ages: For *Will.* of *Malmsbury* in his Treatiſe concerning the Antiquities of the Church of *Glaſtenbury*, is the firſt that mentions it; when drawing its Hiſtory from the *Apoſtles*, he relates, that St *Philip* coming into *France* to Preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, and being willing to ſpread it further, choſe Twelve of his Diſciples, over whom he ſet his dear Friend *Joſeph* of *Arimathæa*, and ſent them to Preach the Word in *Britain*; and that coming over hither in the Sixty-third Year after Chriſt's Paſſion, he faithfully Preach'd the Goſpel; but a *Britiſh* King (whom he does not name) hearing things ſo new and unuſual, utterly refus'd to hearken to their Preaching, nor would change the Traditions of his Forefathers: yet becauſe they came from far, and ſhew'd great Simplicity of Life, he granted them a certain Iſland to inhabit, encompaſſed with Woods and Marſhes, called by the Inhabitants *Iniſwitrin*; where, by a Viſion of the Angel *Gabriel*, they built a ſmall Church, making the Walls with Wattles, in Honour of God and the Virgin *Mary*, where theſe Twelve Holy Men ſpent their Time in Devotions to God and the *Bleſſed Virgin*, by Faſting and Praying. Theſe things he ſays he had received from a Charter of St. *Patrick*'s, as alſo from the Writings of the Antients; but that Charter is by the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* prov'd to be a meer Forgery of the Monks of *Glaſtenbury*: And as for ancient Writers, thô *Malmsbury* there cites *Freculphus* as an Author, who relates *Philip*'s ſending *Joſeph* hither, yet the Archbiſhop there ſhews us, that this Author whom *Malmsbury* cites, had only taken a Paſſage from *Iſidore*'s Book concerning the Fathers of both Teſtaments: But in both thoſe Authors it is only thus, That *Philip* Preached *Chriſt* to the *Gauls*, and Converted many Barbarous Nations lying near the Sea, to the Knowledge of the Goſpel; but ſays not one word of *Joſeph*'s coming hither. So that, thô Cardinal *Baronius* hath placed this coming over of *Joſeph* in his Annals, and ſays, That he took it from a Manuſcript Hiſtory of *England*, which was in the *Vatican* Library; yet the Archbiſhop proves in another Place, that Hiſtory to have been written in Modern Times. So that all the *Romiſh* Writers on this Subject have borrow'd their Legends one from another, as the firſt of them did from our *William* of *Malmsbury*.

* *Chap. III.*

Anno Dom. LXIX.

The ſaid Archbiſhop there likewiſe tells us, as does alſo Sir *Henry Spelman* in the Firſt Volume of his *Britiſh* Councils, That in their time there was kept at *Wells*, in the Houſe of Sir *Thomas Hughs*, Knight, a brazen Plate, which was formerly faſtned to a Pillar of *Glaſſenbury* Church, wherein was Engraven this Story with divers Additions, too long to be here ſet down: Therefore I refer you to the ſaid Authors Works, where you may find it word for word, with the draught of it, as it was taken from the Original, where you may alſo ſee that he there conclude; from the modernneſs of the Character, as well as divers other Circumſtances in the Inſcription it ſelf, that it could not be above Three Hundred Years old, and ſo plainly betrays the Forgery of thoſe Monks, who ſet it up, and contriv'd the Story of St. *David*'s Hand being pierced through with our Saviour's Finger, as it ſtands related in the ſaid Inſcription. But whoſoever is not ſatisfied with this, that is here ſet down, but deſires farther Satisfaction in the uncertainty of this Story of *Joſeph* of *Arimathæa*, may, if they pleaſe, conſult the ſaid Doctor's above-cited Treatiſe; where you will find all the Authorities that have been further made uſe of for this Story, learnedly confuted.

Anno Dom. LXIX.

The ſhort Reign of *Galba* affords us nothing relating to *Britiſh* Affairs, ~~no more~~ than that of *Otho*; only, that during this laſt Emperor's Reign, [*] *Tacitus* relates, That whilſt *Trebellius Maximus* govern'd *Britain*, he fell into the Hatred and Contempt of his Army, for his ſordid Covetouſneſs; and that this Averſion againſt him, was heightned by *Roſcius Cælius*, Legate of the Twentieth Legion, an old Enemy of his, inſomuch, that oftentimes by flight and hiding himſelf, he eſcaped the Fury of his Army: and that thus debaſing himſelf in a mean and abject manner, he exercis'd a precarious Authority, as if he and his Army ~~had~~ had agreed, that they ſhould enjoy a Licentiouſneſs of Living, and he his own Eaſe and Safety. But when the Civil Wars broke out between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, then began *Trebellius* and *Cælius* to fly into greater and more open Diſcords: *Trebellius* laying to *Cælius*'s Charge the ſpreading of Sedition, and drawing the Soldiers from their Diſcipline and Obedience; whilſt on the other ſide, *Cælius* upbraided him of defrauding and Pillaging the Legions. Amidſt thoſe ſhameful Contentions, the Modeſty of the Army was ſo Corrupted, and their Inſolence grown to that height, that the Auxiliary Forces ſtuck not publickly to ſpeak ill of their General, and moſt of the Cohorts openly deſerting him, went over to *Cælius*. *Trebellius* being thus forſaken, preſently fled to *Vitellius*, who being then Emperor, received him but coldly, without Reſtoring him to his Command. After his Departure the Province remain'd for a time quiet, though without a Lieutenant; the Commanders of the Legions Governing with equal Authority; yet *Cælius* was moſt powerful, becauſe moſt daring.

Anno Dom. LXX.

But *Vitellius* not long after he came to the Empire, ſent hither *Vectius Bolanus* to ſucceed *Trebellius*: And it alſo appears by ſeveral paſſages in *Tacitus*, that no ſmall number of *Britiſh* Forces were Commanded over Sea, to ſerve in thoſe Bloody Civil Wars between *Otho* and *Vitellius*; eſpecially when he and *Veſpaſian* contended for the Empire; and particularly the Fourteenth Legion, called the Conquerors of *Britain*, having been removed from hence by *Nero*, to the *Caſpian* War; were again ſent into *Britain* by *Vitellius*, but recalled by *Mutianus*, on the behalf of *Veſpatian*.

But

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[*] *Ibid.*

[†] *Tacit. Hiſtor. Lib. II. c. 65. Id. vit. Agricolæ, chap. 16.*

Anno Dom. LXX.

But *Bolanus* during the Civil Wars, was not able to keep the diſcipline, much leſs to attempt any thing upon the *Britains*; ſince the Factions continued as great in the Army, as in the time of *Trebellius*; only with this difference, that *Bolanus* was Innocent, and not hated for any publick Vices; and carried himſelf ſo obligingly, that though he had not the Authority of a General, yet he Ruled by the Affections of the Souldiers. But now *Vitellius* fearing the power of *Veſpaſian*, whoſe Forces began daily to encreaſe; wrote to *Bolanus* for ſupplies: but he deferred it, partly becauſe the *Britains* were not ſufficiently quieted; ~~but~~ who taking the advantage of theſe diſſentions among the *Romans*, raiſed continually new Commotions, by the inſtigation of *Venutius*; who had hitherto carried on the War againſt the *Romans*, ever ſince they took part with his Wife *Cartiſmandua*; but chiefly becauſe the Souldiers of the Fourth Legion being incenſed againſt *Vitellius*, had ſent over privately Letters of Submiſſion to *Veſpaſian*. In this condition was *Britain*, during the Government of *Bolanus*, when *Vitellius* was depoſed about the Tenth Month of his Reign.

Anno Dom. LXXI.

Tacit. vita Agricol. 17.

Veſpaſian ſucceeded him, and as ſoon as he was declared Emperour, his great Reputation eaſily brought over the Legions in *Britain* to his Intereſt; for he had ſerved from a Youth in the *Britiſh* Wars, and being Lieutenant of the Second Legion, under *Claudius*, had fought many Battles, and taken many Towns from the *Britains*.

But as ſoon as *Veſpaſian* was acknowledged in *Britain*, as well as in the reſt of the Provinces; Famous Generals and great Armies were ſent hither, whereby the Enemies hopes were quite defeated: For the Emperor preſently ſent into *Britain*, *Petilius Cærialis* one of Conſular Dignity, as his Lieutenant; under whom Valour found not only a room to ſhow it ſelf, but alſo an Example in himſelf: For in the firſt place, he attack'd the State of the *Brigantes*, which is counted the moſt Populous in the whole Iſland, in which Expedition many Skirmiſhes happen'd, though ſometimes not without much Blood-ſhed; he taking in a great part of their Country by Conqueſt: But when *Cærialis* had indeed both eclips'd the Fame, as well as prevented the Care of a Succeſſor; *Julius Frontinus* ſucceeded him, who did as worthily ſuſtain that great Charge, being a very brave Man; he ſubdued the *Silures*, overcoming both the difficulties of Places, and the Valour of the Enemies.

Anno Dom. LXXVII.

In this State was *Britain*, when the Emperor ſent hither *Agricola* as his Lieutenant, who had learned his firſt Principles of War in *Britain*, under *Paulinus* a Mild, yet diligent General, who made him his Tent-fellow; neither did *Agricola* after the manner of ſome Young Men, turn Warfare into Wantoneſs, or made uſe of the Command of a *Tribune*, only for Pleaſure and Luxury; but made it his buſineſs to know the Province; to be known to the Army; to learn from the more Skillful; to imitate the Beſt; to undertake nothing ~~for~~ out of Vain Glory; to refuſe nothing for Fear; but at once to Act both Cautiouſly and Stoutly. For *Cærialis*, had from the beginning enured him to Labours and Dangers; and at laſt communicated a ſhare of Reputation, often times for a Tryal, giving him the Command of ſome part of the Army, and ſometimes encouraging his former Succeſs, by giving him the Command of greater Forces.

Anno Dom. LXXVIII.

This is the Character, which *Tacitus* gives us of this Great Man, whoſe Daughter he had Married, and this was the State of Affairs in *Britain*, when *Agricola* came over about *Midſummer*: When the Soldiers having laid aſide all thoughts of any Expedition, were grown ſecure, and the *Britains* on the other ſide were as watchful for Advantages, the *Ordovices* a little before the coming of this new General, had lately almoſt deſtroyed a whole Squadron of Horſe, that was Quarter'd in their Country, few eſcaping; whilſt thoſe *Britains*, who were deſirous of War, approved the Example; and others of them ~~rather~~ obſerved the Temper of the new Lieutenant: Then *Agricola*, although the Summer was ſpent, and the Souldiers diſperſed into their Winter Quarters, expecting nothing but Eaſe for the reſt of the Year; and though he conſidered the difficulties of beginning a War at that Seaſon; (moſt of his Officers thinking it ſufficient to defend what was weakeſt, and leaſt to be defended; yet he reſolved rather to obviate danger, than to expect it; ſo he gathered together ſome of the chief Legionary *Cohorts*, with a ſmall band of Auxiliaries. But becauſe the *Ordovices* durſt not come down into the Plains; he Lead the Army againſt them himſelf; that by expoſing his own perſon to equal Dangers, he might make them all a like Couragious: and having fought the *Ordovices*, he almoſt cut off their whole Nation.

But *Agricola*, knowing that reputation is chiefly gained by ſucceſs; and that as this firſt Enterprize ſucceeded, ſo it would give a countenance to thoſe that followed; He reſolved therefore to ſubdue the Iſle of *Mona*, from the Conqueſt of which *Paulinus* was recalled by the revolt of the *Britains*, as you have already heard; but wanting Ships for this Expedition, which was undertaken on the ſudden: He uſed this Policy for the Tranſporting his Men; he commanded them all to lay aſide their Baggage, ſending over firſt the chief of the Auxiliaries; who were acquainted with their ſhallows, and whoſe Countries uſe had taught them to Swim, govern their Horſes, and Fight all at once, which was executed ſo on the ſudden, that the *Britains*, who expected Fleets, and thought without Shipping nothing could attack them, were now ſurprized and daunted; ſince they believed nothing was difficult or invincible to Men, ſo reſolutely prepared for War; whereupon they deſired Peace, and delivered up the Iſland.

This ſudden Succeſs gained *Agricola* a great Reputation; eſpecially ſince he employed even his firſt Entrance into his Province, in labour and War; which by other Governours was ſpent in Ceremonies, or beſtowing of Commands; nor did he make uſe of his Proſperity for Oſtentation, or call this Expedition a Conqueſt; but only that he had reduced thoſe to Obedience, who had been before ſubdued; neither did he ſo much as adorn his Letters to *Rome* with Laurels: (as the cuſtom was) Yet even by this, ſlighting of Fame and Reputation, he at the ſame time encreaſed it; all Men admiring that, having ſuch great preſumptions of future ſucceſs, he could thus conceal ſuch noble Actions. *Ibid. cap.* 19 Having thus overcome the *Britains*, the next thing he ſet himſelf about, was to underſtand the Minds and Inclinations of the People; having learned by long experience, that little good was to be done by force, whilſt open injuries and oppreſſions were permitted; therefore he reſolved to cut up this War by the very Roots, ſo beginning with his Domeſticks, he firſt of all reformed his own Family, which is not leſs difficult to ſome than to Govern a Province; he acted nothing of publick concern

by

Anno Dom. LXXVIII.

by his Freedmen or Servants; nor did he nominate his Officers by his own private inclinations; nor on the bare recommendations, or intreaties of others; but ſtill choſe the moſt Vertuous and Faithful; he would both know and do all things himſelf; as for ſmall faults he pardoned them, but puniſhed great ones; nor was he always ſatisfied with puniſhment, but more often with Repentance; putting into Offices and Commands, rather ſuch who would not offend at all, than puniſh them when they had: He alſo rendered the payment of Corn and other Tributes more eaſie by the equality of the Taxation; cutting off thoſe exactions which were invented for private gain, and which were often more grievous, than the Taxes themſelves: for the People had been compelled to attend at the publick Granaries, which were on purpoſe kept locked againſt them; and when opened, the Publicans obliged them to take greater quantities of Corn than their neceſſities required, and ~~th~~at an ~~at~~ extravagant rate, and which they were often conſtrained to ſell again at a lower price to make Money for other neceſſaries, or the payment of their Tribute; the Purveyors alſo commanding them, when they pleaſed to carry it not to the neareſt, but remoteſt Markets, compounding with ſuch as would be excuſed: thus cauſing a ſcarcity where there was none indeed, they made a particular gain to themſelves: the reforming theſe abuſes in the very Firſt Year of his Government, brought Peace into Reputation; which either by the careleſneſs or connivances of his Predeceſſors, had hitherto been not leſs dreadful than War.

Geoffrey of *Monmouth*, and thoſe that follow him do about this time make *Arviragus* a *Britiſh* King, ~~now~~ to have reigned in ſome part of this Iſland; and then dying, that he was ſucceeded by one *Marius*, whom ſome will have to be the ſame with *Gogidunus*; all which being as uncertain, as whether there was ever any ſuch a Man or not; I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to diſpute, ſince this *Arviragus*, whom they ſuppoſe to have been his Father, lived in the Reign of *Domitian*, as I ſhall prove when I come to it.

Anno Dom. LXXIX.

Ibid. cap. 20.

About this time dyed the Emperor *Veſpaſian*, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Titus*, who rather exceeded, than equal'd his Father in Valour and Worth: He continued *Agricola* in the Government of *Britain*: who when Summer was once come drew together his Army, praiſing the good Diſcipline of his Souldiers, whilſt they keept cloſe to their Enſigns, and puniſhing the Straglers; he himſelf always chuſing the places whereon to Encamp; and before hand ſearched the Woods, and Sounded the Fords they were to paſs; by which means he not only hindred the Enemy from taking any reſt, but ſo continually allarmed them with freſh Excurſions, that he prevented the pillaging of the *Roman* Territories: Having thus ſufficiently terrified them; he then began by ſparing them to ſhow them ſome allurements to Peace; by which means many Cities that before ſtood upon Terms, now laid down their Arms, gave Hoſtages, and received Garriſons; which were all placed with ſuch care and foreſight, and in ſuch places of advantage, that never any of them were attempted; whereas before no new fortified place in all *Britain* eſcaped unattacked.

Ib. c. 20.

The following Winter was wholly ſpent in a wiſe and profitable deſign; for to the end, that the *Britains* who then lived rude and ſcattered, and ſo apter to make War, might be accuſtomed to pleaſure, and living at eaſe; he privately encouraged, and publickly promoted the building

of

Anno Dom. LXXIX.

of Temples, Houſes, and Places for Publick Aſſemblies; commending the Readineſs of ſome, and quickening the Slowneſs of others, whilſt Emulation of Honour wrought more than Compulſion among them. He alſo cauſed the Noble-Men's Sons to be inſtructed in the Liberal Sciences: And by commending the Wits of *Britain* before theſe of *Gaul*, he brought them, who before hated the *Roman* Language, to grow in love with the Latin Eloquence. And now came the *Roman* Garb to be in faſhion; and the Gown no Stranger among them. Thus came in by degrees all the Allurements of Vice and Voluptuous Living; as Porticoes, Baths, with the Luxury of Banquets; which was by the Ignorant called Good Breeding, and Civility; when, indeed, it was but a Badge of their own Slavery.

Anno Dom. LXXX.

† Ibid. cap. 22.

hitherto unknown to the Romans

†In the Third Year's Expedition, *Agricola* diſcover'd ~~new~~ Nations, waſting the Countries as far as the Frith called the *Taus*. Thus by the Terrour of his Marches he ſo aw'd the Enemy, that though his Army was much haraſs'd by bad Weather, yet durſt they not attack him; ſo that he had time enough to build Forts: And thoſe that were skilful took notice, that no other General did more prudently chuſe Places fit to be fortified. So that no Caſtle of *Agricola*'s was ever taken by Force, or deſerted: But from theſe, being well provided with Proviſions for a Years Siege, his Men made frequent Sallies. So ~~that~~ much the Enemy, who before uſed in Winter to re-gain what in Summer they had loſt, were now alike in both Seaſons ſtraitned and kept ſhort. Neither did *Agricola*, as too covetous of Honour, attribute to himſelf things done by others; ſince every Officer or Centurion had him for an impartial Witneſs, as well as Judge of his Actions; And though he were taxed by ſome, as too bitter in his Reproofs, yet muſt it be granted, that as he was gentle to the Good, ſo he was moroſe to the bad; but his Anger did not laſt long: Nor needed one to have fear'd his Silence, or Reſervedneſs; for he thought it much better to diſpleaſe a Man, than hate him.

The Emperor *Titus*, for theſe great Atchievments of *Agricola*, was fifteen times ſaluted *Imperator*, or General: And the Honour he got by the Actions of ſo great a Commander, he rewarded with Triumphal Ornaments. Not long after which, *Titus* (ſtiled for his Goodneſs, *Deliciæ humani generis*, *The Delight of Mankind*) dyed (as was ſuſpected) by Poyſon.

Anno Dom. LXXXI.

Domitian, his Brother (a Man as wicked as the other was vertuous) ſucceeded ~~to~~ him. It was now the Fourth Year of *Agricola*'s Government in *Britain*; which was alſo ſpent in ſecuring what the Summer before had been gotten in this Iſland: And had the Courage of his Soldiers been anſwerable to the Conduct of the General, and the Fortune of the Commonwealth, he had now reach'd the utmoſt Bounds of *Britain*; for *Glota* and *Bodotria* (now *Dunbritain* and *Edinburgh*-Fryths) running from both Seas, far into the Continent, and being diſ-joyn'd by a narrow Neck of Land; theſe, together with all the Creeks and Havens on this ſide of the *Streight*, were held by *Roman* Gariſons, and the Enemies, as it were, confin'd in another Iſland.

Anno Dom. LXXXII.

* Ibid. cap. 24.

* In the Fifth Year of his Government, and as ſoon as the Seaſon would admit paſſing over the *Bodotrian* Frith, he ſubdued divers Nations, (until then unknown) in frequent and proſperous Battels; placing Gariſons in that part of *Britain* that lies over againſt *Ireland*, though more in hopes of a new Conqueſt, than for fear of any Invaſion: For *Ireland* lying in the midſt, between *Britain* and *Spain*, lies convenient for the

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Anno Dom. LXXXII. *Gallick* Sea, and would have united the vaſt Members of the Empire, and render'd them highly uſeful to each other. This Iſland, if compared to *Britain*, is much leſs; yet exceeds all the Iſlands of the *Mediterranian* Sea: The Soil and Climate, together with the Diſpoſitions and Mannners of the Inhabitants, being not much different from thoſe of the *Britains*; but its Havens are better known to Traders, by reaſon of its greater Commerce. *Agricola* had receiv'd one of the petty Kings of this Nation, who had been expell'd by a Domeſtick Sedition; and retain'd him under a Shew of Friendſhip, till a fit Occaſion. *Tacitus* further ſays, That *Agricola* told him, that he believ'd *Ireland* might be both conquer'd and kept with only one Legion; and that it might be uſeful even againſt *Britain*, if the *Roman* Arms were extended thither, and Liberty were once, as it were, baniſh'd quite out of ſight.

This, though it be a Digreſſion from our Hiſtory of *Britain*, yet I thought good not to omit, becauſe it gives the beſt and moſt particular Account we have in any ancient Hiſtorian concerning *Ireland*: As alſo, the Reaſon why ſo great a General as *Agricola* thought it worth his Conqueſt.

Anno Dom. LXXXIII. † Ibid.cap.24. † But the next Summer, which was the Sixth Year of his Command, he firſt diſcover'd by his Fleet thoſe large Countries lying beyond the *Bodotrian* Frith; and Incurſions of all thoſe Nations lying beyond it, were much fear'd by him. This Fleet was by *Agricola* alſo made uſe of, to aſſiſt his Land-Forces; and therefore ſtill follow'd him, making a dreadful Shew as it ſail'd along. The War was thus carry'd on, both by Sea and Land; Nay, often in the ſame Camp, the Foot, with the Horſe-men, and Marine Forces, would meet, and make merry together; where each in his Turn would extol their own Feats and Adventures; comparing the Dangers of the Woods and Mountains, with the Accidents and Hazards of the Waves and Tempeſts; and that as the *Britains* by Land, ſo the Ocean it ſelf was by them ſubdued: Thus they boaſted in a Soldier-like way. But, as *Agricola* afterwards heard from ſome Priſoners, the Sight of his Fleet ſo much diſhearten'd the *Britains*, as that the utmoſt recesses ~~Secrets~~ of their own Seas being now diſcover'd, the Conquer'd had even loſt their laſt Refuge. But then the *Caledonians* made great Preparations for War, though with greater Fame than Reality; as it is uſual for it to relate too much of things unknown, giving out, as if they had aſſaulted and taken ſome *Roman* Fort. This News made ſome afraid, who being Cowardly, under the Shew of Prudence, took upon them to adviſe the General, that they ought to retreat to the other ſide of the *Frith*; and that they ſhould rather do it voluntarily, than by conſtraint. But when *Agricola* knew that the Enemy would invade him in many diſtinct Parties, leſt he ſhould be environ'd by Numbers far exceeding his own, he himſelf divided his Army into Three Detachments.

* Ibid.cap.26. * Which, when it was known to the Enemy, changing their Deſign on a ſudden, they in one entire Body broke in by Night upon the Ninth Legion, as being the weakeſt, and killed the Centinels between ſleeping and waking; and now they fought in the very Camp. When *Agricola*, having by Scouts learnt the Enemy's March, follow'd them at the Heels, and commanded the ſwifteſt of his Horſe and lighteſt Foot-men to charge upon their Rear, whilſt the whole Army preſently ſeconded them with Shouts. The *Britains* hearing the Enemy behind them, were diſhearten'd; eſpecially when the Day appearing, diſcover'd the glittering Enſigns of

the *Romans*, who then took heart, and renew'd the Fight; not as Men doubtful of Victory, but ambitious of Honour: For now might be ſeen ſome of the *Roman* Soldiers getting into their own Camp, whilſt others ſought to get out; both contending, which ſhould have the moſt Glory; the one, in bringing a timely Aſſiſtance; the other, in not ſeeming to have needed it. In this Fight the *Britains* were routed; and had they not betaken themſelves to their old Refuge, the Woods and Bogs, that Day had put a Period to the War.

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* By this conſtant Succeſs, the Army gain'd freſh Courage; and they now all cried out, *That nothing was impoſſible for their Valour; that* Caledonia *was to be paſſed through; and that at laſt they would fight their Way to the utmoſt Bounds of* Britain: And they who were lately ſo wiſe and cautelous, now ſeem'd as forward, and talk'd as big, after this Succeſs, as the beſt. And this, indeed, is the hard Fate of War; All challenge a Share in the Succeſs, whilſt Misfortunes are laid upon a ſingle Perſon. However, the *Britains* would not own themſelves beaten by the Courage of the *Roman* Soldiers, but by the Cunning and Conduct of the General; and therefore they had no meaner Thoughts of themſelves than before, but made new Levies, in order to proſecute the War; and beforehand carried their Wives and Children into Places of Safety, ſending about, through all their Cities, to enter into new Confederacy; which was afterwards ratified with ſolemn Rites and Sacrifices: And ſo their Spirits being thus heightned, they at preſent return'd home.

* Ibid. cap. 27.

The ſame Summer, a Cohort of *Veſpaſian*'s, raiſed in *Germany*, and ſent into *Britain*, having ſlain a Centurion, and other Soldiers that were appointed to exerciſe them, deſerted, and went to Sea in three Pinnaces; and having kill'd two of the Maſters whom they ſuſpected, the other they conſtrain'd to do his Duty. Having thus eſcaped, and none knowing what was become of them, and having no Pilotes, they were carried at random, as the Tides and Winds drove them to and fro. Thus compaſſing the Iſland, they practis'd Piracy where they landed; and often fighting with the *Britains*, who defended their Goods, were ſometimes Victors, and ſometimes worſted; till at laſt they were driven to that great Extremity for want of Proviſions, that firſt they devour'd the weakeſt of their own Men; and then drew Lots, who of them ſhould be eaten afterwards. Thus having floated round *Britain*, and loſt their Ships for want of Skill to ſteer them, getting on Shore, they were taken, and ſold as Pirates, firſt by the *Suevians*, and afterwards by the *Friſians*, till at laſt they were ſold into *Britain*; where the ſtrangeneſs of the Accident render'd this Diſcovery of the Iſland more famous.

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† Ibid. cap. 28, 29.

† But *Agricola* having in the beginning of this Summer loſt a young Son, made uſe of War as a Remedy to vent his Grief; therefore he ſent his Fleet before, which by ſpoiling many Places on the Coaſt, ſtruck a greater Terror into the Enemy: He himſelf with a flying Army conſiſting chiefly of *Britains*, whoſe Courage and Faith he had long experienced, following it, marched as far as the *Grampian Hills*, upon which the Enemy had Poſted themſelves; for the *Britains* nothing daunted with the ill Succeſs of the laſt Fight, and expecting nothing but Revenge or Slavery from their new Leagues and Confederacies, were got together Thirty Thouſand ſtrong, more being daily expected; nay, the aged themſelves would not be exempted from this Days Service, but as they had been brave Men in their time, ſo every one of them bore ſome Badge or Mark

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of his youthful Atchievements. Among theſe was *Galgacus*, chief in Authority and Birth; who when the Army cry'd out for the Signal of Battel, is brought in by *Tacitus*, making a long yet noble Oration; which thô it is likely he never ſpoke, and that it is contrary to my Deſign to ſtuff theſe Annals with long Speeches, yet ſince there is a great deal of good Senſe and ſharp Satyr expreſſed in it againſt his own Nation, I ſhall contract ſome part of it, and render the reſt word for word.

Ibid. c. 30, 31, 30.

Galgacus *his Speech to the* Britains.

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"In the firſt place ~~having~~ ſet forth the Occaſion of making War upon the *Romans*, from the Neceſſity of avoiding Slavery, as being the laſt People of *Britain* that were yet unconquer'd, and that beyond them there was no more Earth nor Liberty left: That now the utmoſt Bounds of *Britain* were diſcovered, and no other Nations but them left to employ the *Roman* Armies, whoſe Pride they might ſeek to pleaſe in vain by Services and Submiſſions; thoſe Robbers of the World, who having left no Land unplunder'd, ranſack even the Ocean it ſelf. If the Enemy be Rich, they are greedy of his Wealth; if Poor, they covet Glory; whom neither the *Eaſt* nor *Weſt* could ever ſatisfie; the only Men in the World who purſue both the Rich and the Needy with equal Appetite: To Kill and Plunder, they call Governing; and when they have brought Deſolation on a Country, they term it Peace. That Nature, by neareſt ties, had link'd their Children and Relations to them, yet even theſe were taken away and preſſed into their Service: That their Wives and Siſters, if they eſcap'd their Violence, yet could not avoid Diſhonour; ſince when they came as Gueſts into their Houſes, they were ſure to Debauch them: Their Goods and Fortunes they made their Tributes; their Corn, ~~their~~ Proviſion to ſupply their Granaries; and wore out their Bodies in cutting down Woods, ~~and~~ draining Fens, and paving Mariſhes; nay, and all this amidſt a Thouſand Stripes and Indignities: That Slaves who are born to Bondage, were ſold but once, and afterwards kept at their Maſters Charges; but *Britain* daily bought its own Bondage, and maintain'd it too.

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He then proceeds to exhort them to be tenacious of their Liberty, leſt (like the laſt Slave in a private Family, who is the Sport and Scorn of his Fellows when conquer'd) they ſhould be flouted by thoſe who had been uſed as Drudges long before, adviſing them to take Courage and Example from the *Brigantes*, who under the Conduct of a Woman had almoſt quite deſtroyed the *Romans*, and might have driven them out of *Britain*, had they not failed in the Attempt by their too great Security and Succeſs. Then magnifying the Valour and Strength of his own Nation, and leſſening that of the *Romans*, as made up of divers Nations, who unwillingly ſerved them, and as ſoon as they durſt would turn againſt them; he concluded with ſhewing what Advantages they had above the *Romans*, to make them hope for Victory, and the miſerable Slavery they were like to undergo if they were vanquiſhed; and therefore going now to Battel, adviſed them to remember the Freedom of their Anceſtors, as well as the Danger of Slavery to themſelves and their Poſterity.

‖ *Ibid. c.* 33, 34.

‖ The *Britains* received this Speech with great Teſtimonies of Joy, ſuch as Songs and confus'd Clamours, after the Cuſtom of their Country; all which ſhew'd their Approbation, and now their Arms began to glitter, and every one to put himſelf in Array, when *Agricola*, ſcarce able to repreſs the Heat of his Soldiers, yet thinking it convenient to ſay ſomething

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The Subſtance of Agricola's *Speech.*

thing to them, made a Speech to this Effect, (for, being ſomewhat long, I ſhall make bold to Contract it:) Firſt he told his Soldiers, That this was the Eighth Year that their Valour, protected by the Fortune of the *Roman Empire*, had ſubdu'd the *Britains* in ſo many Battels, and that as he had exceeded his Predeceſſors in Succeſs, ſo they had all former Armies. That *Britain* was now no longer known, only by Fame and Report; and that as they have had the Honor to diſcover, ſo likewiſe might they to ſubdue it: That he had often heard them ask, *When they ſhould meet the Enemy?* but now they had their Deſires, now was the time to ſhew their Valour, and that as every thing would happen as they could wiſh if they Conquer'd; ſo all things made againſt them, if they were overcome. That if it was Great and Noble to have Marched ſo much Ground, to have paſt ſo many Woods, and both the *Friths*, yet if they fled, the very ſame things would be their Hindrance and Deſtruction: That as for his part he had been long ſince ſatisfied, that to run away was neither ſafe for the Soldier nor General; and that a Commendable Death was to be preferr'd before the Reproaches of an Ignominious Life; that Safety and Honour were now inſeparably conjoyned: And let the worſt happen, yet how glorious would it be to die in the utmoſt Bounds of the World and Nature? Then putting them in mind of their late Victories, and repreſenting theſe *Britains* they were now to fight with, as the Meaneſt and moſt Raſcally of all the Nations they had Conquer'd, ſo he doubts not but they will afford them an occaſion of a memorable Victory. Then concludes, in adviſing them to make an end of the War, and to Fifty Years Labours add one great concluding Day, by which means they ſhould approve themſelves to their Country; and that it ſhould never be juſtly laid to their Charge, that they had Protracted the War, nor let ſlip any Opportunity of compleating their Conqueſt.

Whilſt *Agricola* was yet ſpeaking, the Soldiers expreſſed great Signs of their Eagerneſs and Reſolution, but the Concluſion of his Speech was received with loud and joyful Acclamations, whilſt every Man ſtood to his Arms, and ſhewed his Impatience to march on. *Agricola* order'd the Battel after this manner; his Main Body was made up of Eight Thouſand Auxiliary Foot, and Three Thouſand Horſe were placed in the Wings, the Legions being ſet in the Rear before the Camp, for the greater Glory of the Victory, if it could be won without any loſs of *Roman* Blood; if otherwiſe for Succour and Aſſiſtance.

The *Britiſh* Army, for the greater ſhew and Terror, was drawn upon a riſing Gound; the firſt Battalion ſtood on the Plain, the next a degree higher, as the Hill aſcended, the Field rang with the Clattering Noiſe of Chariots and Horſemen rangeing up and down. *Agricola* perceiving the Enemy exceeded him in numbers, and fearing leſt they might attack him in the Front and Flanks at once, ſtretch'd out his Front in length; and although by that means his Van-guard was ſomewhat thin, and that many Councelled him to take the Legions into it, yet he ſtood firm to his firſt Reſolution, and alighting from his Horſe, placed himſelf at the head of the Foot before the Enſigns.

Ib. cap. 36.

*The Fight began at a diſtance, with miſſive Weapons, wherein the *Britains* ſhew'd wondrous Skill and Conſtancy, for with their broad Swords and ſhort Targets they either avoided the Darts, or ſhook them off, and in return liberally beſtow'd whole Showres of their own; *Agricola* perceiving this Diſadvantage, commanded Three *Batavian* Cohorts, and

Anno Dom. LXXXIV. Two of the *Tungrians*, that they ſhould bring it ſpeedily to dint of Sword, which they eaſily performed, as being fitted for it by long exerciſe, but the *Britains* on the other ſide having little Targets, and huge unwildy Swords without points, lay under a great diſadvantage, nor could endure a cloſe down right fighting; ſo that when the *Batavians* came to exchange blows with them, and to make at their Faces with the Pikes of their Targets, they eaſily bore them down, and proſecuting their Victory, advanced to the ſide of the Hill; the reſt of the Cohorts being ſpurr'd on by Emulation, and ſtriking at all that were near them, run on in the ſame courſe, leaving for haſt many behind them, ſome half Dead, others untouch'd; in the mean while as the Horſe-men fled, the Chariots brake in upon the Foot; ſo they who had lately terrified others, were now diſtreſſed themſelves, being penn'd in by their own cloſe Ranks, as well as the unevenneſs of the Ground.

But the manner of this Battel was not like a looſe skirmiſh of Horſemen, but all keeping their Ranks, endeavoured by the weight of their Horſes to bear down the Enemy, and now might be ſeen Chariots without Drivers, and the affrighted Horſes running to and fro, without Riders, overturning all that met them, or thwarted their way.

But when thoſe *Britains*, who had not yet engaged, but on the tops *Ibid.* 38. of the Hills deſpiſed the paucity of the *Romans*, began to draw down by degrees, and taking a compaſs to fall upon them in the Rear; *Agricola* having foreſeen their deſign, with Four Squadrons of Horſe, which he had reſerved for ſuch a purpoſe, oppoſed their Deſcent, and driving them back with as great haſt as they had come forward, put them totally to flight; ſo that now this project of the *Britains* was turned upon themſelves; ſome Troops of Horſe being by the General's order taken from the Front of the Battel, and ſent to charge the Enemy in the Rear; then might have been ſeen in the open Plain a great and diſmal Scene of War, ſome purſuing, wounding, taking, and then killing thoſe that were taken; when other freſh ones came in the way; now whole Regiments of the *Britains*, according to their ſeveral diſpoſitions, though Arm'd, and more numerous turning their backs, whilſt others though unarm'd ran deſperately upon the Swords of their Enemies; the whole field was covered with ſcattered Arms, Dead Bodies, with mangled Limbs and Blood; whilſt many wallowing in their own gore, ceaſed not to give ſome proofs of their laſt Anger and Revenge: But when the *Britains*, by running away, had got nearer the Woods, rallying again, they circumvented thoſe that purſued them, as being unwary and ignorant of thoſe places: *Agricola* (who was every where) prevented this by ſending out ſome Light Arms, yet ſtrong *Cohorts*, and as alſo by Commanding ſome of his Horſe-men to alight, and ſcoure the thickeſt parts of the Wood; theſe might have ſuffered conſiderably for their raſhneſs: But when the *Britains* once ſaw that the *Romans* followed the purſuit cloſe, and in good order, they all fled, thô not as before in whole Troops and Companies; but diſperſed and ſtragling into remote and by-places until Night, and the ſatiety of ſlaughter put an end to the chaſe: Of the *Britains* Ten Thouſand were Slain: Of the *Romans* Three Hundred and Forty; amongſt which was *Aurelius Atticus*, Commander in chief of a *Cohort*; who through Youthful heat, and the over-much mettle of his Horſe, was carried into the midſt of the Enemy. The Night was ſpent with *Ib.* 38. Joy by the *Romans*; being now fluſh'd with Victory and Spoil; but the

Britains

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Britains ran wandring up and down; Men and Women howling together, ſome lug'd on the Wounded, whilſt others cryed for help, to thoſe that were not hurt; ſome forſook their Houſes, and of their own accord ſet Fire on them, ſearching out holes to hide themſelves in for ſafety, which they as quickly left, to find out others; ſometimes in conſult together they entertained ſome glimmerings of hope, and then again fell into deſpair, being ſometimes diſpirited, and ſome times enraged at the ſight of their deareſt Relations; and it is certain, that many out of a cruel compaſſion laid violent hands on their Wives and Children to ſecure them from the cruelty of the *Romans*: But Day appearing gave a plainer proſpect of their Victory; every where reign'd deſolation and ſilence; the Hills being forſaken, and the Cottages ſmoaking afar off: when the Scouts brought word that no body appear'd, only that they found the uncertain Footſteps of their flight. Whereupon *Agricola*, becauſe the Summer was far ſpent, and that no fit Seaſon to divide his Forces; brought them in an entire body into the borders of the *Horeſti*: (ſuppoſed to be the Inhabitants of *Eske-Dale* in *Scotland*) where having received Hoſtages, he Commanded the Admiral of his Fleet to Sail round about *Britain*; furniſhing him with all things neceſſary, but the terrour of the Navy was gone before, whilſt he with ſlow and eaſie marches, to the end he might ſtrike the greater terrour into the new Conquer'd Nations, arrived at his Winter Quarters, whilſt the Navy with proſperous Winds and good Succeſs, ſafely arrived at the Port *Trutulenſis* (ſuppoſed by Mr. *Somner*, to be *Richborough*, near *Sandwich*) in Kent from whence it had ſet out, and coaſting along the neareſt ſide of *Britain* returned thither again.

And now the *Romans* firſt diſcovered the Iſles of *Orkeney*, which others, with leſs Reaſon following *Oroſius*, aſcribe unto *Claudius*.

Ib. ch. 39.

Agricola, having ſent a plain account of theſe Tranſactions (and that without any vain Glory or Amplification) the Emperor, as his manner was, received them with a ſhew of Joy, thô with an inward Trouble of Mind; for he was Conſcious to himſelf, that his own Counterfeit Triumph over the *Germans* was a ridiculous piece of Pageantry (to ſet out which, for want of real Captives, he was forced to buy ſuch as by their Hair and Attire might perſonate them); whereas the great and real Victorys of *Agricola*, where ſo many Thouſand were Slain, being applauded by all Men, would give him a vaſt Reputation: Thinking it therefore dangerous, that the Glory of a private Man ſhould Eclipſe that of his Prince, He ſecretly deſign'd his Ruine, thinking it in vain to have ſuppreſſed the Study of Oratory, and other Liberal Arts, thereby to depreſs other Mens Fame; if he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be thus ſurpaſſed in the Art of War, which he eſteemed the peculiar honour of an Emperour, being daily tormented with theſe Cares, and much alone in his Cloſet (which was always with him ſtill a ſign of ſome enſuing miſchief) he thought it beſt for the preſent to hide his reſentments, till the noiſe of *Agricola*'s Victory, as well as the Love of the Army towards him, was a little abated; he continued him therefore in his Command for ſome time, and with all ſhews of acknowledgments for ſo great Services, and ordering the *Senate* to decree him Triumphal Ornaments, with the honour of a Statue; himſelf ſpeaking highly in his Favour.

Dion. lib. 67.

Ib. c. 40.

He alſo cauſed a Report to be ſpread abroad, that the Province of *Syria*, then void by the Death of *Attilius Rufus*, and reſerved for Perſons

Anno Dom. LXXXIV. of the higheſt Rank, ſhould be beſtowed upon **Agricola**; and it was alſo commonly believed, that a Freed-man imployed in the Emperours moſt ſecret Services, was ſent to *Agricola* with a Commiſſion for the Government of *Syria* with private Orders, if he were then in **Britain**, that it ſhould be delivered: But that the Meſſenger meeting *Agricola* at Sea, never ſo much as ſaluting him, returned again to **Domitian**; whether this were true or only feigned (as agreeable to the humour of this Prince) is uncertain.

Anno Dom. LXXXV. However, *Agricola* delivered the Province peaceabl~~y~~e and quiet to his Succeſſour; and leaſt his entrance into the City ſhould be too remarkable, by the croud of thoſe that might go out to meet him, he came (as he was ordered) by Night into the Palace, where being received with a ſhort ſalute, and no particular diſcourſe, he preſently drew off amongſt the croud of attendants.

But tho' it is not to our preſent Deſign, give me leave to wait on this Great Man to his Grave, and give you *Tacitus*'s laſt Account of him, ſince he is ſo great an Example of Moderation in Proſperity, as well as of Patience under the Slights and Affronts of an inſolent Tyrant.

Ibid. 41, 42. * But *Agricola*, though he thus ſtriv'd to leſſen his own great Reputation, which is ever grievous to thoſe that are lazy and unwarlike, yet by his Retirement he increaſed his own Glory, as well as his Vertues; ſtill continuing modeſt in his Garb, eaſie of Acceſs, and never accompanied with more than one or two Friends: So that moſt People, who are accuſtom'd to eſteem Great Men only by Titles and outward Appearances, when they ſaw *Agricola* thus private, wonder'd at his great Reputation, and few underſtood his Vertues. And though, not long after, when abſent, he had been accuſed to **Domitian**, yet he was alſo acquitted; there being no Crime alledg'd againſt him, unleſs it were to have liv'd under a Prince who was an Enemy to all Vertue. Beſides, Had thoſe worſe ſort of all Enemies, Flatterers prevail'd; there happen'd afterwards ſuch Times which would not permit *Agricola*'s Fame to be conceal'd, ſo many Armies being loſt in **Germany**, **Pannonia**, and other Provinces, through the Raſhneſs or Cowardice of the Commanders, that *Agricola* was again deſir'd by all Men to command, comparing his Conſtancy and Experience in War with the Sloth and Cowardice of others. Which Diſcourſes coming often to the Ears of **Domitian**, whilſt ſome of his Freed-men fairly repreſented his Merits, and others of the worſt ſort, through Envy and ill Will, as much miſrepreſenting them, it provoked this Prince, too apt of himſelf to do evil: So that *Agricola*, by his own Vertues, as well as the Vices of others, was often near Ruin. And though ſome time after, when the Proconſulſhip of *Africa* was void by the Death of *Civica* lately ſlain, the Command of this Province was ſeemingly offer'd him, whilſt ſome were privately to offer their Aſſiſtance in making his Excuſe; and others, more bold and open, both perſuading, and alſo terrifying him, brought him into *Domitian*'s Preſence; who being already prepar'd to diſſemble, haughtily (though willingly) accepted his Excuſes; nay, ſuffer'd himſelf to be thank'd for his Accepting them; nor bluſh'd at his own Envy of ſo ſmall a Benefit; nor did he ſo much as beſtow upon *Agricola*, ~~who~~ the w~~a~~nted ~~a~~ Salary, which had been uſually allow'd to thoſe that had been Proconſuls; as either being offended that it was not asked him, or out of Guilt, leſt he ſhould ſeem to have ~~b~~ſought that which he did not deſire; ſince it is the Property of too many

Anno Dom. LXXXV.

many Mens Natures to hate thoſe that have too much oblig'd them; yet *Domitian*, though prone to Anger, and (by how much the more hidden, ſo much the more dangerous) was nevertheleſs mollified by this rare Moderation and Prudence of *Agricola*, ſince he did neither augment his own Fame, by any vain Boaſting of his Merits; nor yet accelerate his Fate by Contumacy or Sullenneſs. So that all thoſe whoſe Cuſtom it is, only to believe things dangerous, unlawful, may be convinc'd that great and good Men may often live ſafe under the worſt of Princes; and that Obſequiouſneſs and Modeſty, attended with Prudence and Induſtry, do far exceed all that Glory to which many by violent Courſes, but for no publick Benefit to the Commonwealth, and by a too much ſought for Fate, have endeavour'd to attain. However, thus much is certain, That not long after this, *Agricola* died, (whether by Poyſon, or not, is uncertain,) to the common Grief of his Friends, as well as Strangers; and even *Domitian* himſelf appear'd to be concern'd at his Loſs, though he could more eaſily diſſemble his Joy, than Fear. Thus died the famous *Agricola*, who carried the *Roman* Eagles to the utmoſt bounds of *Britain*; Conquering more Nations than all his Predeceſſours before had done, and had alſo ſubdued *Ireland*, had not the Jealouſie of *Domitian* too ſoon recalled him: If *Tacitus*, or ſome other faithful Hiſtorian had given us as exact an account of the Actions of theſe other Lieutenants, that were ſent into *Britain*, during the Reign of this Emperour and his Succeſſours, then we might have had a compleat Hiſtory of thoſe times; But we are now at ſo great an uncertainty, that we cannot tell, who it was to whom *Agricola* reſigned his Command; only we read in *Suetonius* of one *Saluſtius Lucullus*, to have been Legate of *Britain*, in the days of this Emperour; but nothing can be found of any others or of him, more than that he was ſlain by *Domitian*, for giving his own name to a ſort of Spears which he had invented.

Domitian.

But this ſeems more certain, that not long after *Agricola*'s departure; the *Britains* recovering freſh Strength and Courage, under the Conduct of *Arviragus*, rebelled againſt the *Romans*, as ſome gather from that Speech, which *Frabricius Veiento*, is ſuppoſed by *Juvenal* to ſpeak in flattery of *Domitian*:

> *Omen habes inquit, magni clarique triumphi;*
> *Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno*
> *Excidet Arviragus*——
>
> ——See the Mighty Omen, ſee,
> He cries, of ſome Illuſtrious Victory;
> Some Captive King, thee his new Lord ſhall own,
> Or from his *Britiſh* Chariot headlong thrown,
> The proud *Arviragus* come tumbling down.

As I find it Elegantly tranſlated in Mr. Dryden's *Juvenal.* lib. 1. Sat. 4. v. 125.

Dion alſo mentions *C. N. Trebellius* to have governed *Britain*, though in what time is uncertain; but *Tacitus* in his Proem, to his Firſt Book of Hiſtories, ſpeaks of *Britain*, as though formerly Conquer'd, but as then loſt; which though it might be true, yet that it was again recovered is alſo as certain; ſince during the Reigns of the ſucceeding Emperours, we find *Britain*, as far as the *Friths* of *Dunbritton* and *Edinburgh*, entirely reduced into the form of a *Roman* Province, which was not governed by any particular Prætor or *Proconſul*, but was eſteemed *Præſidialis*; that is, under the immediate protection and Eye of the Emperour, and held by his Gariſons, and thus it continued as long as *Britain* remained a Member of the *Roman* Empire.

Anno Dom. now LXXXII.

But about the end of *Domitians* Reign, *Arviragus* is ſuppoſed by *Geoffrey* to have deceaſed; and that his Son *Marius*, called by the *Britiſh* Hiſtorians *Meurig*, ſucceeded him.

I have no more to obſerve during the Reign of *Domitian*, than that in his time, *Claudia Rufina*, a *Britiſh* Lady, was the Wife of *Pudens* a *Senator*, and ſhe is famous in that Elegant Epigram of *Martial* for her Beauty, Wit and Learning; but more excellent was ſhe for her profeſſion of Chriſtianity, if ſhe were the ſame Woman St. *Paul* mentions in his Second Epiſtle to *Timothy*, as ſome of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have (though without any great certainty) aſſerted, for it is certain that St. *Paul* wrote this Epiſtle to *Timothy*, in the Reign of *Nero*; and therefore it is not likely that this *Claudia* ſhould be ~~found~~ famed for her Beauty, in the latter end of the Reign of *Domitian*; or elſe of *Trajan*, above Twenty Years after, ſince by that time, ſhe muſt certainly have been a Woman of more Years than Beauty.

Anno Dom. XCVI.

The ſhort Reign of the Emperour *Nerva*, affords us nothing of certainty, concerning the Affairs of *Britain*, only that in his Reign, as alſo in that of

Anno Dom. XCVIII.

Trajan his Succeſſour, There were great Commotions in this Iſland, which may be alſo gathered out of *Spartianus*'s Hiſtory. But in the Reign of this Emperour, the *Britains* are ſaid by him to have Revolted; yet were ſoon reduced again to Obedience. To his Reign, we may alſo refer, that War which *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* mentions, to have been made by *Roderick* King of the *Picts*; who aiding the *Caledonians*, was overcome and Slain by this King *Marius* above mentioned; which Victory, although it be only related by this Hiſtorian; Yet Arch-biſhop *Uſher* in his above cited * Work, does not think it unlikely; ſince *William* of *Malmesbury*, before ever *Geoffrey* had publiſhed his Hiſtory, makes mention of this *Marius*, in theſe words, There is in the City of *Luguballia* (now called *Carliſle*) a Room Arch'd with Stone, which can neither by Weather or Fire be deſtroyed, the Country is called *Cumberland*, and the Inhabitants *Cumbri*; and in the Front of this Room, there is to be Read this Inſcription, *Marii Victoriæ*; but though Mr. *Cambden* (ſpeaking of this place) ſays, he has found it written *Marti Victori* in ſome Copies, yet thoſe could not be true, as being quite contrary to *Malmesbury*'s meaning; who preſently after adds, *What this ſhould mean I much doubt, unleſs perhaps ſome part of the* Cymbrians *planted themſelves in theſe parts, after they had been driven out of* Italy *by* Marius: But *Ranulph* of *Cheſter* in his Polychronicon, doth thus rectifie this miſtake of *Malmesbury*, "As "who not having ſeen the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, attributed this Inſcription to "*Marius* the *Roman*; when it indeed belonged to *Marius* the *Britiſh* King. This Battel is ſuppoſed to have been fought in the great *Moore*, now called *Stanmore*, in *Weſtmoreland*; as a Monk of *Malmesbury*, in the Book called *Eulogium*, hath written.

* *De Eccleſ. Brit. Antiquitat.*

We have nothing to Remark in the Reign of *Trajan*, unleſs it is what *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* relates to have been performed in *Britain* in his time: Which I ſhall here give you. The publick ways (ſaith he) *Trajan* repaired by Paving them with Stone, or raiſing Cauſeways, even ſuch places as were wet and boggy, or by grubbing and clearing ſuch as were rough and over grown with Buſhes and Woods; making Bridges over Rivers, where the way was too long; where by reaſon of ſome ſteep Hill, the way was difficult, he turned it aſide through more level places; or if it ran through Forreſts, Waſtes and Deſerts, by drawing it from thence, through places inhabited.

Anno Dom. XCVII.

Ælius Hadrian, ſucceeded his Unkle *Trajan* in the Empire; he was alſo a *Spaniard*, and theſe two were the Firſt Emperours, who were not by birth *Romans*; he differed from *Trajan* in his policy of extending the Empire, and rather to imitate *Auguſtus* his Rule, in reſtraining its limits to render it ſtronger and more united, in ſo much, that he excluded on the *Eaſt* all *Armenia*, *Media*, *Perſia* and *Meſopotamia*, being the Conqueſts of *Trajan*: yet excepted *Britain* alone from this retrenchment; which Province he by no means would part with, although he ſomewhat ſtreightned it, as ſhall be ſhewn by and by. Under him *Julius Severus* was Lieutenant, an excellent Soldier; and upon that account called away to ſuppreſs the *Jews* then in Rebellion.

Dion. Lib. 68.

Anno Dom. CXX.

After his departure, the *Britains* till then kept in, had entirely revolted, had not *Hadrian* made a Journey hither in the Second Year of his Empire, being then thrice *Conſul*; where he reformed many things, and ſeems by Force of Arms to have reduced the *Britains* to Obedience; as Mr. *Camden* well obſerveth, from a piece of Money of his Coyning, where there is the Figure of that Emperor, with Three Soldiers on the Reverſe, whom he judges to repreſent the Three Legions, of which the *Roman* Army in *Britain* then conſiſted, and under them this Inſcription, *EXER: BRITANNICUS*, and another of the ſame Prince with this Motto, *RESTITUTOR BRITANNIÆ*; but the greateſt work done by him in this Iſland was the building of a Wall Fourſcore Miles in length, croſs the Iſland, from *Solway Frith* upon the *Iriſh* Seas to the Mouth of *Tine* by *New Caſtle*, on the *German* Ocean, laying the Foundation thereof with huge Piles, and Stakes driven deep into the Earth, and faſtned together in manner of a ſtrong Rampire or Mound; this he did to keep out the *Caledonians* from infeſting the *Roman* Province; who could not it ſeems be contained within thoſe farther Fortifications, raiſed by *Agricola*, between *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now the *Friths* of *Edinburgh*, and *Dun Britton*; by which the *Northern*, and more *Barbarous Britains* had more room to inhabit, and quitting thoſe colder Countries, incloſed only the warmer and richer parts of the Iſland; by which means the bounds of the Empire, as well in *Britain*, as the *Eaſt*, were reduced to more convenient compaſs.

Spartian in Adriano.

In the Reign of this Emperour, *Priſcus Licinius*, was alſo Proprætor or Lieutenant in this Iſland, as appeareth by an Antient Inſcription, lately found near this Wall; which mentions this *Licinius* to have been not only Proprætor of *Britain*; but alſo before of *Capadocia*, and to have been Præfect over the Fourth Legion, as alſo to have been honoured with a Military Banner, by *Hadrian* in his *Jewiſh* Expedition, as may be ſeen at large in this Inſcription in Mr. *Camden*'s *Britannia*. I have nothing to add in this Reign relating to *Britain*, more than that *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* makes King *Marius* to have dyed, about the Year of our Lord 132, and to have left the Kingdom to his Son *Coil*, who loved the *Romans*, and was honoured by them; ſo that paying his Tribute, and receiving their protection, he filled up a long and peaceable Reign, governing *Britain* many Years.

Anno Dom. CXXXVIII.

To *Hadrian* ſucceeded *Antoninus Pius*, at whoſe firſt coming to the Throne that Law was made, whereby all the Subjects of the *Roman* Empire, were made free Citizens of *Rome*; by which Edict the Southern

Anno Dom. CXXXVIII.

Pauſan in Arcad.

Capitolin in Antonin. Pio.

Lib. 39.

Britains, within *Hadrians*'s Wall, as well as other Provinces, enjoyed that Priviledge; but the *Brigantes* ever leaſt patient of Foreign Servitude, breaking in upon *Genoani*; (which *Camden* gueſſes ought to be read *Guinethia*, or *North Wales*, (then part of the *Roman* Province) were with the loſs of much of their Territory, driven back by *Lollius Urbicus*, Lieutenant here, who drew another Wall made of Earth and Piles, beyond the former Wall of *Adrian*, and (as Mr. *Camden* proves) from *Capitolinus*) extending it ſelf between the *Friths* of *Dunbritton* and *Edinburgh*, kept out the Incurſions of the Northern *Britains*: for theſe Atchievements, this Emperor received the Sir Name of *Britannicus*; thô the War was managed by his Lieutenant, it is alſo recorded in the *Digeſt*, that *Seius Saturninus*, had then the charge of the *Roman* Navy on the *Britiſh* Shore.

Anno Dom. CLXII.

In Eumenius capitolinus.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (called alſo the Philoſopher) ſucceeded *Antoninus Pius*, having been before, by him adopted and declared *Cæſar*; in whoſe Time, *Britain* impatient of Foreign Subjection, again raiſed new Commotions; for the appeaſing whereof *Calphurnius Agricola* was ſent Lieutenant; the Sir-name of *Agricola* no doubt, was terrible to the *Britains*, who could not but remember the great overthrows they had received formerly under a General of that Name; and indeed, theſe Commotions laſted not long after his arrival, but ſeemed to have been ended with Fortunate ſucceſs; for which it is likely there was made that Inſcription, *Ingratititude to the Syrian Goddeſs*, which has been of late Years dug up out of the Earth, near *Adrian*'s (now called the *Picts*) Wall; but this is more certain, that the glory of having diſpatched this War ſo ſoon, is by *Fronto* the *Roman* Orator, aſcribed to this Prince in a *Panegyrick* made in his Praiſe; where he tells him, that although ſitting at home, in his Pallace at *Rome*; he had given Commiſſion to another General for the War; yet like the Pilot of a Galley ſitting at the Stern, and guiding the Helm, he deſerved the Honour of the whole Expedition: Nothing elſe is recorded of *Britain*, during *Antoninus* his Reign, ſaving that *Helvius Pertinax*, afterwards Emperour, was employ'd in theſe Wars; being called hither from his Service, againſt the *Parthians*, and here for ſome time afterwards remained Lieutenant.

About the end of this Emperours Reign (according to *Geoffrey*,) *Coil* the Tributary King of the *Britains* dying, left his Son *Lucius* for his Succeſſor, who by *Nennius* is called *Lhes*, and Sir-named by the *Britains* *Lever Maur*, that is, the Great Light.

Anno Dom. CLXXX.

Bede lib. 1.

* *Chap.* III.

To *Marcus Aurelius* ſucceeded *Commodus* his Son, having before been made partner of the Empire with his Father, in the beginning of whoſe Reign King *Lucius* (above mentioned) is by *Bede* ſuppoſed to have ſent to *Eleutherius*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, deſiring that by his means he might be made a Chriſtian, the relation you may find more at large in Arch-Biſhop * *Uſhers De Brit. Eccleſ. Ant.* from the old Book of *Landaffe*, which relates this King ſent Two Embaſſadours to the Pope, beſeeching him, that by his means he might be made a Chriſtian, and he did not long after obtain his requeſt; and ſo the *Britains* till the time of *Diocleſian*, maintained the Chriſtian Faith without any diſturbance; this is the Account which *Bede* hath given us, though there are other, (but more Modern Hiſtorians) that take upon them to give a much different and larger relation of this matter; and do not only take upon them to tell us the Meſſage, but alſo who where the Meſſengers that carried it: The old Book of *Landaffe*, as alſo divers other Monkiſh-writers, call them *Eloanu*

Anno Dom CLXXX.

and *Medwinus*; but *Will.* of *Malemsbury* in his Antiquities (lately printed at *Oxford*) of the Monaſtery of *Glaſtenbury*, calls them *Faganus* and *Deravianus*, and others *Faganus* and *Damianus*; yet though they differ about the Names of theſe Men, they all agree that theſe being ſufficiently inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith, and Baptized, were ſent back to Preach the Goſpel here; who at their return converted King *Lucius*, and his whole Kingdom to Chriſtianity; but as for the ſtory it ſelf, it is thought by ſeveral learned Men to be of very ſuſpicious Credit; for thô *Bede* places *Lucius* his writing to the Pope, in the Year of our Lord, 156: and in the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus, Verus* and *Aurelius Commodus* his Brother: yet it is certain from the beſt accounts in Chronology, that neither *Antoninus* then ſucceeded to the Empire, nor was *Eleutherius* choſen Pope, till near Twenty Years after that time; and beſides all this, there is ſo great a difference amongſt our Hiſtorians, as well Antient as Modern, about this matter, that Arch Biſhop *Uſher* has given us above Twenty different accounts, ſome whereof differ from this of *Bede*, as alſo from each other; ſome Twenty, ſome Thirty Years, nay ſome Forty, and others near Fifty Years; only this muſt be acknowleged, that they all agree that ſuch an Embaſſie was ſent by *Lucius*, in the Papacy of *Eleutherius*, and that the Pope returned ſuch an anſwer to it; now it is certain that he was not choſen Pope till the Year of our Lord, 171 at the ſooneſt; or according to *Euſebius*'s Chronicle, till 176, and ſo *Lucius*'s Converſion muſt have happened in the Time of *Marcus Aurelius*, to which time the Engliſh *Saxon Annals*, as alſo *Bede* himſelf, with divers others of our Ancient Hiſtorians, as well Foreign as Engliſh, do refer it; though *Roger* of *Wendover*, and other Authors about the ſame Age, refer it to *Anno Dom.* 184; which falls out in the Second or Third Year of the Emperour of *Commodus*, which ſeems moſt likely, if it were ever done at all.

But that there was never any ſuch King, ſeems to ſome learned Men very probable; ſince *Gildas* makes no mention of any ſuch thing; but ſays the time of *Chriſt*'s being firſt Preached in this Iſland, was as early as the firſt Conqueſt of it by the *Romans*; beſides which the Monks (who have ſince new dreſt up this Story) not only make him to have been King of all *Britain*, but to have ſettled Chriſtianity in all parts of his Dominions; and inſtead of *Flamens* and *Arch-Flamens* in the chief Cities, as *London*, *York*, &c. to have placed the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops in their rooms, which is impoſſible to be true: ſince the Title of Arch-Biſhop was not then known in the Church; nor could *Lucius* ſettle Chriſtianity all over Britain, which was then either under the power of the *Romans*, or elſe what remained unconquered, was abſolutely Heathen and Barbarous at the time of this ſuppoſed converſion.

But however I think we may ſafely follow * Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, and † Doctor *Stillingfleet*, in allowing the common Tradition of King *Lucius*, and that he had Regal Authority under the *Romans*, in ſome part of this Iſland; ſince the two Coins ſeen by the ſaid Arch Biſhop, the one of Gold and the other of Silver, with the Image of a King on them, and the Letters LVC, with a Croſs, do ſufficiently evidence it: But in what part of *Britain* he governed, whether as Succeſſour to *Praſutagus* among the *Iceni*, or elſe was King of the *Belgæ*, or was Succeſſor to *Cogidunus*, over the *Regni*, in thoſe parts that we now call *Surrey* and *Suſſex*; I will not take upon me to determine, thô I rather incline to the laſt, (being Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s Opinion) for the Reaſons and Conjectures, he gives us

in

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* *Vid. Eccl. Brit. Antiquit.*

† *Vide* his *orig. Britan. chap* 2. *fol.* 62.

Anno Dom. CLXXX.

in the ſame Chapter; but as for the Letters pretended to have been writ by Pope *Eleutherius* to King *Lucius*, thô they are inſerted among the Laws of K. *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, and are alſo to be found in an old Book of the Conſtitutions of the City of *London*; I ſhall not trouble you with the Contents of them, ſince they plainly diſcover their Impoſture to any Man at all verſed in Antiquities.

in Rhaetia h

I have no more to add concerning this King, but that the *Griſons* make him to have been their Apoſtle, and to have firſt preached the Goſpel in their Country, and ſhew his Tomb at *Coir* to this Day, which can by no means agree with our *Britiſh*, as well as *Engliſh* Hiſtorians; who all ſuppoſe that he dyed in his own Country without any Children.

Dion. Hiſt. lib. 72. *about* *Anno Dom.* CLXXXVII.

But to return again to the civil Hiſtory of *Britain*, we further find, that under the Emperour *Commodus*, *Britain* as well as other Countries was much infeſted with Wars and Seditions, for *Xiphiline* in his Epitomy of *Dion* relates, that the *Britiſh* War was the greateſt of all others, becauſe the *Britains* having broken through the Wall, which divided their Territories from that of the *Romans*, had laid waſt many places, and had cut off the *Roman* General together with his Army; whereupon *Commodus* terrified with this Rebellion, ſent *Ulpius Marcellus* againſt them, who was a ſober and modeſt Man, and lived after the rate of a Common Souldier, he was alſo Stout and Magnanimous in his Warlike Expeditions, but thô he was not to be corrupted with Money, yet was not at all complaiſant in his Converſation; but as for the other examples, this Author gives us of his great Vigilance and Temperance, they are ſo trivial, that they do not merit any particular relation; and I could have wiſht that *Xiphilin* his Epitomator would have been more ſparing in his Character, and larger upon the Actions of this great Man; for all he tells us further of him, is, that he did very great miſchief to the Barbarous People in *Britain*, for which he was very near being made away by *Commodus*, becauſe of his Vertue; yet that nevertheleſs he let him alone.

Britain being again brought to Obedience by ſo worthy a Commander, after he was recalled, began to fall into more dangerous Commotions; for *Ælius Lampridius* in his Life of this Emperour, tells us, That now ſtubbornneſs began to break into the *Roman* Camp, and the Military Diſcipline of the *Britiſh* Army, being relaxed, the Souldiers began to refuſe to Obey *Commodus*, and would have ſet up another Emperour againſt him; for *Perennis*, who was than in higheſt power with his Prince, removing Senators, ſet Men only of the equeſtrial Order to Command the *Britiſh* Army; which being made known by their Lieutenant, *Perennis* was declared a publick Enemy by the Souldiers; for as Dion farther relates the Army in *Britain* mutinying againſt *Perennis*, ſent no leſs than 1500 of their own number into *Italy*, to repreſent their Grievances at *Rome*, and being admitted to the Emperour's preſence, they told him that the reaſon of their coming, was to let him know, that *Perennis* had conſpired againſt him, and endeavoured to make his Son Emperour; to which *Commodus* giving credit, at the Inſtigation of *Cleander*, immediately delivered up *Perennis* (thô then *Præfectus Pretorii*) to the power of the *Pratorian* Bands, whom he then commanded, who ſoon diſpatched him; but *Commodus* liſted thoſe 1500 (who were ſent out of *Britain*) among thoſe Bands, who were his Guards. *Perennis* being thus diſpatched, *Commodus* ſent *Helvius Pertinax* (afterwards Emperor) in to *Britain*, though he was then employ'd againſt the *Parthians*, who when he came hither, did what he

Jul. Capitolinus in Pertin.

Anno Dom. CLXXXVII.

he could to hinder the Soldiers from Sedition; who would rather have had any other Man for their Emperor than *Commodus*, and eſpecially *Pertinax* himſelf; yet he then underwent the Cenſure of an envious Perſon, becauſe he was ſaid to have accuſed *Antiſtius Burrhus* and *Ariſtius Antonius* to *Commodus*, of affecting the Empire; ſo that though he quell'd ſome Seditions in *Britain*, yet he eſcaped a great danger, being almoſt kill'd in a Mutiny of one of the Legions, and left for dead among the ſlain; which Fact, though *Pertinax* ſeverely revenged it upon the Mutineer, yet afterwards he asked leave to be diſmiſs'd of his Government, alledging, that the Legions were diſpleaſed with him for holding them too cloſe to Diſcipline: Having thus received a Succeſſor, he was, after ſome time, made Proconſul of *Africa*.

Idem in Albino.

After the death of *Pertinax*, *Clodius Albinus*, a Man of great Birth and Valour, was made Lieutenant of *Britain*. He had before got himſelf a great Reputation, whil'ſt he govern'd *Gaul*; ~~but~~ routing the *Friſians*, ~~and~~ & when after his coming into *Britain*, *Commodus* would have created ~~him~~ *Cæſar*, and have given him the Honour of wearing the purple Robe, even in his preſence, though without the Golden Embroideries; as appears by the Letters he wrote, recited at large in this Author.

Albinus, having received theſe Letters, yet knowing how odious *Commodus* was, becauſe of his Vices, by which he not only deſtroyed the Common-wealth, but diſgraced himſelf; fearing, leſt the Emperor being killed, ~~himſelf~~ he might Periſh with him; he therefore prudently refuſed theſe Honours, ſaying, *That* Commodus *ſought either who ſhould periſh together with him, or whom he might upon ſome jealous pretence deſtroy:* Yet however he ſtill commanded the *Britiſh* Army; but hearing, by a falſe Report, that *Commodus* was ſlain, thereupon going out to the Soldiers, he made them a Speech to this effect:

"That if the Senate of *Rome* had ſtill preſerved its ancient Power, and
"the Supream Authority had not been intruſted to a ſingle Perſon,
"the publick Management of Affairs had never come into the hands of
"ſuch as *Nero*, *Vitellius*, and *Domitian*: Then reckoning up the greateſt
"of his own Anceſtors, the *Albini Poſthumi*, under the Government
"of Conſuls; and ſetting forth the great Additions the Senate had made
"to the *Roman* Empire by their Lieutenants, and that they maintained
"their Authority to the days of *Nero*, whom they had not feared to con-
"demn as a wicked Prince: And concluded, that he utterly renounced
"the Name of *Cæſar*, which *Commodus* had profer'd him.

S.

And yet this great Common-wealths Man, when time ſerved, did not afterwards ſtick to aſſume the Titles and Honour, which now for private Reaſons he refuſed, and againſt which he ſo much declaimed; and died in aſſerting to himſelf the Imperial Purple againſt *Severus*, the wearing whereof he now ſo much reproved. This Oration being brought to *Rome*, as it pleaſed the *Senate*, ſo it highly incenſed the Emperor, who thereupon preſently wrote Letters to all his *Pretors* and *Prefects*, wherein he let them know, "That he ſuppoſed they had heard, that it was given "out that he was ſlain by a Conſpiracy: And had likewiſe ſeen that "Oration of *Albinus* to his Soldiers, wherein he ſo much ingratiated with "the *Senate*, and (ſays he,) not without Reaſon, for he who denies "that there ought to be one Prince over the Common-wealth, and aſſerts

Idem in Albino.

"that

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“ that it ought wholly to be govern'd by the *Senate*, doth by them ſeek “ the Empire for himſelf; therefore bids them beware of him, for they “ knew the Man was to be voided both by the Soldiers and People. So *Commodus*, immediately upon this, ſent Orders to diſmiſs *Albinus* from the Government of *Britain*, and to deliver it up to *Junius Severus.*

Herod. l. 1. *id. l.* 2.

But *Commodus* being not long after poyſoned by *Martia* his Concubine, *Helvius Pertinax*, was thereupon created Emperor, who is ſuppoſed to have confirmed *Albinus* in his Command of *Britain*; but being within the ſpace of Three Months, ſlain by the *Prætorian* Bands, *Didius Julianus* bought the Empire of them for ſo much Money, to be given each Souldier; but kept it but Two Months, and was then overcome, and ſlain by *Severus*; who upon the news of the Death of *Commodus*, had been ſaluted Emperor by the *Pannonian* Army; as was alſo *Peſcenius Niger* in *Syria*: ſo that *Albinus* in thoſe troubleſome times, under the ſhort Reigns of *Pertinax*, and *Didius Julianus*, found means ſtill to retain the Government of *Britain*, nor would ſurrender it to *Junius Severus*, whom *Commodus* had before ſent to take it, nor yet to *Heraclitus*, whom *Septimius Severus*, after he was ſaluted Emperor, ſent alſo hither to take poſſeſſion of it.

Capitolin in Albino.

It is ſaid of *Albinus*, That the *Senate* made Addreſſes to *Pertinax*, that he would make him his Aſſociate in the Empire, which *Pertinax* refuſed; fearing his ſecret Ambition, and publiſhed that Letter which *Commodus* had before written to the *Prefects*, that he might thereby bring *Albinus* into hatred and diſgrace with the Souldiers; who hated a Common-wealth, by which action *Albinus* was ſo incenſed, that it is ſaid, he ſecretly excited *Julian* to Murder *Pertinax*, as hath been already related.

Spartianus in Nigro.

But *Severus* having got poſſeſſion of *Rome* (the principal ſtrength of the Empire) and having now the Senate on his ſide, reſolved firſt to make War againſt *Peſcenius Niger*; but knowing himſelf too weak to contend both with him and *Albinus* at once, was reſolved at the preſent to keep fair with the latter, as knowing him to be a Man of great Riches and Power, fearing leſt he ſhould take *Rome*, whilſt himſelf was buſied in making War againſt *Niger* in the *Eaſt*; therefore he thought it beſt under a ſhew of Friendſhip to draw him to his Party, wherefore he gave him the Title of *Cæſar*, anticipating his Ambition, by this voluntary Communication of Power; and ſent him very ſmooth Letters, “ beſeeching “ him that he would take care of the Empire, which now ſtood in need “ of ſuch a worthy Perſon in the prime of his Years; that as for him- “ ſelf he was now Old, and troubled with the Gout, his Sons being as “ yet but Infants; to which fair Pretences *Albinus* giving Credit, joyfully received the Title of *Cæſar*, telling his Souldiers in a Speech, he made them upon this occaſion; “ That though he had refuſed the “ Title of *Cæſar*, when offered by *Commodus*, yet now muſt obey in this “ the Emperour's Commands, as well as their own deſires; ſince it could “ not be denied, but that the Common-Wealth might be well govern'd “ by one ſingle, Valiant and Good Man: So much was his Mind charged by his Intereſt, ſo well was he pleaſed, that he had obtained his wiſhes, without any danger; but *Severus* to make what he did appear more credible, cauſed Statues to be erected, and Money coyned with the Image of *Albinus*, and alſo made what he had done to be confirmed by the *Senate.*

Capitol. in Albino.

After

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Herod in Albino.

After which he marched againſt *Niger*, and having overcome and ſlain him, he had now *Albinus* only left to deal with, and whom, as not thinking him for his turn, he was reſolved by any means to remove out of the way; therefore in the firſt place he raiſed a Report that *Albinus* carried himſelf inſolently, and ungratefully towards him; and that there were divers of the chief Senators, who had wrote to *Albinus*, to return and ſeize upon *Rome* in his abſence: Nevertheleſs *Severus* thought it not the ſafeſt way to act againſt him by open War, eſpecially when there appeared no ſufficient grounds for it; and therefore he ſent certain truſty Meſſengers to him, who were privately ordered, that when they had delivered their Letters, they ſhould tell him, That they had ſomething more to ſay to him in private: But as ſoon as they had him alone, that they ſhould be ſure to diſpatch him; and beſides, gave them Poyſon whereby they ſhould make him away, if they could not ſucceed by open force. *Albinus* being warned of theſe treacherous Ambaſſadours, ſtood upon his guard, and would not admit them till they had laid aſide their Swords; but when they deſired to ſpeak with him in private, he then ſeemed more ſuſpicious, and having examin'd them by Torture, forced them to confeſs the whole deſign, and then having puniſhed theſe Conſpirators, he immediately declared War againſt *Severus*, and took upon him the Titles of Emperour and *Auguſtus*.

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Herod. l. 3.

Which as ſoon as *Severus* heard, he was extreamly incenſed, and thought it not fit any longer to conceal his Anger; but having made a ſharp Oration to his Army againſt *Albinus*, and which was received with great Acclamations; he preſently began his Expedition againſt him, who to defend himſelf, with the flower of *Britain* entred *Gaul*, and marching as far as *Lyons*, he and *Severus* there met at the head of their Armies; when the Battle being joyned, *Albinus* had at firſt the better, the *Britiſh* Souldiers not yeilding to the *Illyrians*, either in ſtrength or courage; ſo that part of the Army, which *Severus* Commanded, being routed, he himſelf was knocked down from his Horſe, and caſting away his Purple Robe, was for ſome time ſuppoſed to be ſlain; when *Lætus Severus* Lieutenant General, ſuppoſing him to have been killed, came in with freſh Forces, with an intention to gain the Victory for himſelf, for which treachery, he was afterwards by *Severus* put to Death: However, at preſent by his aſſiſtance, he won the Victory, and put his Enemies to flight, purſuing and killing them with great ſlaughter; whereupon the City of *Lyons* being taken, *Albinus* was forced to fly from thence; but being purſu'd by *Severus*'s Souldiers, and driven into a Houſe near the River *Rhoſne*, was there forced to run himſelf through with his own Sword, or (as others relate) cauſed one of his Servants to do that office for him; but however he was taken, and brought to *Severus* before he was quite dead, who quickly diſpatched him, and cutting off his head, ſent it to *Rome*, to be ſet over the place of publick Execution; but he let the Body lye before the *Prætorium* till it ſtunk, and was devoured by Dogs. A mean revenge, for ſo great an Emperour, to take upon ſo Valiant a Perſon.

Digeſt Lib. 28. Tit. 6.

But now *Severus* having by this Victory, obtained the whole *Roman* Empire; and finding that *Britain* was a Province too great and powerful to be truſted in the hands of one Man, he divided it into two Governments; committing the North part thereof to *Virius Lupus*, as *Proprætor* and Lieutenant (whom *Ulpian* nameth Preſident of *Britain*) and to *Hera-*

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clitus the Southern parts, as Mr. *Speed* gathereth by a Coyne of *Severus* Minted in his Second Conſul-ſhip, which fell in the Year of our Lord, 198, from whence it appears, that after the Death of *Albinus*, *Britain* was not reduced under the ſubjection of *Severus*, until he had won it by the Sword, the memory of which he left to poſterity in this Medal wherein is the Goddeſs of Victory repreſented, as ſitting upon ſpoils, with this Inſcription, *Victoria Britanniæ*; but this Victory muſt have been then won by his Lieutenant, and not by himſelf.

Herod. lib. 3.

But *Virius Lupus*, who had the Government of the Northern parts, was forced to buy Peace of the *Meatæ* at a great rate, becauſe the *Caledonians*, who had promiſed to check the Incurſions of the *Meatæ*, had not performed that Article of their Agreement: This Author likewiſe tells us, that the former of theſe Nations, lived next the Wall that divided the South of the Iſland from the *North*; ſo that *Lupus* finding himſelf unable alone to curb their Inroads, after great loſſes ſuffered from them, ſent for *Severus*, but he being at that time taken up with other Wars, *Lupus* was forced to buy this Peace of the *Meatæ*, as we have ſaid; only ſome *Roman* Priſoners were then ſet free: The Memory of this *Virius Lupus* is preſerved, in an Altar dug up, dedicated to the Goddeſs *Fortune*; upon the occaſion of his repairing a *Bath*, or Hot-houſe, at a Town called *Levatriæ* (now *Bows*) upon *Stanmoor*, in *Richmond ſhire*: This was done for the ſake of the *Thracian Cohorts*, who lay there in Gariſon with the *Romans*.

Vid. Camden Britan. in Yorkshire

Then ~~But~~ *Lupus* hearing that *Severus* had at laſt put an end to his other Wars; he wrote him plainly the ſtate of things here, that the *Britains* of the North made War upon him, broke into the Province, and harraſſed all the Countries nigh them; that there needed ſuddenly either more aid, or himſelf to come in perſon.

Ibid. lib. 3.

Severus was not much diſpleaſed at this news, being in his own nature greedy of Glory, and ~~being~~ alſo deſirous after ſo many Victories in the *Eaſt*, to raiſe alſo new trophies for the *Britains*; and beſides he thought it beſt to withdraw his Two Sons from the pleaſures of *Rome*, and inure the Young Men to hardſhip and Military Diſcipline.

So this Emperour, though Old and much troubled with the Gout, yet with as great Courage as any Young Man, made this expedition into *Britain*; and taking his Journey for the moſt part in a Litter, ſtaid long in no place; ſo that having finiſhed his Journey by Land, and having croſſed the Sea ſooner than could be expected, he entred *Britain*, and having Muſter'd his Soldiers, and brought great Forces together, he prepared for War: But the Northern *Britains*, daunted with the Report of ſo great Forces brought over with him, and that more were preparing, ſent Ambaſſadours to treat of Peace, and to excuſe their former doings. The Emperour now loath to return home, without ſome memorable Action, whereby he might aſſume to his other Titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delay'd his Anſwer; but quickens his preparations, till in the end, when all things were in a readineſs to follow them, they were diſmiſſed without effect; when he arrived, his principal care was to have many Bridges and Cauſeways laid over Bogs and Moors, that his Souldiers might fight on firm ground, for many parts of *Britain*, were at that time over run with Bogs and Marſhes, (as *Ireland* was ſome Years ago) now the *Britains* uſed to wade through theſe Marſhes up to the middle, not valuing it, becauſe they went naked: But *Severus* prepared all things which might be of any uſe for the Souldiers, or a damage to the *Britains*: And when he found all ~~were~~ ready to his Mind, ~~la~~ying his Younger Son *Geta* to govern the more *Southern* part of the Iſland, by the help of *Papinian*, the great Lawyer; taking his Eldeſt Son *Baſſianus* along with himſelf, he marched againſt the *Britains*, and having paſſed the Wall that divided their Territories, there only happen'd ſome tumultuary Skirmiſhes, in which thô the *Romans* were ſtill Conquerours, yet the *Britains* found an eaſie retreat, by hiding themſelves in the Woods and Bogs, which were well known to them, which contributed very much to prolong the War. Yet did not *Severus* deſiſt, till he had paſſed to the very fartheſt part of the Iſland, and had compell'd the Enemies to make Peace upon this Condition, That they ſhould give up great part of their Territory, although he loſt in this Expedition, by the ſudden Aſſaults and Ambuſhes of the *Britains*, as well as by *Diſeaſes*, near Fifty Thouſand Souldiers; which is alſo confirm'd by * *Dion*, who further tells us, That he fought no ſet Battel, nor yet ſaw any Forces of the Enemies in Battell Array; but that they did often leave their Sheep and Oxen on purpoſe, that the *Romans* going out of the way to ſeize them, might be the more eaſily taken and overcome: beſides all this, the want of Water much troubled the *Romans*, and Ambuſhes were laid for thoſe that went about ſtragling to find it: And when they were not able to march any further for want of it, they were killed by their fellow Souldiers, leaſt they ſhould be taken by the Enemy.

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* *Lib.* 76.

But in this Expedition, the wicked cariage of *Baſſianus* gave *Severus* perpetual trouble, not only becauſe he lived debauchedly, but alſo for that it was evident, as ſoon as he had Power he would kill his Brother; and had alſo made ſome attempts againſt *Severus* himſelf; for he ran once all of a ſudden out of his Tent, crying out that he was much injur'd by *Caſtor*, who was the worthieſt Man in *Severus*'s Court, and was privy to his moſt ſecret Councils, being the chief of his Bed-chamber, (the ſame ~~with the~~ as Lord Chamberlain with us.) Now there were before ready prepared ſome Soldiers on purpoſe, who upon *Baſſianus*'s thus crying out came to his Aſſiſtance, and (as *Herodian* ſays) proclaim'd him *Auguſtus*; whereupon *Severus* immediately made himſelf to be carried to the *Tribunal*, and having order'd all thoſe Officers, and Souldiers who had been engaged in this Action, as alſo his Son (who had taken upon him the Name of *Auguſtus*) to appear before him, He commanded them all except his Son to be put to Death, when they all begging pardon for their offence, fell down proſtrate before him; upon which he pardon'd them, then touching his own Head with his Hand, ſaid, At laſt you'l find that it is a Man's Head, and not his Feet that Govern; but *Dion* ſays, he did put ſome of the moſt Seditious of them to Death; who alſo further relates, that at another time when both the Father and the Son were marching together into *Caledonia*, *Baſſianus* did openly endeavour to kill his Father, for as they rode at the head of the Army, the Enemies Forces being in ſight, he ſtopp'd his Horſe, and privately drew his Sword, that he might run his Father into the back; which when thoſe perceived who followed them, they preſently cryed out, at which *Baſſianus* being ſtartled ſtopt his blow; but *Severus* thereupon turning about, ſaw his Sword drawn, yet then ſaid nothing; but returning to the Camp, went into the *Prætorium*, and there called before him his Son (together with *Papinian* and *Caſtor*) then Commanding the naked Sword to be laid before them, he ſharply reproved him, that not

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CXCVIII.

only now in the ſight of his Army; but alſo at other times he had attempted ſo great a wickedneſs, concluding thus, “ if thou deſireſt to “ kill me, kill me now, for thou art Younger and in full ſtrength, and “ I am Old and can ſcarce ſtir, which if thou refuſeſt to do with thine “ own Hand, here is *Papinian* our Prefect, whom thou may'ſt command to kill me, for he will do what ever thou bidſt him, ſince thou art already *Emperor*. Thô *Severus* ſaid all this, he did no more to his Son, notwithſtanding he had often blamed *Marcus Aurelius*, that he had not put his Son *Commodus* to Death; but *Severus*, ſaid this only in his paſſion, for his Son was dearer to him than the good of the Common-wealth, thô by this means he did as good as Sacrifice his Younger Son to the Elder: ſince he might eaſily gueſs what would happen when ever he ſhould die. *Herodian* confirms the ſame Story, and that though ſeveral Grave and Wiſe Men had perſwaded him to put his Son to Death, yet he refuſed it, too much indulging his paternal Affection.

The War being thus happily ended, *Severus* in Memory of theſe Victories, cauſed Coins to be Stamp'd with this Inſcription, *Victoria Britannica*: and upon the Frontiers of what he had now Conquer'd, built a Wall croſs the Iſland, from Sea to Sea, which our Author judges to have been the moſt magnificent of all his undertakings, and that he thence received the Stile of *Britannicus*. It was in length 132 Miles; *Oroſius* makes it fortified with a deep Trench, and at certain Spaces, by many Towers.

Spartianus in Severo, Eutropius, Oroſius lib. 7.

In Rege.
XXVII.

Buchanan in his Hiſtory of *Scotland*, will needs place it in *Scotland* between the *Friths* of *Bodotria* and *Glotta*, in the ſame place which *Lollius Urbicus*, and *Agricola* had fortified before, whilſt * Mr. *Camden* affirms it to be only *Hadrianus*'s Wall re-edified, and which paſſes through the higher parts of *Cumberland*, between the Rivers *Tine* and *Eske*; and brings very good Authorties for this Opinion out of the *Roman* Authors, as well as Inſcriptions near the ſaid Wall; in which the name of *Severus* is particularly mentioned: which Wall is called by the *Engliſh*, the *Picts Wall*, by the *Britains*, *Gual Sever*, and by the *Scots*, *Mur Sever*; all which denominations do manifeſtly denote the name of its Founder: whereas the name of *Greames Dike*, by which the preſent *Scots* call the Ruins of that Wall or Trench, which is ſtill to be ſeen in *Scotland*, doth no way denote *Severus* to have been its founder. There is alſo another Argument that this was the place where he built this Wall we now treat of; for between *Dun Britton*, and *Edinburgh Friths*, although there be many Ruins of continued Fortifications; yet are they not ſo viſible as this of ours: nor doth the Wall in *Scotland* ſeem to have been of that ſtrength and ſolidity, as this of *Severus* is related by all Authors, and as by its Ruines ſtill appears to be. But the former Wall or Trench ſeems to have been only faced with Stone about Two Foot thick, and then lined within with Earth: there are alſo divers other Arguments to prove it was the ſame with *Hadrian*'s there built before, as firſt the number of Miles, which *Spartianus* hath truly reckon'd to be Eighty; whereas between *Edinburgh*, and *Dunbritton* there is not half that diſtance; but if any ſhall object that *Eutropius* hath reckon'd the length thereof to be but Thirty Five Miles, and *Aurelius Victor* Thirty two; yet how even this can agree with the diſtance between the *Friths* of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*, let them conſider, who maintain this Opinion, ſince even that will not agree with the diſtance between thoſe two Rivers; and thô it is true, that *Aurelius Victor*

* *In Britan.*

See the Deſcription of this Wall in the New Edition of Cam. Brit. Scotl. *p.* 958, 959.

Anno Dom. CXCVIII.

Antiquitat. Eccleſ. Britan. cap. xv.

(one of the moſt authentic Authors that writes of this Matter) makes the ſpace that this Wall extended it ſelf between the two Seas to be 30 Miles, and *Eutropius* 35, whilſt ſome later Authors have ſtretch'd it to 132 Miles; yet Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, in his Learned Work already cited, hath ſhewn us, that theſe different Accounts may be reconciled, by ſuppoſing, that both *Victor* and *Eutropius* at firſt writ LXXXII. Miles in *Roman* Figures, and that afterwards, by the careleſneſs of ſome Tranſcribers, the L. was left out, whilſt by others it was turned into a C, which if added to the following Figures, *viz.* XXXII, make CXXXII; but with an L. before them, they make only LXXXII. Miles, as they are indeed no more. But to conclude this Subject, on which, I doubt, we have dwelt too long already, if *Buchanan* had not deſired to have been ſingular, and to have differed not only from our *Engliſh* Authors, but from his own Country-men, *John Fordun*, and *Major*, (who in their Hiſtories of *Scotland* are both of our ſide) he had never fallen into this Miſtake.

Dion. *Ibid.*

Whilſt this Peace with the Northern *Britains* laſted, it may well be ſuppoſed, that remarkable Meeting between the Empreſs *Julia*, the Wife of *Severus*, and the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *Britiſh* King, might have happened; wherein the Empreſs upbraiding the *Britiſh* Ladies, that they lay with ſo many Men promiſcuouſly, according to their Cuſtom, of one Woman's having ſeveral Husbands, (as hath been already related:) The *Britiſh* Lady made her this quick Return; "We *Britiſh* Women do much "better ſatisfie the Deſires of Nature than you *Roman* Ladies, for we "have to do only with the beſt Men, and that openly, whilſt you com"mit Adulteries with every mean Fellow in a corner. A ſharp Reproof, though no good Excuſe for her Country-women.

Id. Ibid.

But no ſooner was *Severus* returned into the *Roman* Province, but the *Caledonians* and *Mæatæ* again took Arms, which ſo incenſed the old Emperor, that calling his Soldiers together, he commanded them, (repeating a Verſe of *Homer*) That they ſhould enter the Country, and kill all they met, both Men, Women, and Children; but being now worn out with Years and Infirmities, he could not go himſelf, but ſent *Baſſianus*, his Son, againſt them; yet whether he did any thing conſiderable, is uncertain, ſince *Severus* died not long after: Whoſe End, whether it was haſtened by his Son's wicked Practices, or whether he died of meer Age or Sickneſs, is not truly known, ſince Hiſtorians differ much about it; but before he died, he is ſaid to have ſpoke thus to his two Sons, Baſſianus *and* Geta; *See that you agree between your ſelves, and pay your Soldiers, and then you need care for no body elſe.* A notable Maxim, which hath been obſerved not only by them, but by all who are, or deſire to be abſolute Monarchs. He is likewiſe ſaid by *Spartianus* to have rejoyced before his Death, that he left the Empire to his Sons, according to the Example of *Antoninus Pius*, who left the two *Antonini* (his Sons by Adoption) his Heirs; whereas he had left two Sons, gotten by himſelf, Rulers of the *Roman Commonwealth*. But he was deceived in his Expectation, for the one by the *Parricide* of his Brother, the other by his own evil Manners, were ſoon deſtroyed; and to expect otherwiſe, ſhew'd him not to have been ſo Prudent in that, as in his other Actions: Upon which, the Author laſt cited, in his Life of this Prince, makes this ſhrewd Obſervation; *That ſcarce any great Men had left behind them a Son good for any thing, but either they have had no Children, or elſe ſuch, that it had*

Herodian.

In Severo.

Anno Dom. CXCVIII. *had been better for Mankind if they had died without any at all.* This Author alſo makes him to have further ſpoke theſe as his laſt Words: *I received the Commonwealth every where diſturbed, but leave it even as far as* Britain, *in Peace, a firm and ſtable Empire to my* Antonines *if they prove Virtuous, but if otherwiſe, a weak one.*

Ibid.

Dion tells us, That his Corps being carried out in great Pomp, and laid upon the Funeral Pile without the Walls of *York*, at a place called to this day *Sever*'s-*Hoe*, or *Sever*'s-*Hill*, the Souldiers rid round it on Horſe-back full ſpeed whilſt it was burning, his own Sons having firſt kindled the Fire. *Herodian* gives us a long Deſcription of his Funeral Pile, and of the manner of burning the Body of a *Roman* Emperour, which being too tedious to be here recited, thoſe who are deſirous of reading the Deſcription of this Spectacle, may find it at large in this Author. His Bones being put in an Urn of Porphiry, were carried by his Sons to *Rome*, and placed in the Sepulchre of the *Antonines:* It is alſo ſaid by *Dion*, That *Severus*, a little before his Death, commanded this Urn to be brought to him, and holding it in his hand to have ſpoke thus, *Muſt thou hold him, whom the whole World could not contain?* *Severus* is deſcribed by this Author to have been in his old age Corpulent, but of a ſtrong Conſtitution, thô much afflicted with the Gout; of a ſharp and excellent Wit; a Lover of good Letters, in which, thô he was a ſufficient Maſter, yet was more able to expreſs it by Writing, than Words; grateful towards his Friends; moſt cruel to his Enemies; diligent in Affairs, but careleſs of what Men ſaid of him; greedy of Money, which he gathered by all means, yet for that cauſe alone he never put any Man to Death: He was magnificent in his publick Expences, and built many new Edifices, and repaired the old ones; ſo that thô he ſpent vaſtly, yet he left a great Treaſure behind him. But to add ſomewhat farther from others, he was a great Enemy to Incontinence and Adultery, and made ſtrict Laws againſt it; and had certainly as great a mixture of good and evil Qualities as ever were found in any one Man: That he was both Perfidious and Cruel, appears by his Dealing with *Albinus*, as alſo with the Wife and Children of *Niger*, whom, thô innocent, he cauſed to be put to Death, whilſt his own Son, who had attempted upon his Life and Empire, he eaſily Pardoned; which whether he did out of Love to him, or wearineſs of Life, as ſated with Honour and Power, may be doubted; and if he had been then a young Man, perhaps he would have acted otherwiſe. I have inſiſted the longer upon the Character of this Prince, as being one of the greateſt and moſt fortunate of all the *Roman* Emperours.

But having given you an account of the laſt Words and Actions of *Severus* in *Britain*, I cannot but here take notice of a notorious Falſhood in *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* in this part of his Hiſtory, and whereby you may judge of his Skill in the *Roman* Hiſtory, and I ſhall give it you in the Words of a Learned Biſhop. *Geoffery* having found that *Severus* the Emperour died in *Britain*, thought it moſt for the Honour of our Country to kill him fairly in Battle, and therefore by power of Fancy he creates one *Fulgentius* to be General againſt him, who being overpowered here at home, went and fetched in the *Picts* out of *Scythia*, and with their Aid fought *Severus* and killed him, and was killed together for Company: All which was *Geoffery*'s own proper Invention. And then having found that *Severus* left a Son, *Baſſianus*, that was his Succeſſor in the *Roman* Empire, he

Vid. *the Lord Biſhop of St.*Aſaph's *Preface to his Hiſtorical Account of* Church-Government *in* Britain.

makes his *Britains* ſet up this *Baſſianus* to be their King on his Mother's account, who (muſt be the Siſter of *Fulgenius*) then having found, that *Britain* was Governed by *Carauſius* ſome time after, thô he knew not when, putting both theſe together, he makes the fore-mentioned Emperour *Baſſianus* (being betrayed by the *Picts* that came in with his Uncle *Fulgenius*) to be killed in Fight by this *Carauſius*, thô there was a diſtance of ſome 70 Years between them: But that was nothing with *Geoffery*, he writ (I dare ſay) what might be true for ought he knew; nor has *Geoffery* erred alone, but hath alſo led *John Fordun* and *Hector Boethius*, the *Scotch* Hiſtorians, into the ſame Error, who (as the ſaid Learned Biſhop obſerves) make this *Fulgenius*, whom they call a *Britiſh* Conſul, (his Name a little altered into *Fulgentius*) to have headed the *Scots* and *Picts* in this War with *Severus*: But I need ſay no more of this, for *Geoffery* being once expoſed, (as he deſerves,) thoſe that write from him will need no other Confutation.

Anno Dom. CXCVIII.

After the Death of *Severus*, his Sons *Baſſianus* and *Geta* (having before taken the Sirname of *Antonini*,) ſucceeded in the Empire; and althô the Elder pretended to hold it in common with his Brother, yet he preſently began to Reign alone, ſoon ending the War with the *Britains*, and relinquiſhing the Gariſons; not long after left this Iſland together with his Brother *Geta*, with whom ~~when he~~ having [illegible] had ſome Quarrels, *Julia* the Empreſs, together with their Friends and Councellors, patched up a Reconciliation between them, which was only in outward Appearance, and more by Conſtraint than Good Will: So both of them enjoying the like Imperial *Honours*, paſſed into *Italy*, leaving *Virius Lupus* as their Lieutenant in *Britain*; but as ſoon as they came to *Rome*, their Hatred to each other breaking out afreſh, *Baſſianus* coming into his Brother *Geta*'s Bedchamber, when he looked for no ſuch thing, cruelly murdered him in his Mother's Arms; and then beſtowing a great Donative upon the Souldiers to gain their Good Wills, was alone declared Emperour, and his Brother *Geta* condemned as an Enemy, ~~as~~ for having conſpired againſt him. But one thing is very remarkable; That when he had committed this Parricide, he would have had *Papinian*, the great *Civil Lawyer*, to have wrote a Defence of it; but he, like an honeſt *Roman*, utterly refuſed it, plainly telling him, "That it was eaſier to commit Parricide, than to defend it "when it was committed. But this plain Anſwer coſt him his Life, the Emperour commanding his Soldiers to kill him in his Preſence; which one of them doing with an Axe, the Emperour chid him for it, ſaying, "That he ought to have performed his Commands with a Sword.

Anno Dom. CCXI.

Herodian, l. 4.

Dion. lib. 77. Spartianus in Caracalla.

The Reign of *Antoninus Baſſianus Caracalla* affords us nothing tranſacted in this Iſland, only, that after the Death of his Bother *Geta*, he commanded his Name to be razed out of all Monuments; which was accordingly obſerved in *Britain*, as appears by an Inſcription dug out of the Earth in *Monmouthſhire*, which was erected for the Safety of the then Emperor *Severus*, and *Antoninus*, and *Geta*, Cæſars: wherein the Name of *Geta*, by the tract of Letters, may be diſcovered to have once been there, though now razed out: The like is to be ſeen, in another Stone mentioned by *Camden*, in *Richmondſhire*.

The Emperor *Caracalla*, (ſo called from a sort of Military Cloak he wore,) being made away by *Opilius Macrinus*, ~~who was~~ then *Præfectus Prætorii*, He ~~and~~ ſucceeded him, ~~being~~ was choſen Emperor by the Army; in his Reign, as likewiſe of many other of his Succeſſors, We find no mention made of

Anno Dom. CCXVII.

Capitolinus in Caracalla.

Britain

Anno Dom.
CCXVII.

Britain, whether it were that the Empire declining apace, good Authors grew ſcarce, or are now loſt; or, which is more probable, that the ſucceeding Princes being advanced by the heady Affection of the Soldiers, and quickly again depoſed and murthered, had no time to perform any thing conſiderable in this Iſland, lying ſo remote. Hence it is that for ſome years we are ~~left~~ in the dark, having only a few Fragments left us, lying ſcatter'd here and there in divers Authors, which give us juſt Light enough to diſcover, that *Britain* as yet continued a *Roman Province*, and ſtill had its *Proprætors* and *Preſidents*: Nay, *Geoffery* himſelf hath here left wide Gaps and *Interregnums* for many years together. So that if we would, we could not piece up a Hiſtory of theſe Times, even out of his Romances; and were it not undecent to leave ſo great a Breach in the midſt of this Hiſtory, many of the following Emperor's Names might be ſpared: But however we will give you the following Emperors in the order they ſtand in the *Roman* Hiſtories we have left us.

being
who ~~[illegible]~~ slaine
by the Army
as [illegible]
that his Predecessour

Anno Dom.
CCXIX.
Herodian, lib. 4.

who was

To *Opilius Macrinus*, ſucceeded *Anton. Heliogabolus*, ~~being~~, as the Soldiers falſely believed, a Baſtard Son of *Baſſianus Caracalla*; but this Monſter, after three Years Reign, was killed by the Pretorian Bands, and

Anno Dom.
CCXXII.
In Alexandro Severo.

Alexander Severus, his Couſin-German, ſucceeded him, having been before declared *Cæſar* by the Senate. It is thought by ſome, that he made an Expedition into *Britain*; for *Lampridius* ſays, he was ſlain in a Town called *Sicila*, but whether it were in *Britain* or *Gaul* he leaves it uncertain; howbeit ſomewhat we find in the ſame Author of his Actions in this Iſland, That he firſt gave unto the Captains and Soldiers near the Marſhes, or Wall of *Severus*, thoſe Lands which were won from the Enemy; ſo that they ſhould be their Propriety ſo long as their Heirs ſerved as Soldiers, and that they ſhould not revert to private Men, ſuppoſing they would go to the Wars more willingly, and take better Care to defend their own peculiar Poſſeſſions: From whence, as Mr. *Camden* very well notes, may be deduced either a kind of *Feudum* or *Fee*, or at leaſt ~~the~~ the firſt Foot-ſteps we can find of Military Feuds, which were afterwards ſo much in uſe amongſt the *Goths*, and thoſe Nations derived from them, as the *Normans* and others. The ſame Author alſo adds, that before his Death a *Druid* Woman cry'd out to him in the *Gauliſh* Tongue, *Go on, but hope not for Victory, and truſt not thy Soldiers*: A good Advice, if he could have taken it, for he Was ſlain by ſome of his own Army, at the Inſtigation of *Maximin*, who ſucceeded him: The true cauſe of his Death was, that the Soldiers, grown looſe under *Heliogabolus*, could not endure the Severity of his Diſcipline; ſo that though he were one of the beſt and moſt virtuous Emperors that ever govern'd, yet he found the ſame Fate from his Soldiers as the worſt had done: In ſo ſad a Condition are thoſe Monarchs whoſe Lives or Deaths depend upon the good or bad Humours of a ſtanding Army. The place of his Death is uncertain, for * St. *Hierom* and *Oroſius* ſuppoſe him to have been killed at *Mentz* by the Conſpiracy of his Soldiers, together with his Mother, whoſe covetouſeneſs was a great cauſe of his Ruin.

* *In Chron. Lib. 7.*

Anno Dom.
CCXXXV.

Julius Maximinus ſucceeded him, who was as wicked and cruel as his Predeceſſor was good and gentle; he, being condemn'd by the Senate, was ſlain by the Soldiers; but before his Death, the two *Gordiani*, Father and Son, were made Emperors by the Army in *Africa*; but being in a ſhort time both made away, *Pupienus Maximus*, and *Clodius Balbinus*, were both together elected Emperors by the Senate, and were both ſlain by the *Prætorian* Bands; during whoſe ſhort continuance in Power, we find not the leaſt Remembrance of them in our Iſland. Theſe two, before their Deaths, adopted

Anno Dom. CCXXXV

M. Anton. Gordianus, the Grand-ſon of *Gordian* the Elder, who was alſo elected Emperor by the *Prætorian* Bands; by whom though we find nothing done in *Britain*, yet that he had an Army here under the Command of *Nonnius Phillipus*, his Lieutenant, appears by an Altar-Stone found in *Cumberland*, at a place then called *Caſtra Exploratorum*, with a votive Inſcription for the Health of this Emperor.

Anno Dom. CCXXXVIII

Marcus Julius Phillipus, an Arabian, having depoſed and murthered *Gordian*, ſucceeded in the Empire, but was himſelf alſo made away by his Army: He is ſaid by *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, and other Authors, to have been the firſt Chriſtian *E*mperor; but this hath been confuted, and ſufficiently exploded by *Scaliger*, and other learned Men. His Memory is preſerved in *Britain* by an Inſcription upon a Pyramidal Stone dug out of the Earth not far from *Carliſle*, which is dedicated to this Emperor, as alſo to his Son *Philip* then Cæſar.

Anno Dom. CCXLIV.

Vide *Camd. Britan. in Cumberland.*

I ſhall here omit two other Emperors which are mentioned by *Zozimus* to have reigned at the ſame time with this *Philip*, one in the *Eaſt*, and the other in *Panonia*: And ſhall paſs on to

Quintus Trajanus Decius, who was elected Emperor by the *Perſian* Legions. He was a great Enemy of the Chriſtians, and raiſed the Seventh Perſecution againſt them; but having ſeen his Son *Decius*, whom he had made his Aſſociate in the Empire, ſlain by the *Goths*, with whom he fought, being betray'd by *Hoſtilian* his General, in his Flight, he fell into a Bog or whirle Pool. To whom ſucceeded

Anno Dom. CCL.

Zozimus lib. 1 *Oroſius lib.* 7.

Trebonianus Gallus Hoſtilianus, who had betrayed him into that ruin, but he being in a ſhort time depos'd and ſlain by the ſame Soldiers that had advanced him to the Imperial Throne;

Anno Dom. CCLI.

Id. Ibid.

Then *Æmilianus* ſucceeded him, but enjoyed the Imperial Throne but three months, and then the Legions near the *Alps* created

Publius Licinius Valerianus Emperour, who being taken Priſoner in a Battel againſt *Sapores* King of *Perſia*, for 7 Years lived in a moſt miſerable Captivity, being made the Foot-ſtool of that Tyrant, till at laſt by being flead alive, he died. But before his Death,

Anno Dom. CCLIV.

Trebellius Pollio in Valeriano.

Publius Licinius Galienus, his Son, Governed in his ſtead, (his elder Brother of the ſame Name, who had been Aſſociate in the Empire with his Father, being dead long before;) this *Galienus* being given up to Luſt, Gluttony and Riot, and careleſs of the common Danger, and through a haughty Ignorance unapprehenſive of his own, met with that Fate, which commonly attends ſuch Princes: So that in his time the Empire was on all ſides invaded by the barbarous Nations bordering upon it, and had been utterly ruined through his careleſs Neglect, had not divers Generals in ſeveral places undertaken the Defence of it; they were near Thirty together, who all aſſumed the Imperial Purple, and are call'd by Hiſtorians the Thirty Tyrants: Six of them, namely, *Lollianus*, *Victorianus*, *Poſthumus*, the two *Tetrici*, Father and Son, with *Marius*, are conjectured to have ruled in this Iſland, as appeareth by many of their Coins found in *England*, but eſpecially about *Colcheſter*; whence *Porphirius* the Philoſopher, (who lived in thoſe Times,) ſaid, *That* Britain *was a Soil fruitful of Tyrants*; *Gallienus* being ſlain by the Treachery of three of his own Captains.

Anno Dom. CCLX.

Idem in Galieno.

Vid. Trebellius Pollio in XXX Tyrannis.

Anno Dom. CCLXVIII.
Idem in Claudio.

Mar. Aurel. Flau. Claudius was choſen Emperor in his ſtead; who, having performed ſeveral great Actions, and intending to reduce the *Roman* Empire again under one Head, died ſuddenly as he was making Preparations againſt *Tetricus*, who then held the Weſtern Provinces, together with *Britain*.

Anno Dom. CCLXIX.

To whom ſucceeded *L. Domitius Aurelianus*, who, being choſen Emperor by the Souldiers, and confirmed by the Senate, ſet himſelf immediately to reduce the Empire again under one Head; a Work wherein *Claudius* his Predeceſſor had been prevented by Death, which was at laſt worthily performed by this Emperor; for *Tetricus*, who ruled in *Gaul* and *Britain* by the Terror of his Arms, being brought to ſubmit himſelf, was led in Triumph through *Rome*. *Aurelian* was afterwards killed by *Mneſtheus*, his Secretary. This Emperor raiſed the Ninth Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. After him

Anno Dom. CCLXXVI.

M. Claudius Tacitus, deſcended from *Tacitus* the Hiſtorian, was elected Emperor by the Senate and Army, though much againſt his Will: He reigned but Six Months, and died of a Fever; but before his Death he adopted

Anno Dom. CCLXXVI.
Vopiſcus in Bonoſo.

M. Aurelius Valer. Probus, who ſucceeded him; in whoſe Reign *Bonoſus*, the Son of a Pretorian Souldier, bred in *Spain*, (though by Deſcent a *Britain*,) and a matchleſs Drinker, not ſo much to be blamed, if (as they write,) he were ſtill wiſeſt in his Cups, having attained by the courſe of War to great military Honours, thô at laſt, in his Charge over the *German* Navy, having (willingly as was thought,) ſuffered the Ships to be burnt, truſting on his Intereſt with the Weſtern Legions, he joined with one *Proculus*, and ſeizing upon *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Britain*, made himſelf ~~as~~ Emperor for a time; but after a long and bloody Fight near *Collen*, being vanquiſhed by *Probus*, he hang'd himſelf, and gave occaſion of that ſharp Epitaph made upon him for his great Drinking; *Here hangs a Tankard.*

Zoſimus lib. 1.

After this, *Probus* prevented a new Rebellion in *Britain*, by the ſevere Loyalty of *Victorinus*, a Moor, (one of his Miniſters) at whoſe Recommendation he had placed a Lieutenant here, (whom Mr. *Camden* ſuppoſes to have been *Cornelius Lælianus*, ſince his Coins are found in this Iſland, but in no other Countrey,) who rebelled and ſet up for Emperor; but *Probus* upbraiding *Victorinus* with the Diſloyalty of him whom he had recommended, he undertook to rectifie this Miſtake; ſo haſtning over hither, and finding the Governor in actual Rebellion, by ſome Contrivance, not mentioned by our Hiſtorians, he privately, in the Night, found means to kill him. *Eutropius* alſo relates, that *Probus* was the firſt Emperor who gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and *Britains*, to plant Vines, and to make Wine: But he having ſubdued the *Vandals* and *Burgundians* in a great Battel, ſent over many of them to inhabit in *Britain*, where they did good Service to the *Roman* Empire, when any Inſurrection hapned in this Iſle: They are ſuppoſed to have had their Camp upon thoſe Hills near *Cambridge*, commonly called *Gogmagog-Hills*, where on the top of a Hill may be ſeen at this day a Plain, encompaſſed round with Trenches of a large Circumference, with only one Entrance.

Zoſimus ib.

Vide *Camd. Britan. in Cambridgeſhire.*

But though this Emperor well deſerved the Name of *Probus*, yet could he not avoid the Fate of his Predeceſſors, being ſlain by his own Army; the occaſion whereof was that worthy Saying of his, *That in a ſhort time he hoped to bring it to paſs, that the Empire ſhould want no more ſtanding Armies*: He was thus made away.

M. Aurelius Carus was advanced to the Empire by the Army; he created his two Sons *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, Cæſars; to *Carinus* he gave the Charge of *Britain*, with the reſt of the Weſtern Provinces, but taking *Numerianus* along with him into the Eaſt, he invaded the *Perſians*, where he died ſuddenly, (as ſome relate,) being ſtruck with Lightning; (thô **Voſpiſcus* ſaith, he died a natural Death; and that the Souldiers firing his Tent gave occaſion to the former Report:) His pious Son *Numerianus* was ſlain by *Aper*, one of his Captains, and he again underwent the ſame Fate by *Diocleſian*, who alſo in a ſet Battle not long after ſlew *Carinus*, who by his Riot and Luxury had much waſted *Britain*, and the other Provinces: All theſe Tranſactions happened within the ſpace of two Years.

Anno Dom. CCLXXXII.

* *In Aurelio Caro.*

C. Aurel. Diocleſian being advanced to the Empire by the Choice of the Eaſtern Army, adopted *Mar. Aurel. Maximinianus*, Sirnamed *Herculius*, his Aſſociate in the Empire; five Years after which, the former of theſe Emperours nominated *Galerius*, and the latter adopted *Conſtantius Clorus*, Cæſars; conſtraining them to divorce their former Wives, and to marry their Daughters.

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In the beginning of this Emperour's Reign, *Carauſius*, a Man of mean Parentage born in *Menapia*, (that is) about the Parts of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who, through all Military Degrees, was advanced at length to be Governour of *Bononia*, Admiral of the *Belgic* and *Armoric* Seas, then much infeſted by the *Francks* and *Saxons*; but what he took from the Pirats, he neither reſtored to the Owners, nor accounted to the Publick, whereby he much enriched himſelf; not ſo much as guarding the Seas, but rather conniving at thoſe Pirats, till at length he grew too great a Delinquent to be leſs than an Emperour; therefore hearing that *Maximinian* had ordered him to be ſlain, he then took upon him the Imperial Robe, and hearing that this Emperour was marching againſt him with the Fleet under his Command, paſſed over into *Britain*, where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* faſhion, getting into his Power the Legion that was left here in Gariſon, with other Outlandiſh Cohorts; he detained and liſted the very Merchants and Factors of *Gaul*, and with the Allurements of Spoil, invited great numbers of other barbarous Nations to take his part, and trained them to Sea-Service; wherein the *Romans* had ſo much loſt their Skill, that *Carauſius* with his Navy at Sea did what he liſted, robbing on all the Sea-Coaſts, whereby *Maximinian* not able to come nearer than the Shore of *Bononia*, (now *Boloigne*,) was forced to conclude a Peace with *Carauſius*, and yield him up *Britain*, as one fitteſt to guard that Province againſt the Incurſions of the Northern *Britains*: This is the reaſon that in all *Carauſius*'s Silver Coins we find two Emperours taking hands, with this Inſcription on the Reverſe, *CONCORDIA AUGG.*

Anno Dom. CCLXXXVI.

Aurel. Victor Eutropius, Oroſius.

Eumen. in Paneg. 2.

But not long after, *Maximinian* ſent *Conſtantius Chlorus*, now Cæſar, againſt *Carauſius*, who in the mean while had made himſelf ſtrong, both within the Land, and without. *Geoffery of Monmouth* writes, that he made the *Picts* his Confederates; to whom, as being lately come out of *Scythia*, he gave *Albania* (now called *Scotland*) to inhabit: And it is indeed obſervable, that about his time the *Picts* are found to be firſt mentioned by *Eumenius* in his Panegyrick to *Maximinian*, † where he alſo mentions the *Hiberni* together with *Picts*, both which he there calls *Half-naked Enemies*: But whether by thoſe *Hiberni* are to be underſtood *Iriſh-men*, (as that word Gramatically imports,) and as our *Engliſh* Antiquaries under-

† *Ad hoc, Natio etiam tunc rudis*, & ſoli Britanni *Pictis modo & Hibernis aſſueta hoſtibus adhuc ſeminudis, facile Romanis armis ſigniſque ceſſerunt.*

Anno Dom. CCLXXXVI.

underſtand it; or elſe *Scotch-men,* (called *Hiberni,* becauſe they firſt came out of *Ireland,*) as *Buchanan* and *Scaliger* would have it, ſince it depends upon ſo nice a Criticiſm in the *Latin* Tongue, as whether the words *Soli Britanni* were intended by the Author for the Nominative Caſe Plural, or elſe for the Genitive of the Singular Number, I ſhall not take upon me to decide; only the Reader may pleaſe to take notice, that thoſe who underſtand theſe words in the former ſenſe, do ſuppoſe the *Scots* to have firſt come out of *Ireland* into *Britain* after this time; but I have given you the words themſelves in the Margin, that you may paſs what Judgment you pleaſe upon them.

This is ſuppoſed to have been a Temple dedicated to the God Terminus, *and is ſeen to this day in* Scotland *near the ſaid River. See its Deſcription in* Camd. Brit. *in* Scotl. *Tit.* Sterling Sheriffdom: *You may ſee alſo the Figure of it in the new Editions, p.* 1104.

An ~~But~~ (as *Nennius* relates) *Carauſius* repaired and fortified the Walls of *Severus* with Caſtles, and a round Houſe of poliſh'd Stone on the Bank of *Carron,* which River, he ſaith, was from him ſo called; alſo in *Gaul* he kept *Bononia* with a Gariſon, and all the *Francks* which had by his permiſſion ſeated themſelves in *Bélgia* were at his command; but *Conſtantius* haſting into *Gallia,* beſieged *Bononia,* (now called *Boloigne,* as I ſaid before,) and with Stones and Timber blocking up the Harbour, kept out all Relief that could be ſent in by *Carauſius*; but before *Conſtantius* with the Fleet which he had prepared could arrive thither, *Carauſius* was ſlain in *Britain* by the Treachery of *Allectus,* one of his chief Friends and Commanders, who likewiſe for three Years uſurped the Empire; when *Carauſius* worthily (as ſome ſay, or as others, Tyrannically) had Ruled this Iſland 7 Years.

D. ~~CCLXIII.~~

~~But~~ *Conſtantius* preſently took hold of that Opportunity before *Allectus* ſhould ſettle his Affairs, therefore, thô the weather were ill, he put his Army to Sea with all expedition, and that from ſeveral Havens, the more to ſpread the Terrour of his Landing, and render it doubtful where to expect him; ſo in a Miſt paſſing by *Allectus* with the *Britiſh* Fleet unſeen, that lay cruiſing near the Iſle of *Vecta,* (now *Wight,*) he no ſooner got on ſhore but he fired his own Ships, to leave his Men no hopes of Safety but in Victory; then forthwith the poor oppreſſed *Britains* came flocking in to *Conſtantius,* offering themſelves, together with their Wives and Children, to him, as their Deliverer ſent them from Heaven; which when *Allectus* heard, being much diſmayed at this News, he paſſed over to the *Britiſh* Shore, where landing, he reſolved to try his Fortune in a Battle on the Land; where being encountred by *Aſclepiodotus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands, and deſperately ruſhing on, being unmindful both of the well-ordering of his Men, and of bringing them all in to fight, (except the noted Acceſſories of his Treaſon, and his Outlandiſh Hirelings:) He was overthrown, and ſlain with little or no loſs to the *Romans,* but great Execution on the *Francks.* *Allectus* having before flung away his Imperial Robes, that he might not be known, his Body was found almoſt naked in the Field; the reſt of his Men flying to *London,* and purpoſing with the Pillage of that City to eſcape by Sea, were met by another part of the *Roman* Army, whom the late mentioned Miſt at Sea had ſeparated, and now by chance had brought up the *Thames,* where landing, they killed almoſt all the reſt; even in the very City, whilſt the Citizens had the pleaſure to behold their own Deliverance. By this Victory, this Province was totally recovered to the *Roman* Empire, as *Eumenius* witneſſes in his Panegyrick above-mentioned, after it had been 10 Years in Rebellion. But before I diſmiſs this part of our Hiſtory, I cannot omit what *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* alſo adds, thô with no ſhew of probability, to this Hiſtory of *Carauſius* and *Allectus* his Succeſſor in this Uſurpation, *viz.*

D. ~~CCLXV.~~

That

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That *Allectus* going about to puniſh thoſe *Romans* and *Britains* who had adhered to the Party of *Carauſius*, and been partakers in his Robberies; who reſenting this Severity, choſe one *Aſclepiodotus* a *Britain* to revenge it, exhorting him to ſet upon *Allectus* then in *London*, whilſt he was celebrating a Feaſt to his Gods; at whoſe arrival *Allectus* forſaking his Sacrifice, and marching out with the choiceſt of his Souldiers, joyned Battel with him, but being ſlain, *Gallus* a Captain of *Allectus* ſtill held *London*; to the reducing whereof, *Aſclepiodotus* (now made King) ſummoned the *Dametæ* and *Venedoti* (*i. e.* the Inhabitants of that part of the Iſland now called *Wales*) to his Aſſiſtance; with theſe Forces he beleaguer'd the City, and with warlike Engines battered down great part of the Wall. *Gallus* perceiving himſelf not able to hold out any longer, came to a Parly, and ſurrendered the Town upon condition to march out Armed; which being agreed to, *Aſclepiodotus* enters *Walbrook*, ~~whence it had its Name ;~~ but the *Venedoti*, contrary to the Articles, fell upon *Gallus* and ſlew him, at a Brook's ſide within the City, now called from his Name *Galbrook*, or *Walbrook*. But it is certain, there was never any King of *Britain* called *Aſclepiodotus*, who was indeed no more than the Præfect to *Conſtantius*, nor had he any ſuch Captain as this *Gallus* as we can any where find, except in this Author.

But *Eumenius* who then lived, (and was of *Conſtantius* his Houſehold, and who upon this Victory made the Panegyrick but now mentioned in Praiſe of *Maximian* and *Conſtantius*, then Emperours,) relates this to have been done in the courſe of one continued Action: So alſo *Sigonius*, a Judicious Hiſtorian, thô others allow 3 Years to the Tyranny of *Allectus*. In thoſe Times there was ſuch great ſtore of good Workmen and excellent Builders in *Britain*, that during theſe great Diſturbances here, the *Æduans* in *Burgundy* entertained them to build their Temples and publick Edifices.

Anno Dom. CCCIV.

Euſebius.
Socrates.

Hiſt. Eccleſ.
l. 1. *c.* 6.

Diocleſian having hitherto ſucceſsfully ſhewed his Valour againſt the Enemies of the *Roman* Empire, now exerted his Rage in a bloody Perſecution againſt his obedient and harmleſs *Chriſtian* Subjects; from the feeling whereof, this Iſland (though the moſt remote) was not, it ſeems, yet far enough off from having ſome ſhare of his Rage; for our Hiſtorians, *Gildas* and *Bede*, relate, That in this Perſecution, *Albanus* a Citizen of *Verulam* ſuffered, as alſo *Arron* and *Julius* Citizens of the City of *Legions*, (now *Caerleon* upon *Uske*,) and many others of both Sexes, in divers places, who were put to Death by various Torments. Of the Martyrdom of St. *Alban*, *Bede* gives us this particular Account, *viz.* That he being as yet a *Pagan*, when the Edict of thoſe Heathen Emperours raged againſt the Chriſtians, received into his Houſe a certain Prieſt who had then fled from his Perſecutors, whom whilſt he beheld imploy'd Night and Day in Watchings and Prayers, upon a ſudden (being touched by the Divine Grace) he began to emulate his Faith and Piety, and being by degrees inſtructed by his ſaving Precepts, at laſt leaving his Idolatry he became a Chriſtian. Now when this Prieſt had lived with him ſome time, it came to the Ears of the *Roman* Governour, That this Confeſſor (who was not yet to be Martyr'd) lay hid in the Houſe of *Alban*: The Governour preſently ſent Souldiers to find him out, who when they came thither, *Alban* offered himſelf to them in ſtead of his Gueſt, in that very Habit he uſed to wear; and being immediately brought before the Judge, who at that ~~very~~ time was ſtanding

at

Anno Dom. CCCIV. at the Altar ſacrificing to his Idols: when he ſaw *Alban*, he was highly incenſed, becauſe he had voluntarily delivered himſelf up inſtead of his gueſt, ſo commanding him to be drag'd before the Images of thoſe falſe *Gods*, he was then worſhiping; ſaid thus, "For that thou haſt rather choſen to conceal a Rebellious, Sacrilegious Fellow, than to deliver him up to my Guards; that as a contemner of the *Gods* he might ſuffer the puniſhment due to his Blaſphemy; whatſoever torments therefore were due to him, thou thy ſelf ſhalt endure, if thou perſiſteſt in this new Superſtition. But *Alban*, who had of his own accord owned himſelf to be a Chriſtian, did not at all fear the threats of the Preſident; but plainly told him, that he would not obey his commands (the reſt of their Dialogue being ſomewhat tedious, I omit) but the Judge being thereupon more provoked, told him again, that if he intended to live, he muſt imediately offer Sacrifice to their *Gods*; which he again not only refuſed, but alſo reproved others for ſo doing, and thereupon was condemned to moſt cruel Torments, all which he manfully overcame; and although they did all they could to invent new Tortures for him, yet he endured them all with exquiſite patience, till their wearineſs, not pity made them deſiſt. And here we muſt bewail our want of a true Story of this good Man's Martyrdom, which the Monks have mixed with ſo many improbable Circumſtances, that it is even nauſeous either to read or hear them. But I ſhall proceed to relate what I find in *Bede*, without paſſing my word for the truth of the following Miracles.

Alban being ſentenced to be beheaded, much People flock'd to the place of his Execution; which was on a Hill (afterward called in *Engliſh Holm hurſt*) to which they were to paſs over a River, where a narrow paſſage admitted of very few a-breaſt. *Alban* being to follow after all the company, and perceiving it would be very late before he could attain his deſired End, obtained by his Prayers, that the River parting aſſunder, afforded a free paſſage for a great many together; this Miracle ſo wrote upon him, who was appointed to be his Executioner, that he utterly refuſed the Imployment, deſiring rather to ſuffer himſelf for him, than to offer him any violence: But another ſoon took his place.

Alban being come to the top of the Hill, where he was to ſuffer, found himſelf very dry; when preſently by his Prayer, a Spring brake forth at his Feet, to the amaſement of all that ſaw it, except the Executioner, who notwithſtanding the Miracle, ſtruck off his Head; when inſtantly his own Eyes fell out of his Head, upon the ground, as a juſt puniſhment for his infidelity: and preſently after ſuffer'd alſo the Convert Executioner above mentioned.

The body of St. *Alban* was privately buried; That Age not knowing the Vertue of keeping Saints Relicks; but many Years after, *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, is ſaid to have diſcovered his Bones, and to have removed them into a ſtately Shrine; where he built a noble Church and Monaſtery, as ſhall be particularly ſhown in its proper place.

Not long after the Martyrdom of St. *Alban*, ſuffered alſo the Prieſt who converted him, and whoſe Name *Geoffrey* will have to be *Amphibalus*; thô we had never heard of it at all, but from this Author, that word ſignifying properly not a Man's name, but a long ſhag Cloak, which it is ſuppoſed that good Man wore: I ſhall alſo paſs by the Martyrdoms of many other Chriſtians, ſaid to be at *Lichfield*, and *Wincheſter* and other places, as being of very uncertain credit, having no other Authors, but

Geoffery

Geoffrey and our Monks; who lived and wrote at a great diſtance from thoſe Times.

Anno Dom. CCCIV.

But the Emperors *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian*, having both on the ſame day (thô in different places) reſign'd the Empire to the two *Cæſar*'s above-mentioned, and *Conſtanti~~nus~~*us choosing the *Weſtern* Provinces (whereof in *Britain* was one) for his ſhare, came over hither to ſettle affairs in this Iſland; and *Eutropius* ſuppoſes *Helena* his Wife to have been a *Britain* by Birth; whereupon our *Geoffrey* preſumes further, and makes her to have been the Daughter of one King *Coil*, whom he ſuppoſes to have ſucceeded *Aſclepiodotus*: But ſince there is no ground for this fancy in any Authentick Writer, I ſhall wholly ſlight it, eſpecially ſince *Nicephorus* and other *Greek* Hiſtorians relate her to be a *Bithynian*; but to return to that which is more to our purpoſe; it is certain that as ſoon as ~~*Auguſtus*~~ was declared he immediately put a ſtop to the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians in his Provinces; and then paſſing over into *Britain*, *Conſtantius* not long after made an Expedition againſt the *Caledonians*, whom he overcame; and not long after died at *York*: having been all his life time a great favourer of the Chriſtians, though no profeſſed *Chriſtian* himſelf: to whom ſucceeded

Euſeb. Chron. Zozom Euſ.b. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Augustus

Anno Dom. CCCVI.

Conſtantine his Son, who came luckily Poſt from *Rome* to *Boloigne*, juſt about the time (ſaith *Euſebius*) when his Father lay Sick upon his Death-bed; where being by him nominated for his Succeſſour, he was immediately after his Father's Funerals, by the whole Army ſaluted Emperour, thô he declined it all he could; concerning whom, there is a great diſpute whether he were a *Britain* or not; our *Britiſh* Hiſtorians produce a paſſage out of *Eumenius*'s Oration to *Conſtantine*, wherein he calls *Britain*, the *moſt bleſſed and fortunate of all Lands, quia Conſtantinum Cæſarem primum vidiſti*; which words may yet be thus interpreted, that is, it did not behold *Conſtantine* Born; but ſaw him firſt created Emperor: which is undoubtedly true, but ſince moſt of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians underſtand it in the former Senſe; (there being nothing of concluſive certainty deliver'd by Antient Authors concerning it.) I ſhall leave it as I found it; thô it muſt be confeſſed that the learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his *Orig. Britannicæ*, Not only from ſeveral paſſages in *Eumenius*'s Panegyrick, but alſo by other Arguments, hath made it highly probable that *Conſtantine* was born in *Britain*.

De vita Conſt. lib. 1.

But this is more certain, that *Conſtantine* before his departure hence, ſeems to have had ſome Bickerings with the *Britains* in the *Northern* parts of this *Iſland*, which having in ſome time compoſed, he paſſed again into *Gaul*; where leaving a great Army (many of whom were before raiſed in *Britain*) he from thence went into *Italy*, and near *Rome* overthrew the Tyrant *Maxentius*, who had ſeized that City, together with the reſt of *Italy*; immediately after which Victory, he declared himſelf a Chriſtian in the preſence of his whole Army, which yet he would not have perhaps ventured to have done, had he not been ſure that a conſiderable Party of his Souldiers had been ſo before.

Anno Dom. CCCX.

About the Fourth Year after, *Conſtantine* return'd again into *Britain*, but what he performed here is not left us by any Hiſtorian now extant, more than what * *Euſebius* tells us in general, That *Conſtantine* paſſed over to the *Britains*, (who had it ſeems then revolted) whom, when he had ſubdued, he turned his Eyes to thoſe other parts of the World, that he might relieve thoſe that wanted his aſſiſtance; which this Author ſuppoſes

* De vita Conſtant. lib. 1. cap. 25.

Anno Dom. CCCX.

to be the reſt of the Empire then oppreſſed by Maxentius ~~Maxcutius~~, thô all others make him to have been ſubdued in the very beginning of *Conſtantine*'s Reign.

But *Geoffery* (could he be believed) gives us a very plauſible account, why *Conſtantine* came now again into *Britain*, which is to this effect, That *Octavius* Duke of the *Gewiſſes*, taking advantage of the Emperor's abſence had ſeized upon *Britain* for himſelf (the circumſtances of which I omit, to ſhorten the Story) as alſo how one *Trahern* (who is there ſuppoſed to be this Emperor's Unkle by the Mother) obtained a great Victory over this *Octavius*; but that upon *Traherns* being kill'd at *Verulam*, by the treachery of a Nobleman of *Octavius*'s Party, he again returned into *Britain*, and making a Confederacy with the *Northern* Nations, renewed the War; whereupon *Conſtantine* coming upon *Octavius* on the ſuddain, ſoon overcame him, yet ſuffer'd him though Conquer'd ſtill to Reign here as a Tributary to the *Roman* Empire: But it is not likely *Conſtantine* would have given ſo great an encouragement to Rebellion; nay, what is yet more improbable, he makes this *Octavius* to have Govern'd this Iſland, even to the days of *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, which muſt needs be falſe; ſince the Coyns of all thoſe *Roman* Emperors, who ſucceeded between *Conſtantine* and *Valentinian* are found in this Iſland; whereas no Coyn or Monument of this *Octavius*, was ever yet to be ſeen; and further none of the Hiſtorians of this Age do mention any ſuch King of *Britain*, as it is likely they would have done, had they known of ſuch a perſon.

Vid. Breviarium ſexti Ruſi.

But this is more likely, that the Emperour *Conſtantine* alter'd the Ancient Diviſions of *Britain*, by adding to the former Provinces, *viz. Britannica Prima* and *Secunda*, Two others, *viz. Flavia*, and *Maxima Caſarienſis*.

** Vid. Uſſerii Antiquitates Britan. Eccleſ. cap. 8.*

I have no more to add concerning Civil Affairs in this Emperor's Reign; but as for Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, it is certain, the *Britiſh* Church was now grown ſo conſiderable, that * it ſent divers Biſhops to the Council of *Arles* in *Gallia*, which was held in the Year of our Lord 314, as you may ſee in the Firſt Tome of *Gallick* Councils; where *Eborius* Biſhop of the City of *Eboracum*, in the Province of *Britain*, and *Reſtitutus* Biſhop of the City of *London*, and *Adelphius* Biſhop of the City of *Colcheſter* appeared as Deputies for the reſt of the Biſhops of *Britain*.

Id. ibid.

And though in the great Council of *Nice*, which was aſſembled *Anno Dom.* 325, there is no expreſs mention of the Names of the *Britiſh* Biſhops which appear'd there, becauſe the Subſcriptions to that Council are loſt; yet *Athanaſius*, as alſo *Hillary* Biſhop of Poictiers do ſufficiently confirm their being there, as well as *Conſtantine* himſelf, who in his Letter to the *Alexandrians*, ſays; that *Eaſter* was obſerved according to the manner preſcribed in that Council, by all the Nations he there mentions, among whom the *Britains* are reckon'd for one.

Anno Dom. CCCXVII.

Amonian. lib. 20.

Conſtantine dying, divided the Empire amongſt his Three Sons, *Conſtantinus*, *Conſtans*, and *Conſtantius*; to the Eldeſt he gave *Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, with part of *Germany*; but he not content with his ſhare in the Empire (though moſt conſiderable) invaded the Right and Poſſeſſion of his Brother *Conſtans*, and was by him Slain; he is reported to have been kill'd by his Brother's Generals, near to the City of *Aquileia* in *Italy*.

Whereupon

Anno Dom. CCCXL.

Id. ibid.

Whereupon *Conſtans* his Brother ſeized upon his Dominions, and together with his Brother *Conſtantius* (though in Winter time. ſailed into *Britain*, that they might quiet the Commotions of the *Northern Britains*, as *Libanius* and *Julius Firmicus* witneſs; but as for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in this Emperour's Reign, the Council of *Sardica* being called by theſe Emperours, *Anno Dom.* 347, It is certain that the Biſhops of *Britain* appeared there, as is acknowledged by *Athanaſius* in the beginning of his Second Apology againſt the *Arrians*.

Anno Dom. CCCXLIX.

Libanius in Baſilic.

But *Magnentius*, whoſe Father was a *Britain*, conſpiring againſt this Emperour; and having beſet him in a Town in *Gaul*, called *Hellena* as he was hunting thereabouts with a ſmall Retinue, there ſlew him; whereupon, though the *Weſtern* Empire ought by right to have fallen to *Conſtantius*; yet *Magnentius* having poſſeſt himſelf of it, and having drawn in the *Britains* to ſide with him in his Rebellion, he maintained it for Three Years againſt *Conſtantius*; the ſucceſs at firſt was various; but at laſt the heat of the Revolt being pretty well over, and *Conſtantius* ſtill by degrees increaſing upon him, he was no longer able to hold up his Head; ſo that at laſt he ſlew himſelf at *Lyons*: The peaceable poſſeſſion of this part of *Britain* being thereupon left to *Conſtantius*.

Vid. Jul. Tiranicum.

Lib. 14.

About this time the General of all the Forces throughout *Britain*, was *Gratianus*, Sirnamed *Funarius*, from his great ſtrength in pulling a Rope from Four Men, thô not long after this (as *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates) one *Paulus* a notary was ſent into *Britain*, that he might enquire what Military Men were engaged in the Rebellion of *Magnentius*, many of whom he maliciouſly proſecuted, carrying away like a Flood the Fortunes of divers Innocent Men, impriſoning the Free-born Subjects, and putting others into Irons and Fetters, heaping together falſe Accuſations againſt them, by which ſeverity he committed ſuch great oppreſſions, as caſt an eternal blot on the Reign of *Conſtantius*, who ſupported him in his Cruelties.

But one *Martinus* then Governing thoſe Provinces as *Præfect*, grievouſly lamenting the ſufferings of theſe Innocent Men, often beſeeching him, that he would ſpare them; who, when he could not prevail, threatned that he would depart hence, hoping that this malicious Inquiſitor might at laſt ceaſe from his ſo violent proſecution: But *Paulus* fearing his trade might by this means decay, being cruelly artificial in framing of Counterfeit Plots, (from whence he obtained this Sirname of *Catena*) brought the *Præfect* himſelf into a participiation of thoſe very dangers, reſolving to ſend him with divers *Tribunes* and *Priſoners* to the Emperour, with which the *Præfect* being provoked, endeavoured to Stab *Paulus*; but miſſing his paſs, he thruſt the ſame Sword into his own body, and ſo unfortunately periſh'd this Honeſt Man, who loſt his life in trying to relieve the miſerable Fortunes of others. All which things being thus wickedly perform'd, *Paulus* ſtain'd with Innocent Blood, return'd to the Emperours Preſence; againſt whoſe coming with his Priſoners, all ſorts of Tortures and Executioners were prepared, ſo that many of them were proſcribed and Out-law'd; ſome baniſhed, and others moſt cruelly put to Death. But *God* ſome Years after, juſtly puniſh'd this Villain; when by the Command of *Julian* the Emperour he was burnt alive.

Anno Dom. CCCLIX.

Sozomen l. 4.

Sometime after this, the Council of *Ariminum* was called by *Conſtantius*, being the moſt numerous that ever had yet appear'd, as conſiſting of above Four Hundred *Biſhops*, both of the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Churches, *Anno Dom.* CCCLIX.

and in which Council, by the Emperour's long detaining the Biſhops againſt their wills, till they were quite tired out, the major part of them was forced to ſubſcribe the New Creed, made not long before at the pretended Council of *Syrmium*, wherein the Word *Omoouſios* being omitted; the *Son* of God was declared only to be *Omoiouſios*, i. e. of like ſubſtance with *the Father*: I have been the more particular as to this Council, in reſpect to the Biſhops ſent from *Britain*; to whom, as well as to the reſt, *Sulpicius Severus* tells us, the Emperour allowed all ſorts of Proviſions, which ſeemed undecent to the *Aquitanian*, *Gallick*, and *Britiſh* Biſhops to accept of; who therefore refuſing the publick allowance, choſe rather to live at their own Charges; only Three Biſhops of *Britain* for want of Revenues, were forced to make uſe of the publick ſtipend, when they had refuſed a Contribution offer'd them by the reſt, thinking it more honourable for a publick Service to ſubſiſt on the publick Treaſury, than to be burthenſome to private Men; and this muſt be ſaid in commendation of moſt of the *Weſtern* Biſhops, that notwithſtanding their being out Voted, yet (if *Athanaſius* tells true) in a Letter he writ to the Emperour *Jovian*, the moſt part of them ſtill perſiſted in the Faith profeſt by the Council of *Nice*.

under Julian

Lib. XX.

But to return again to Civil Affairs, from whence we have made too long a Digreſſion; about theſe times *Alypius*, a Heathen, was Lieutenant of *Britain*, who afterwards beſtowed much labour (thô in vain) to Rebuild the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; but the Year following this Council, *Ammianus Macellinus* relates, that the fierce Nations of the *Scots* and *Picts* combining together, breaking the Peace, waſted all places near the borders, by a cruel Incurſion; ſo that the fear of it terrified the other Provinces, already wearied out with a continued ſucceſſion of ſo many Calamities: But *Julian* then lately made *Cæſar* (who was afterwards Emperour) Wintering ~~then~~ at *Paris*, hearing this ill news, was diſtracted in his Thoughts what to do, fearing to leave *Gaul* to the *Almans*, then preparing for War; therefore he reſolved to ſend *Lupicinus*, at that time Keeper of the Arms and Warlike Stores, into this Iſland to compoſe theſe Troubles, being a Man Warlike, and well skill'd in Military Affairs; but of a haughty boaſting humour: Beſides, it was much doubted whether he were more Covetous or Cruel. But having raiſed an Army of Light-armed Men, to which were added the * *Herculians*, *Batavians* and many companies of *Miſians*, being now made *General*, and arriving at *Bononia*, having put all his Men on Board, paſſed over with a proſperous Wind, and landed at *Rutipæ* (now called *Sandwich*, near *Richborough* Caſtle in *Kent*,) and from thence marched to *London*, and there taking Council according to the exigency of Affairs, made haſte to meet the Enemy; but what he did againſt them, it is great pity this Author hath not told us; all he ſays further of this *Lupicinus*, being only this, that when the Army had ſaluted *Julian* Emperour, and that a War was like to happen with *Conſtantius*; *Lupicinus* was feared (thô abſent,) being ſuſpected as a Man of a haughty Spirit, that if he ſhould know theſe things (ruling then in *Britain*) he might hinder *Julians* proceedings, and therefore a notary was ſent to *Boloign*, on purpoſe to watch that no body ſhould paſs over into *Britain*: So that all Intelligence being ſtop'd, between this Iſland and the Continent, *Lupicinus* returning back before he knew any thing of theſe matters, could give him no diſturbance here.

Anno Dom. CCCLX.

* *This was the name of a Legion ſo called.*

Vide Mr. Somner's *Diſcourſe of the* Roman *Ports and Forts in* Kent. *p.* 3.4.

But

Anno Dom. CCCLXI.

But *Julian* having now taken the Title of *Emperour* and *Auguſtus*, marched againſt *Conſtantius*; who coming out of the *Eaſt* to meet him, as far as *Mopſueſtia*, on the borders of *Cilicia*, there died of a Feaver: Whereupon *Julian* his Couſin was quietly received as Emperour, even by thoſe who had been of *Conſtantius*'s ſide: who (from his renouncing the Chriſtian Religion) was commonly called the *Apoſtate*, of whom I ſhall ſay no more (ſince his ſhort Reign affords nothing relating to *Britain*) than that he was kill'd by an Arrow, in a Battle againſt the *Perſians*; but whether it were Shot by an Enemy, or by one of his own Chriſtian Souldiers who hated him, is uncertain.

Sozomen, l. 6. *c.* 3.

Whereupon *Jovianus*, then an Officer of good note, was choſen *Emperour* by the Army; but he refuſing to Command Heathens, the Souldiers cried out with one accord, that they were all Chriſtians; upon which he accepted of the Empire; from whence it plainly appears, that his Army was outwardly Heathens before, having complied for fear of the Emperour's diſpleaſure.

But *Jovian* Reigning but Seven Months, it is not to be expected that any thing conſiderable could happen in *Britain* in ſo ſhort a Reign; and therefore, all I ſhall ſay further of him is, That in his Journey to *Conſtantinople*, at a place called *Daduſtana* on the Borders of *Galatia*, he died a very unuſual Death; being killed by the damp of a new-plaiſtered Chamber in which he lay, ſome Charcoals having been kindled in it when he went to bed.

Anno Dom. CCCLXIV.

Id. Ibid.

Amian. Marcel. l. 26. *c.* 4.

Whereupon, not long after, *Valentinian* was at *Nice* in *Bythinia* declared Emperour by the Army, being the Son of *Gratian*, Sirnamed *Funarius*, above-mentioned; but *Valentinian*, not long after he arrived at *Conſtantinople*, declared *Valens*, his Brother, to be his Partner in the Empire; in the beginning of whoſe Reign the *Almans* waſted *Gaul* and *Rhætia*; the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi*, *Pannonia*; the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacotti*, alſo vexed the *Britains* with their continual Incurſions.

Not to mention the Irruptions of the barbarous Nations into other parts of the Empire, particularized by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who is the firſt *Roman* Author by whom we find the *Scots* to have been mentioned: thô St. *Hierome* (in his Epiſtle againſt *Cteſiphon* the *Pelagian*) has given us a much more ancient Paſſage, which he tranſlated out of *Porphyrie* the *Greek* Philoſopher, who writ an Age before *Ammianus*, which is to this effect; *That neither* Britain, *a Province fertile of Tyrants, nor the* Scotiſh *Nations, nor all the barbarous Nations round about to the very Ocean, did ever acknowledge* Moſes *and the Prophets*: For thô *Scaliger* in his Notes upon *Propertius*, and afterwards in his Animadverſions on *Euſebius*, takes upon him to correct the common Editions of *Seneca*'s Satyrical Comedy upon *Claudius*, by reading in ſtead of the words *Scuta Brigantes*, *Scoto-Brigantes*; thô it be ingenious, and would make better ſenſe in that place; yet it is not to be relied upon, ſince no ancient Manuſcript Copies are found to countenance that Correction; nor do we any where read, that *Claudius* made War againſt the *Scots*, or ever paſſed further than the Southern Parts of *Britain*; nor can we find in *Ptolomy*, or other ancient Authors, any mention of the *Brigantes* (much leſs of *Scoto Brigantes*) beyond the River of *Tweed*. But as for *Dempſter*'s reading of *Scoticas Pruinas* in ſtead of *Scythicas* in the Poet *Florus*'s Verſes to the Emperour *Adrian*, ſince it is back'd by no ancient Manuſcript that any body ever ſaw but himſelf, it is not to be charged upon his bare word, as the learned

Anno Dom. CCCLXIV. ned Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* in his 16th Chapter of his *Ant. Eccleſ. Britan.* very well obſerves: But who theſe *Attacotti* were who are joyned in *Ammianus* with the *Scoti*, very much perplexes our modern Criticks, there being ſo many various readings of this Word in divers Copies of this Author, in ſome of whom it is written *Attacitti*, and in others *Attiſcotti*; *Lib.* 2. *adverſ. Jovin.* and are ſuppoſed by Mr. *Camden* in his *Britannia* to be the ſame Nation mentioned by St. *Hierome* by the Name of *Scots*, ſome of whom this Father tells us, *he ſaw eat Man's Fleſh when he was in* Gaul: But in the ancient *Notitia Imperii* they are called *Attecotti juniores*, and *Attecotti ſeniores*, thô in one Edition of the ſaid *Notitia* they are written *Attakotti*, (as Monſieur *Lablé* well obſerves;) whence the Learned Dr. *Gale* conjectures them to have been a barbarous ſort of *Britains* living in the North of *Scotland* about *Attarith*; but of this, ſince we have no certainty, I leave every Man to take which of theſe Readings he thinks moſt probable.

Am. Marcel. l. 27 *c.* 8. But how the poor *Britains* were relieved out of theſe Difficulties, this Author ſays nothing till four Years after, when he relates, That the Emperour *Valentinian* in his Journey from the *Ambiani* (in *Gaul*), to the *Anno Dom.* CCCLXVIII. *Treviri* (in *Germany*,) received the unwelcome News, that *Britain* was reduced to the laſt Extremity by the joynt Invaſion of the barbarous Nations, and that *Nectaridius* Count of the Sea Coaſt was ſlain; and *Fullaſaudes*, another of his Commanders, being circumvented by the Enemies Ambuſcades there periſhed, which when he had heard with a great deal of concern, he immediately diſpatch'd away *Severus* (then *Comes Domeſticorum, i. e.* Lord Steward of his Houſhold) to correct theſe Diſorders; who being a little after recalled without doing any thing, *Jovinus* was ſent into *Britain*, the Emperour having diſpatched before with all ſpeed all ſuch Proviſions as were neceſſary for a powerful Army, and which the preſſing Neceſſities then required.

But at laſt, upon the News of ſuch ſad and fearful Calamities which then befel *Britain*, *Theodoſius* was choſen for this Province, who reſolved to haſten thither with all ſpeed, who being a Man of great Reputation for Martial Actions, and having raiſed a ſufficient number of freſh, youthful Legions and Cohorts, he ſet forward with much Reſolution.

Id. Ibid. At this time the *Picts* were divided into two Nations, the *Decalidonia*, (or rather, as Mr. *Camden* ſuppoſes, *Deucaledonii*,) and *Vecturiones*, with whom came alſo the *Attacotti* (already mentioned,) together with the *Scots*, who roving up and down through divers places did a great deal of miſchief; whilſt at the ſame time the neighbouring Coaſts of *Gaul* were grievouſly infeſted by the *Francks* and *Saxons*, each of them ſtriving (as it were) who ſhould exceed the other in Rapines, Burnings, killing and taking Priſoners. *Theodoſius* being ſent hither to put a ſtop to thoſe Incurſions, taking Sea at *Bononia*, (or *Bulloign*) landed at *Rulpiæ*, whence, after the arrival of his Forces called by divers Names according to their ſeveral Nations and Legions, as the *Batavi, Herculii, Jovii*, and *Victores*, he marched toward *London*, that ancient City, (which was afterwards called *Auguſta*,) and dividing his Forces into ſeveral Parties, fell upon theſe Rovers, whilſt they marched ſcattered up and down laden with Booty, ſo that eaſily routing them, the Plunder and Captives he quickly recovered; and having reſtored all to their reſpective owners, except ſome ſmall Portion beſtowed on the weary Soldiers, he returned to the ſaid City in a triumphant manner; and thô before it laboured under many Difficulties, he hereby reſtored it to its former Splendour, being em-

Anno Dom. CCCLXVIII

emboldened with this Succeſs to undertake greater Matters; entring into a ſerious conſideration what was further to be done, he found by what he got out of the Priſoners and Fugitives, that the Enemy, conſiſting of divers Nations, was too fierce and numerous to be maſtered by downright Force, but rather by Stratagems, and ſudden Attacks: He firſt therefore by Promiſes of Pardon brought moſt of his own Deſerters and Stragglers to return to their Colours; but being himſelf taken up with divers Cares, he ſent for *Civilis* to govern *Britain* as Vice-Præfect, a Man of a ſharp Wit, and a ſtrict obſerver of Juſtice, with *Dulcitius* a Commander, very famous for his Military Skill.

Of which Expedition, the ſame Author gives us this ſhort general Account in another place, That *Theodoſius* having by his Induſtry got together an Army of well-diſciplined Souldiers, marching from *London*, he extreamly relieved the Calamities of the *Britains*, ſeizing upon all Places from which he might infeſt the Enemy, and commanding his common Souldiers nothing which he did not firſt undertake himſelf; by which means he performed both the Duties of a valiant Souldier, and a famous Commander, divers Nations being put to flight, who had before been encouraged by Impunity to aſſault the *Roman* Territories, and repaired the Cities and Caſtles which had before ſuffered very much; ſo that a firm Peace was hereby eſtabliſhed for a long time.

Anno Dom. CCCLXIX.

Id. Ibid.

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But the Year following, whil'ſt *Theodoſius* was thus employ'd, there happen'd a horrid Conſpiracy, which had like to have proved of dangerous Conſequence, had it not been ſtifled in its very Birth: For one *Valentinus* of *Pannonia*, a Man of an inſolent and unquiet Spirit, being for ſome great Crime baniſh'd into *Britain*; this wretch impatient of reſt, contrived a Plot againſt *Theodoſius*, who was the only Obſtacle to his wicked deſigns; ſo that conſidering by what means he might bring them to paſs, (his Ambitious deſires ſtill encreaſing) he excited ſome Souldiers, and Outlaw'd perſons, by promiſing them both Pardon and Preferment: And now the time drawing near for effecting his Treaſon, the General being informed thereof, and being now become more bold to take Revenge on the Conſpirators, ſeized them, and delivered them all to *Dulcius* the Preſect to be put to Death; but judging of things future, by that long Military Experience, (in which he excelled all others of his time) he forbid any further enquiry into the reſt of the Plotters, leſt many being thereby made afraid, thoſe troubles which had been already compos'd, ſhould be again revived.

Then falling to the reforming more neceſſary things, now the danger was over, and that it was evident, good fortune attended all his undertakings, he reſtored the Cities and Gariſons (as we have already ſaid) fortifying the Borders with conſtant Watches and Guards, which though now recovered, had been formerly given up to the Enemy; ſo that the *Northern* Province being reſtored to its former condition, appointing a new Governour over it, he order'd that it ſhould for the future be called *Valentia*, in Honour of *Valentinian* the Emperour.

Id. Ibid.

He alſo removed the *Areans* from their Stations, a ſort of Men Inſtituted in former times to good purpoſe, (thô who theſe Men were we know not, but there ſeems here to be ſomewhat wanting in the Copy,) but our Author tells us, That he had ſaid ſomewhat more of them in the *Acts* of *Conſtans*, which Book is loſt; but theſe ſort of Men now fallen into Vices, were openly convicted, that being allur'd by Promiſes and Rewards, they were often wont to betray to the *Barbarians* whatſoever

Anno Dom. CCCLXIX.

ſoever was done among the *Romans*; though it ought to have been their buſineſs, by running to and fro to give notice to the *Roman* Generals of the Motions of the neighbouring Nations: So that all theſe actions being ſo well executed, when *Theodoſius* was recalled, he left this *Province* in Peace, and being attended with the general applauſe of all Men to the Sea-ſide, he paſſed over to wait upon the Emperour, who received him with great commendations.

Nor can I here omit inſerting that noble Eulogy, which *Claudian* the Poet hath given this renowned General *Theodoſius*, in his Panegyrick to his Grandſon *Honorius*, in theſe Verſes,

In III. Conſulat. Honorii.

Facta tui numerabit Avi, quem littus adusti
Horreſcit Lybiæ, ratibuſque impervia Thule,
Ille leves Mauros, nec falſo nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone ſecutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

He ſhall relate thy *Granſier's* Acts, whoſe name
Burnt *Libya* dreads, and *Thule* known by Fame,
Who the light *Moores* and Painted *Picts* did tame:
And with his Sword the roving *Scots* purſu'd,
Whil'ſt with bold Oars He *Northern* Seas ſubdu'd.

By which laſt Verſes he ſeems to intimate that as he tamed the *Picts* by Land, ſo he purſued the *Scots* by *Sea*; but what are meant by thoſe *Hyperboriana* Waters, whether the *Iriſh Ocean*, or the *Friths* of *Dunbritton* (called in the Old *Scotiſh* Laws, *Mare Scoticum*) I ſhall not take upon me to determine.

But thoſe Antiquaries, who would have the *Scots* to be planted in *Ireland* in the time of *Claudian*, do urge theſe Verſes of the ſame Poet in the next Panegyrick to that Emperour; when ſpeaking in praiſe alſo of his ſaid Grandfather, he thus proceeds,

Claud. in IV. Conſulat. Honor.

———*maduerunt Saxone fuſo,*
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum Sanguine Thule,
Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

The *Orcades* were moiſtened with a Flood
Of *Saxon* Gore, and *Thule* by the Blood
Of *Picts* was warmed, nor did *Ierne* fail
Whole heaps of *Scots* (then ſlaughter'd) to bewail.

Amian. Marcel. l. 29.

And about theſe times the *Picts* and *Scots* raiſing freſh diſturbances, the Emp. *Valentinian* ſent *Framarius* King of the *Almans* (whoſe Country had been totally deſtroyed by a late incurſion) into *Britain*, though with no higher a command than that of a *Tribune* over a Regiment of his own Country Men, then highly in requeſt for their Valour and Fidelity; but what he did here *Ammianus* ceaſes to tell us: So that being for the future bereft of the help of good Hiſtorians, we muſt be forced to take up with ſuch ſcraps as we can pick up here and there out of *Zoſimus*, *Oroſius*, and with other Epitomators of better Authors, now loſt.

The

Anno Dom. CCCLXXXII.

¶. The Emperour ~~now~~ *Valentinian*, now dying, his Sons *Flavius*, *Gratianus* and *Fl. Valentinianus* ſucceeded him in the *Weſtern* Empire, in the Fifth Year of whoſe Reign the Emperour *Gratian*, created *Theodoſius* Son to the former of that name ~~above~~ mentioned his Partner in the Empire, aſſigning him the *Eaſt* for his ſhare. In the Ninth Year of *Gratian*, *Maximus* a *Spaniard* by Birth, (or Education at leaſt) thô moſt of our own Writers ſuppoſe him to have been Born in *Britain*, and one who had long ſerved in the *Britiſh* Wars, being now General of the *Roman* Armies, aſſumed the Imperial Purple; being either diſcontented that *Theodoſius* the Younger, who had ſerved with him in *Britain*, had been prefer'd before him to the Empire, or (as *Oroſius* reports) being conſtrained thereunto by the Souldiers, who hated and deſpiſed *Gratian*. The firſt Eſſays of his uſurp'd power were indeed employ'd to the good, and preſervation of this *Iſland*; for the *Scots* and *Picts*, who with their Inroads continually waſted the *Roman* Territories, he ſubdued and drove back, the former into their own Country, *Ireland*; the latter beyond the *Picts* Wall; and indeed all the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians do now acknowledge that the *Scots* were ſo beaten and quelled by *Maximus*, that with their King *Eugenius* they were forced to quit *Britain*, and did not return again to renew their Kingdom ~~in Britain~~, in Scotla till above Twenty Years after, if they were here at all before that time, which many of our beſt *Engliſh* Antiquaries utterly deny, as I ſhall ſhew further, when I come to thoſe Times.

Id. ibid.

Proſper. Chron.

Anno Dom. CCCLXXXIII.

But the Year following, when *Gratian* had further provoked the *Roman* Souldiers; who took it very ill that the *Allans* were liſted for Souldiers. *Maximus* taking hold of this occaſion, carried over his Army (then much encreaſed with a multitude of *Britiſh* Youth) and landing at the mouth of the *Rhine*, were there joyfully received by the *Roman* Souldiers, in *Belgia* and *Germany*, where he made *Triers* the ſeat of his Uſurp'd Empire; whence he is by called *Gregorius Turonenſis*, *Trevericus Imperator*; and then (ſaith *Gildas*) ſpreading one of his Wings as far as *Spain*, the other into *Italy*, with the very terrour of his Name, he brought under his Subjection the yet unconquer'd *Germans*. Againſt this Uſurper, *Gratian* raiſed what Forces he could of Mercenary *Allans*, which the *Romans*, and eſpecially the *Moores*, taking for a freſh affront, as if thoſe *Barbarians* had been prefer'd before them in Courage and Fidelity, they deſerted him, and went over to his Enemy; ſo that *Gratian*, being quickly put to Flight by the Forces of *Maximus*, was forced to flye with Three Hundred Horſe towards the *Alpes*; *Maximus*, thô glad of this advantage, yet thought it not ſafe to let him eſcape, ſo he diſpatched after him *Andragathius*, then his *Magiſter Equitum* (or General;) who following him with all ſpeed, with ſome Light Horſemen overtook him near the Bridge of *Singidunum*, and there killed him, by which Act he Eſtabliſh'd *Maximus* in his Uſurp'd Empire. This is the account which *Zoſimus* gives us of this Action: I know other Writers make a long relation of a Wile that *Andragathius* invented, to make the Emperour believe that the Empreſs his Wife was coming to ſee him; which he believing, and coming to the Litter where he thought ſhe was; *Andragathius* leaping out of the ſudden, Murders him: But this dos not ſeem ſo likely as the former Account *Zoſimus* gives us of it; for if *Andragathius* were ſtronger, as without doubt he was, What need was there of this device, or who can believe that the Emperour ſhould have no account of his Wives Motion, nor of the Enemies coming in her ſtead?

Anno Dom. CCCXCI.

Anno Dom. CCCXCI.

All things thus ſucceeding, according to his wicked deſires, having ſetled *Gaul*, and caſhier'd thoſe Officers, (who had ſided with *Gratian*,) his Son *Fl.* Victor, having been declar'd *Cæſar*, and his Partner in the Empire, to which he required (or rather demanded) of *Theodoſius* to be admitted, which was for the preſent conſented unto by him, ſince he was not in any capacity to reſiſt him; ſo he received from him the Title of Emperour, and his Image was ſent to *Alexandria*, and ſet up in the publick Market-place, to be reverenced according to the cuſtom of thoſe Times.

Maximus having thus by Treaſon and Murther, made himſelf Maſter of ſo great a part of the *Weſtern* Empire, he now pretended a great concern for the *Catholick* Religion, and by that means drew many Pious Biſhops into an acknowledgment of his power; and therefore to ſhew his Zeal, he Sentenc'd *Priſcilla*, and other Hereticks of his party to Death, who being Condemn'd in the Council of *Bordeaux*, and appealing to his Tribunal, were by him Sentenced to be beheaded, although diſſwaded from it by St. *Martin*, that good Biſhop of *Tours*, alledging it was ſufficient, that they were excommunicated by the *Catholick* Church, to which in matters of Faith they were only anſwerable: Theſe were the firſt that were ever executed by any Chriſtian Prince, for meer matters of Faith; which practice as it was only fit for ſuch a Tyrant and Uſurper to have begun, ſo it had been well for the Church, if Lawful Princes had not been too much led away by the intemperate Zeal of ſome Church-men to imitate ſo cruel an Example.

Sulpitius Severus Hiſt. Ec. Lib. 11.

Neither did *Maximus* reſt contented with what he had already got, but then making War upon the Emperour *Valentinian*, drove him out of *Italy*; who thereupon was forced to fly *Conſtantinople*, where he earneſtly ſolicited *Theodoſius* to undertake his quarrel, who at laſt (thô with ſome difficulty) granting his requeſt, with all his Forces marched againſt the Tyrant, who then lay ſecure at *Aquileia*, and in two Batles overthrew him; and not long after being beſieged in that City, his Souldiers finding his Affairs in a deſperate Condition, to make their own Peace, delivered him up to *Theodoſius*, who by Three days after, order'd him to be beheaded: Whereupon *Andragatius* his Lieutenant, who was then at Sea, hearing this ill News, caſt himſelf head long out of the Ship, and ſo was drowned, and thereby prevented that publick Execution, which he ſo juſtly deſerved, for thus murthering his Sovereign.

Oroſius lib. 7.

I have inſiſted the longer upon the Actions of *Maximus*, not only becauſe he firſt begun his Uſurpation in this Iſland; but alſo to let you ſee that great and proſperous Villanies do often meet with that puniſhment they deſerve, as well to the actors as contrivers.

But, I cannot quit the Reign of *Maximus*, without taking notice of that notorious invention of *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, who makes *Dionotus* Duke of *Cornwall* (to whom *Maximus* at his departure committed the Government of *Britain*) to have ſent over his own Daughter *Urſula* with no fewer than Eleven Thouſand Noble Virgins for her Attendants, beſides Sixty Thouſand others of meaner Condition, to *Conan* Duke of *Britain*, (on whom he with like truth ſuppoſes *Maximus* had before beſtowed *Armorica*) *Urſula* was to be the Wife of *Conan* himſelf, and the reſt to be beſtowed upon the *Britains*, who came over with him, of which Virgins a great part periſhed by Sea, and the reſt being taken by *Guanius* King of the *Huns*, and *Melgas* King of the *Picts*, were either killed or made Slaves: Yet this Fable (as improbable as it is) has been greedily ſwallowed by *Card.* * *Baronius*, who cites no better an Author than our *Geoffery* for it: Though indeed, † Archbiſhop *Uſher* proves it not to have been he, but one of as little Credit, *viz.* the Author of the Acts of King *Lucius*: However this is the only Authority for this Legend, thô the Bones of theſe Virgins are pretended to be ſhown at *Cologne* to this day.

* *In no:is ad Roman. Martyrolog. Oct. 21*

† *Brit. Eccleſ. Ant. cap.* 5 *and* 8.

Anno Dom. CCCXCI. ^ Emperour of the East

Zozimus lib. 4. *Oroſ. lib.* 7.

After the Death of *Maximus*, *Valentinian* II. was again reſtor'd to the Empire of the *Weſt* by *Theodoſius*, though he held it not long; *Eugenius* being ſet up againſt him by *Arbogaſtes* his chief *Comes* or General, and by whom this Young unfortunate Emperor, was afterwards ſtrangled at *Vienne* in *Gallia*: but *Eugenius* was ſoon overcome by *Theodoſius*, and put to Death as he deſerv'd, and *Arbogaſtes* made himſelf away; upon which *Theodoſius* took the whole Empire to himſelf both of *Eaſt* and *Weſt*; thô after this we find little mention made of the Affairs of *Britain*, more than that during this Emperour's Reign, this Iſle having been ſo lately bereft of its choiceſt Men by *Maximus*, had for ſome time lain open to the Incurſions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, who took this opportunity to invade it; ſo that *Chryſanthius* the Son of *Marcian* a *Novatian* Biſhop, is ſuppoſed to have been ſent over about this time by *Theodoſius* as his Lieutenant to ſuppreſs them; and governing with great reputation he did very much ſettle and reſtore this Iſland; but not long after, this Emp rour dyed unexpectedly in the prime of his Years, leaving the *Eaſtern* Empire to his Eldeſt Son *Arcadius*, and the *Weſtern* to his Second Son,

Socrat: Hist. vii. c.

During the space of [illegible] years he continued in the Go-vernment of it

Honorius, during whoſe Minority *Stilico* was appointed for his Governour, a Man of great Reputation, having been an intimate Councellour to his Father, and after his Death defended *Britain*, and is ſuppoſed by ſome to have ſent a Legion over hither, under the command of *Victorinus*, to repreſs the incurſions of the *Scots* and *Picts* in the beginning of ius * *Honorius's* Reign, as appears from *Claudian* the Poet's Panegyrick, upon *Stilico*'s firſt Conſulſhip; where he introduceth *Britain*, thus ſpeaking in his praiſe;

About An. Dom. CCCXCVI. CCCXCVII.

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Iernem.
Movit, & infeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys,
Illius effectum curis ne bella timerem,
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, nec littore toto
Proſpiſcerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.

Me to ill Neighbours long a Prey expoſed,
With ſafety now hath *Stilico* incloſed,
Whil'ſt the fierce *Scots* the *Iriſh* ſhoar Alarms,
And with theſe Vermin all the Ocean ſwarms:
'Tis through his Care no longer Wars I fear;
The *Scots* and *Picts* alike now dreadleſs are:
No longer on the Coaſts I quivering ſtand,
Nor fear a Fleet of *Saxons* on the *Strand*.

From which words *totam quum Scotus Iernem movit*, &c. divers of our *Engliſh* Antiquaries have inferr'd that the *Scots* were not at this time planted in *Britain*, ſince *tota Ierne* here mentioned, ſeems too large a place for

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one ſingle Province, *viz.* **Strathern** in **Scotland**, which the *Scotiſh* writers will have to be underſtood by the word *Ierne*; nor is that Province, or the River that gives name to it, called *Ierne* in any Ancient Author. But this is a Controverſie which I ſhall not take upon me to decide, being beyond the bounds of our Hiſtory; However this ſeems much more certain, That about this time, according to the moſt Ancient *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians now extant, the *Scots* returned again into *Britain*; "For the *Scots* (ſays || *Fordun* in his *Scotichron*) now made a ſtrict Alliance with the *Picts*, in order to the recovering their Country, ſince (as they relate) *Maximus* had made uſe of the *Picts* to drive the *Scots* out of *Britain*, and had put alſo Gariſons among the *Picts*, to keep them under; ſo that upon this agreement, *Anno Dom.* 403, in the Sixth Year of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, *Fergus* the Son of *Erk*, the Son of *Ethodius*, Brother of that *Eugenius* who was driven out by *Maximus*, came with his Two Brothers *Loarnus* and *Cenegus* (in all probability *Loarn* and *Ængus*, being the names the *Iriſh* Annals give to the Brothers of this *Fergus*) bringing great ſupplies of the *Scots* from *Ireland* and *Norway*, whither they had been driven by the *Romans*; and then the *Picts*, to prevent all ſuſpicion of Treachery, ſurrender'd up many of their Forts and ſtrong places to *Fergus*,

Scotichron. l. 3. *c.* 1.2.

Anno Dom. CCCCIII.

Who thus became King of that part of *Scotland*, called anciently *Albany*, *North-weſt* of the Mountains of *Braid-Albain*, though the ſame Author confeſſeth it doth not appear whither he obtained theſe places by the Sword, or by any other right, ſince none of his Predeceſſours had any power there before; but the *Picts* and *Scots* being thus united, their firſt work was to drive out the *Romans* and *Britains* from their Country, and then to Invade the *Roman* Province, which was at that time left deſtitute of any defence: And ſo by their incurſions they either killed the Common People, or made them Slaves.

From which ſuppoſed return of *Fergus* with his *Scots*, *Jo. Fordun* begins to date the certain Years of their Kings Reigns, for before that time he confeſſes he had not found them any where ſet down; ſo that it ſeems he either had not ſo good Intelligence, or elſe not ſo good an Invention as *Hector Boethius*, who hath given us the Succeſſion of Forty Five *Scotiſh* Kings Reigning in *Britain*, before this *Fergus*; together with the Years of their Reigns, and the exact time when they began; and this he ſays he had from the writings of *Veremundus* a *Spaniſh* Prieſt, who is reported by him to have writ the Hiſtory of *Scotland*; as alſo from one *Cornelius Hybernicus*, Authours whom none but himſelf have ſeen as I can yet hear of. But in a certain old Latin Manuſcript, cited in *Camden*'s *Britannia*, in *Scotland*, this Action of *Fergus* is thus related, "*Fergus* the Son of *Erk* was the firſt of the Seed of *Chonare* that enter'd upon the Kingdom of *Albany* from *Brun Albin* (or *Drum Albin*, that is, the Ridge of *Scotland*) to the *Iriſh* Sea, and *Inch-Gal*, and that after him, the Kings of the Race of *Fergus* Reigned in *Brun Albin*, or *Brunhere*, unto *Alpinus* the Son of *Eochal*.

P. 933.

So that according to this Author, the Antient *Scotiſh* Kingdom of *Albany*, reach'd from the fartheſt ridge of Mountains, called *Braid Albain*, all along thoſe Countries of *Argile* and *Loghquhaber*, &c. now called the *Weſtern Highlands*: And from whence the Genuine *Scots* ſtill call all *Scotland Albin*; perhaps from the Ancient Name of *Albion*, once given to the whole Iſland.

Anno Dom. CCCCIII.

But to return to our Hiſtory, from whence we have made too long a digreſſion; it muſt be confeſſed that the Hiſtory of this Iſland is very obſcure and uncertain, (eſpecially in point of time when things were done) from the Death of *Maximus*, to the coming in of the *Saxons*; for *Gildas* and *Nennius* either being wholly ignorant of the Emperours that Rul'd here, from that time to the Reign of *Vortigern*, ſuppoſe the *Britains* to have from that very time caſt off all Subjection to the *Roman* Empire, which is not ſo, as hath been already ſhewn, and ſhall be made clearer by and by.

Lib. 1. *c.* 2.

For *Bede* is more exact, and takes notice of ſome of thoſe Princes that Reigned in *Britain*, from the Death of *Maximus* to the coming in of the *Saxons*, which *Gildas* and *Nennius* had omitted.

Anno Dom. CCCXCIII.

But thus much is agreed on by *Gildas*, *Nennius*, and *Bede*, that *Britain* owed its firſt Ruine to *Maximus* his carrying over ſo great a number of *Britains* and *Romans* into *Gaul*; from which time *Britain* being bereft of all its Military Forces and choiceſt Youth who followed that Tyrant, and never returned again, being either ſlain, or elſe planting themſelves in *Armorica*; ſo that (as *Gildas* ſaith) the Iſland was thenceforth left to ſuch cruel Rulers as ſtayed behind, who being unexperienced in Warlike Affairs, were ſtill tormented by two tranſmarine Nations, the *Scots* from the Northweſt, and the *Picts* from the North. But *Bede* expreſly tells us, that he calls thoſe, *Tranſmarine Nations*, not becauſe they then dwelt out of *Britain*, but becauſe they were divided from its Southern Parts by two Streights or Bays of the Sea; whereof one from the Weſt, and the other from the Eaſt, doth ſeparate the Regions of *Britain*, ſo that they do not joyn to each other; theſe are the two Streights which were then called *Glotta* and *Bodotria*, (now the *Friths* of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*;) from which Paſſage of *Bede* it is evident, that he ſuppoſed the *Scots* to be at this time ſetled in this Iſland: Whereupon the *Britiſh* Nation being unable any longer to bear the continual Incurſions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* with lamentable Letters, deſiring ſome Military Forces to be again ſent to defend them; which if it were performed, and the Enemy once repulſed, they vowed perpetual Subjection to the *Roman* Empire; whereupon *Stilico* being at that time Tutor to the Emperour *Honorius*, immediately diſpatched to their Aſſiſtance a Legion ſufficiently furniſhed with Arms, and all Things neceſſary, which arriving in this Iſland, and fighting with its Enemies, killed a great many of them, and drove the reſt out of the *Britiſh* Borders, and ſo delivered the Inhabitants both from Spoil, and inevitable Captivity.

Lib. 1. *c.* 12.

Id. Ibid.

Anno Dom. CCCXCV.

This Action, thô confounded by *Gildas* with the ſecond Succours that were ſent in the time of the Emperour *Honorius*, ſeems moſt likely to be ſent by *Stilico* in his firſt Conſulſhip, as hath been already ſaid. The *Britains* being thus relieved, the *Roman* General, whoſe Name is not told us, thô *Camden* ſuppoſes him to be called *Victorinus*, commanded them to build a Wall croſs the Iſland between the two Seas, which might be a Terrour to the Enemies, and a Defence to the Natives; but the *Britains* not building it with Stones, but Turfs, as not having Artificers ſufficient for ſo great a Work, it ſerved to no purpoſe, thô they drew it between the two Streights or Bays already mentioned for many thouſand Paces; and where the Defence of Water was wanting, there they defended their Borders from the Irruption of the Enemy with a Trench; of which Work, *Bede* relates there remained moſt evident Tokens

In Dr Stillingfleet*'s Antiquities of the* Britiſh *Churches, chap.* 5.

Bede, *l.* 1. *c.* 12.

Anno Dom. CCCXCV. kens in his time: “ For (ſays he) it begins near the ſpace of two Miles “ from the Monaſtery of *Abercorne* towards the Eaſt, in a place which “ is called in the *Picts* Tongue *Penvahel*, in the Engliſh *Penvellum*, and “ which running towards the Weſt, ends near the City of *Aldcluith*: So far *Bede*. This I have ſet down to ſhew, that as yet the old Bounds were continued between the *Picts* and the *Britains*.

Anno Dom. CCCXCVI. But this Legion returning home with great Joy and Triumph, the ſame Enemies, as ſoon as they ſaw the *Roman* Souldiers, departed, paſſing over in their ſmall Veſſels or Curroughs, entering the Borders, deſtroyed all before them.

How long they continued ſo to do, is hard to determine; but this is *Id. ibid.* certain, that freſh Ambaſſadours were thereupon again diſpatched to *Rome*, imploring new Aids; and that they would not ſuffer this miſerable Country to be deſtroyed, nor a *Roman* Province, which had So been long ~~ſo~~ famous, to be over-run by barbarous and foreign Nations; whereupon another Legion was again ſent over, which coming unlook'd-for in the time of Autumn, made great ſlaughter of the Enemies, and drove out all thoſe who eſcaped beyond the *Friths* abovementioned, over which they were wont to carry their Prey without any reſiſtance. But the *Romans* being now reſolved to return home, plainly told the *Britains*, That they would not be any more wearied out in ſuch laborious Expeditions for their Defence, admoniſhing them to take Arms, and to undergo themſelves the Toil of encountering their Enemies; nor ſhould the *Roman* Enſigns march ſo far by Sea and Land to curb a few unwarlike wandering Robbers, but that for the future they ſhould defend themſelves by fighting manfully for their Country, in defending their Wives and Children, and, which is more, their own Lives and Liberties; and that they might do what good they could to theſe Confederates, whom they were now forced to deſert, they made them build a Wall of Stone from Sea to Sea, with *Towers*, near the Shore, to hinder the landing of the Enemy; and having exerciſed them in Arms, then took their Leave of them, telling them, They muſt expect their return *Lib. 1. c. 12.* no more. This is the ſubſtance of *Gildas* his Relation, with whom *Bede* alſo agrees; yet adds, that the *Romans* at their departure did not only give this ſluggiſh People freſh Encouragements by Words, but alſo left them Patterns of the Arms and Weapons they would have them make; and then gives a more particular deſcription of this laſt Wall, and ſaith, That it was 8 Foot in breadth and 12 in height, and that it ſtood where the Wall of *Severus* was before, being made all of Stone, and not of Turf, as that unſerviceable Wall was, which the *Britains* had before, without any Skill, built by themſelves, betwixt the two Friths, *Glotta* and *Bodotria*.

But before I quit this Subject, I cannot but take notice of the great miſtake of the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorian *Buchanan*, who perſiſting in his former Errour, will needs have this laſt Wall to be built in *Scotland*, in the ſame place where he (thô falſly) ſuppoſes *Severus*'s Wall to have been, and where *Bede* makes the Turf Wall already mentioned to have been built: *Brit. Eccleſ. Antiq. c. 15.* But Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* plainly proves in his above-cited Work from the Authority of ancient Authors, that *Severus*'s Wall was built in the ſame place where *Adrian*'s was before, *viz.* between the Rivers *Tine* and *Eſk*: So that if (as *Bede* ſaith) this laſt Wall was built in the ſame place where the Wall of *Severus* ſtood, it muſt alſo have been between thoſe two laſt menti-

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Anno Dom. CCCXCVI.

on'd Rivers, and not between the two Friths,(as *Buchanan* would have it;) who, if he had but carefully peruſed *Bede*, would have found, that he ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes between the place where this laſt Wall was ſeated, and that of the former, which he ſuppoſes to have begun near *Abercorne*, and reached to *Alcluid*, (now called *Dunbritton*;) for in ſeveral other places † of his Hiſtory he plainly ſhews, that by the Wall of *Severus*, he meant that which is now called the *Picts Wall*, which began from the River *Tyne*; but ſince the Paſſages in which he ſhews this to have been his meaning, are too long here to be ſet down, I have ~~put~~ cited them in the Margin, for which the Reader may conſult the Author if he pleaſes. So that *Bede* is only miſtaken in this, that being deceived with the equivocal uſe of the words *Murus* and *Vallum*, which, as Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* very well proves, were uſed promiſcuouſly in *Roman* Authors either for a Trench or a Wall, when he ſuppoſes that of *Severus* to have been no more than a Vallum or Trench caſt up of Earth and Turfs; whereas it was indeed a Wall of ſolid Stone, (as hath been already ſhewn;) nor does the Arch-Biſhop think this Author leſs miſtaken, in ſuppoſing the firſt Wall of Turfs to have been in *Scotland*, but this laſt of Stone to have been in *England*; whereas it was not at all likely, (as the Arch-Biſhop very well obſerves,) that the *Britains* ſhould have retreated above 100 Miles backward, and have quitted ſo great an extent of Ground as lies between the two Walls, if it could have been as eaſily maintained and fortified as the other,much more when it was ſo much eaſier to be done, the ſpace between the two Rivers *Tine* and *Esk* being above thrice as large as that between the two Friths above-mentioned, had they not found that they could not keep thoſe Countries; and therefore were reſolved to give thoſe Nations that invaded them as much Elbow room as poſſible, ſo that they might have no occaſion to invade their Territories.

† As Bed. Hiſt. l. 3. c. 2. Ibid. c. 21, 22.

Lib. 1. c. 12.

But to return to our Hiſtory, from which I hope we have not made too long a Digreſſion, ſince it hath ſerved not only to confute a Miſtake in ſo celebrated an Hiſtorian as *Buchanan*, but alſo to ſettle ſo conſiderable a Point in Antiquity. I ſuppoſe it was to this ſecond departure of the *Roman* Legions, that *Claudian* deſigned theſe Verſes in his Poem *De Bello Getico*, when deſcribing the Forces which were muſtered together for that VVar, to the General Rendezvous he alſo mentions who came from this Iſland.

Venit & extremis Legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras.

Hither the Legion too from *Britain* came,
VVhich curbs the *Scots*, and does fierce Nations tame;
VVho whilſt the painted *Picts* expiring lie,
Surveys thoſe bloodleſs Figures as they die.

But before I diſmiſs the Hiſtory of theſe Affairs, give me leave to take notice of a great Errour in *Hector Boetius* and *Buchanan* as concerning this laſt VVar between the *Romans* and the *Britains*, where, in the Year of our Lord 403, he does not only make one *Maximinian* to have then commanded the *Roman* Legion laſt mentioned, but alſo to have fought againſt

Anno Dom. CCCXCVI.

againſt *Fergus* King of the *Scots*, and *Durſtus* King of the *Picts*, together with one *Dionethius* a *Britain*, whom, againſt all Reaſon and Probability, he makes to have brought them Aids againſt his own Countrymen, and a Fight enſuing, that the *Scots* were repelled; and yet that this *Maximinian* having but few Souldiers then in his Army, was forced to retreat into the inland parts of his Province, whilſt *Dionethius* made himſelf King of the *Britains*, (without any Subjects to make him ſo;) but that *Maximinian* being vexed at this Diſgrace, reinforcing his Troops with freſh Supplies, marched againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*; where a great Battel enſuing, *Fergus* and *Durſtus* were ſlain, but King *Dionethius* (whom I ſuppoſe to be the ſame with *Geoffery*'s *Dionatus* Duke of *Cornwal*, already mentioned,) was carried off much wounded. But of this King, neither *Gildas*, *Nennius*, nor *Bede*, no nor ſo much as *Geoffery*, ſays any thing; and therefore not being to be found in any Hiſtorian before *Hector*, all this Tale concerning this imaginary King, is to be looked upon as a pure Invention of his own.

But this is certain, that the *Britains* being thus deſerted by the *Romans*, for 19 Years after the Death of *Maximus*, (as *Zoſimus* relates,) *viz.* about the Year 406, or 407,) the *Britiſh* Army all in a mutiny Elected one *Marcus* to be their Emperour, a Man of great Power in this Iſland, (and perhaps Lieutenant here) whom, not anſwering their Expectations, they ſoon took off, and then ſet up one *Gratianus*, making him put on the Imperial Purple, who ſeems to be a Native of *Britain*, for ſo much ** Oroſius* his words imply, when he calls him *Municeps ejuſdem Inſulæ*; but he not pleaſing them, after 4 Months Reign, they deprived him both of his Life and Empire. * Of him, *Nennius* ſaith nothing, but mentions one *Severus*, between *Maximus* and *Conſtantius*, whom others omit; but † *Geoffery* of **Monmouth** makes this *Gratian* to have aſſumed the Royal Authority as ſoon as he heard of the Death of *Maximus*, and that he was ſo Cruel and Tyrannical, that the common People roſe up and killed him; and that after his Death, the *Britains* ſent to *Rome* to beg Help againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*. But *Zoſimus* and *Oroſius* both relate, That after the Death of this *Gratian*, the *Roman Britains* ſet up one *Conſtantine* an ordinary Souldier, (chiefly for the good Omen of his Name,) yet *Procopius* differs ſomewhat from the former Authors, and calls this *Conſtantine* no obſcure Man, but whether he meant for Valour or Nobility, I will not determine; but however he being by them declared Emperour, gathered what Forces together he could, (being the remainder of thoſe that had been carried away before by *Maximus*,) and putting to Sea from *Britain*, landed at *Bologne*, and by the Terrour of his Name, and the Numbers of his Followers, eaſily brought over to his Party all the *Roman* Forces on this ſide the *Alps*: *Valentia* in *France* he manfully defended againſt the Puiſſance of *Honorius*; the *Rhine*, which long time before had been neglected, he fortified with Gariſons; and even upon the very *Alps*, and towards the Sea-Coaſts, wherever the Paſſages lay open, he built Forts and Caſtles; whilſt in *Spain*, under the Conduct of his Son *Conſtans*, (whom of a Monk he had made *Cæſar*) he waged War with the like good Fortune.

* *Hiſt. l.* 7. *c.* 40.

* Nen. *c.* 24.

† Galfr. *l.* 2. *c.* 4.

Anno Dom. CCCCVII.

Olymp. in Bib. Photii.

And now grown Inſolent by this conſtant Current of Succeſs, not content that *Honorius* had admitted him his Partner in the Empire, and upon an Embaſſy ſent to him on purpoſe accepted his Excuſe, That the Souldiers had advanced him to the Throne againſt his Will; in hoſtile manner he paſſed the *Alps*, intending to march directly againſt *Rome*, but on the ſudden he returned to *Arles*, where he ſettled his Imperial Seat, and commanded that City to be called *Conſtantia* after his own Name.

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Whilſt with the like Succeſs his Son *Conſtans*, by the Conduct of *Gerontius* his General, he brought all *Spain* under his Obedience.

But when *Conſtans* upon ſome Suſpicions turned *Gerontius* out of his Command, (for the Cauſe is not expreſſed,) the Affairs both of the Father and Son preſently declined; for as he returned from *Conſtantine* out of *Gaul* into *Spain*, by the way he received the unwelcome News of *Gerontius*'s having revolted from his Obedience, and ſet up one *Maximus*, one of his own Creatures, for Emperour, and that having raiſed a powerful Army, conſiſting of divers barbarous Nations, that he was upon his march againſt him. *Conſtans* allarmed with theſe Tydings, immediately diſpatched away one *Eddobeccus* unto the *Germans*, whilſt himſelf attended with *Decimius Ruſticus* (who of the Maſter of his Offices was advanced to be *Præfect*,) and accompanied with an Army of *Francks*, *Almans*, and other Nations, paſſed into *Gaul*, intending with all ſpeed to return again to his Father; but being intercepted by *Gerontius*, and by him beſieged in *Vienna*, (in *Dauphine*,) the City being taken, he was there ſlain. Then *Gerontius* marching to meet *Conſtantine*, found him at *Arles*, againſt which City he laid cloſe Siege, but was hindred from taking it by the ſudden coming of *Conſtantius Comes*, whom the Emperour *Honorius* had newly made his General; at whoſe arrival with an Army out of *Italy*, *Gerontius*, being deſerted by his own Souldiers, retired into *Spain*, where growing alſo into Contempt and Hatred with thoſe few that remained, his Houſe in the Night being beſet by them, he with his own Servants manfully defended himſelf, and ſlew above 300 of them; and when his Darts and other Weapons were ſpent, thô he might have eſcaped at a back Door as his Servants had done, yet out of kindneſs to his Friend *Allan*, and his Wife *Nunnichia*, he refuſed it: and having firſt cut off the Head of his Friend, (as was agreed between them,) he then ſlew his Wife, (thô with great Reluctancy,) being prevailed upon by her Importunity ſo to do, refuſing to out live her Huſband, and deſiring to be freed from the Violence of the inraged Multitude; for which her Reſolution, *Sozomen* the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian gives her great Commendations: This done, *Gerontius* turned his Sword againſt himſelf, but failing in his Deſign, he finiſhed it with his Dagger. This Man being ſuppoſed to be a *Britain*, I have been the more particular in his Hiſtory; and *Humphrey Lloyd*, in his Diſcourſe concerning *Britain*, makes him to have been ſo famous here, as to be celebrated by the *Britiſh* Bards, whoſe Verſes upon his Death he there gives you.

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Zozom. *l.* 9. *c.* 13.

But in the mean while, *Conſtantine* now ſtreighten'd on all ſides, and diſcouraged with the ill Succeſs of *Eddobeccus*, (who was ſlain but a little before,) after having been beſieged 4 Months with his other Son *Julian* in the City of *Arles*, there flings off his Purple Robes and entred into Prieſts Order, hoping under that Protection to ſecure his Life, and ſo not long after ſurrendred the Town. But his new Habit proved no Sanctuary to him, for he was carried into *Italy*, and there beheaded by the Emperour's Order, together with his Son *Julian*, and Brother named *Sebaſtian*. Whilſt theſe Things were acting, the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Vandals*, taking advantage of the Negligence of *Conſtantine*, (who whilſt he ſtayed at *Arles*, and minded his Pleaſures more than publick Affairs) invaded his Territories, the latter breaking into *Gaul*, and then invading

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Lib. 4.

Britain; but the *Britains* now deſtitute of the *Roman* Aids, and kept under by them who had not Power to protect them, (as *Zoſimus* relates,) as well the *Gauls* as *Britains*, forthwith took Arms, and reſolving to ſtand on their own Defence, renounced all further Obedience to the *Roman* Empire, which they believed they might juſtifie, being then left without its Protection. Being thus harraſſed by their wonted Enemies, having before ſent Meſſages to *Honorius* for Relief, but all to no purpoſe, for he at that time not being able to defend *Rome* it ſelf, (which the ſame Year was taken by *Alaric* King of the *Goths*,) the Emperour permitted them by his Letters to provide for their own ſafety, acquitting them of the *Roman* Juriſdiction. They therefore being thus deſerted, the Government of courſe devolved to the People, who thenceforth betook themſelves to live after their own Laws, and to defend their Country as well as they were able.

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Vid. *Dr.* Stillingfleet's *Antiquities of the* Brit. *Churches*, *c.* 5. *p.* 295.

as obſerved

But ſince the Chronology of theſe Times we are now Treating of is very perplexed and obſcure, by reaſon of the great ſcarcity of good Authors; and ſince ſome Writers place the *Britains* caſting off their Subjection to the *Roman* Empire immediately after the Death of this *Conſtantine* above-mentioned, and others defer it 20 Years later, give me leave here to ſubjoyn what the Learned Dr *Stillingfleet* hath ſaid in his above-cited Treatiſe concerning the time when this great Change happened in this Iſland, for it hath been already ~~proved; for~~ though all Authors agree, that the *Britains* petitioned the Emperour *Honorius* for the firſt Supplies againſt the *Picts* and *Scots* that then invaded them, yet they differ about the time: I ſhall therefore firſt take notice what *Bede* ſaith concerning this matter, who makes *Gratianus Municeps* to be ſet up two Years before the ſacking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, which happened *Anno Dom.* 410; and he alſo therein follows *Oroſius*'s Relation concerning *Conſtantine*, and his Son *Conſtans*, without ever mentioning their continuing to Govern here, and much leſs loſing their Lives in *Britain*, (as *Nennius* falſly ſuppoſes;) but then he applies that Paſſage in *Gildas* concerning that lamentable condition of the *Britains*, and there firſt demanding Help from the *Romans* to the Times immediately following the Death of *Conſtantine*; whereas *Gildas* indeed mentions it as happening upon the Uſurpation of *Maximus*, and his withdrawing the Forces from hence; and that therefore this firſt Invaſion of the *Picts* and *Scots* was between the Death of *Maximus*, and the ſetting up of *Gratianus Municeps*, when the *Britains* ſo earneſtly ſuing for Aſſiſtance, had a *Roman* Governour and a Legion ſent to their Relief. And Mr. *Camden*, in his Introduction to his *Britannia*, ſuppoſes, that *Claudius Rutilius* mentions *Victorinus* as a *Roman* Governour here about that time; but this is very uncertain, when he there only ſpeaks of the taking *Tholouſe* by the *Goths*, which was done by *Ataulphus* ſome time after the Death of *Alaric*, and therefore could not be before the time of *Gratian* and *Conſtantine*.

De laud. Stilic. *l.* 2. *v.* 25.

Now that the firſt Supplies that were ſent over into *Britain* were all of them ſent before the Death of *Stilico*, the ſaid Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his above-cited Treatiſe goes on to prove in the ſame place: "It is evident (ſays he) from many Paſſages in † *Claudian*, that *Stilico* took particular care of ſending Supplies to the *Britains* againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, but *Stilico* was killed by the Army when *Baſſus* and *Philippus* were Conſuls, *Anno Dom.* 408, before the firſt Siege of *Rome* by the *Goths*, and therefore the *Roman* Forces ſent by him muſt be before the

" Uſurpation of *Gratianus* and *Conſtantine*; *Stillico* being killed the ſame
" Year, that theſe Uſurpers were ſet up in *Britain*, it is not poſſible he
" ſhould do it after their Death; and it ſeems not probable, that any
" Supplies ſhould be ſent through *Gaul*, while *Conſtantine* remained Maſter
" there; the Army in *Gaul* then taking part with him againſt *Honorius*;
" and withal *Gildas* ſaith, That the *Roman* Legion having driven out the
" *Picts* and *Scots*, returned in Triumph. And ſo much is confeſſed by *Bede*: But at what time can we ſuppoſe that to have happen'd? Is it likely that after the Uſurpation of *Conſtantine*, a *Roman* Legion ſhould return in ſo much Triumph? For immediately after *Conſtantine*'s Uſurpation, the *Roman* Empire began extreamly to decline in thoſe parts, through which they were to paſs; *Gaul* being upon Compoſition * not long after delivered up to the *Goths* by *Honorius*, and beſides, the *Franks* and *Burgundians* making continual incurſions there: I conclude it therefore moſt probable, that the firſt ſupplies ſent to the *Britains*, were not after *Conſtantine*'s Uſurpation, but between the Death of *Maximus*, and the ſetting up of *Gratianus Municeps*.

Anno Dom. CCCCX.

* *Jornand.* 30. *Paul diac. l.* 14. *Seigeb. Chron. Anno Dom.* 412.

Now let us ſee if we can hence diſcover when the ſecond Aſſiſtance was ſent to the *Britains*, for which we muſt own our ſelves beholding to the aforeſaid learned Doctor in the ſame place, where he thus makes it out.

The Second time, the diſtreſſed *Britains* were forced to ſollicite the *Romans* for ſupplies, is placed by Arch-biſhop *Uſher*, *Anno Dom.* 426; when *Gallio* of *Ravenna* was ſent hither, (as he ſuppoſes;) becauſe the next Year *Proſper* ſaith, that *Gallio* was ſent againſt *Bonifacius* in *Africa*; but then the Arch-biſhop makes the firſt ſupplies to have been ſent in the latter end of *Honorius*'s Reign, for which the Doctor ſays, he can ſee no reaſon; for the *Lord Primate* grants that immediately after the Death of *Maximus*, the *Scots* and *Picts* did waſte *Britain*, and that then *Stillico* did ſend aſſiſtance to them. Why then ſhould the firſt waſting of the Iſland, mentioned by *Gildas*, and the Legion ſent thereupon, be that in the latter end of *Honorius* his Reign, and not rather in the beginning? ſince the latter was very perplexed and troubleſome, the *Alani*, *Swevi*, and *Vandali*, having poſſeſſed themſelves of great part of *Spain*, whil'ſt the *Franks*, *Burgundians* and *Goths* had all *Gaul*; ſo that *Honorius*, the Year before his Death, was forced to ſend his Forces under *Caſtinus* into *Spain*, againſt the *Vandals*, as *Proſper* in his *Chronicle* affirms: And that alſo prov'd the occaſion of new Troubles in *Africa*, by the difference between *Caſtinus* and *Bonifacius*, who for his own ſecurity ſent over the *Vandals* thither. Is it not therefore moſt probable, that the firſt Supplies of the *Britains* ſhould be ſent in the latter end of *Honorius*'s Reign, eſpecially ſince the learned *Primate* confeſſeth, that *Honorius* did not in his time recover the Province of *Britain*: and he proves it againſt *Sabellicus*, from *Procopius*'s Authority, a much more ancient Authour, beſides that of *Bede*; ſo that the ſingle teſtimony of *Sigebert*, that *Honorius* ſent aſſiſtance to the *Britains* at the ſame time that he did to the *Spaniards*, (when *Proſper*, *Idatius*, and *Caſſiodore*, who all mention the latter, ſay not one word of the former) cannot bear down the more weighty Reaſons on the other ſide.

Ant. Brit. cap. 11. *P.* 318.

But it is certain that in this interval between the ſending of the two ſupplies, the *Roman* Affairs became ſo deſperate, That the *Saxon* Annals, as well as *Ethelward* in his *Chronicle*, relates, that now the *Romans* hid their Treaſures in the Earth, or elſe carried them away with them into *Gaul*; ſo that

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it ſeems moſt likely during all the reſt of the Reign of the Emperour *Honorius*, the *Britains* did no more return to his Obedience; thô notwithſtanding, they did again endeavour to put themſelves under the protection of the *Roman* Empire, in the time of his Succeſſour *Valentinian* III. as the learned Dr. above cited makes it more than probable in the ſame place, from divers other Circumſtances too long to be here particularly ſet down.

So that the ſecond ſupplies which were ſent upon the mighty importunity of the *Britains*, were in all probability in the beginning of the Reign of *Valentinian* III. after that *Aetius* had ſomewhat recovered the credit of the *Roman* Empire in *Gaul*; for after his ſucceſs there, both againſt the *Goths* and *Franks*, he had liberty enough to ſend over a Legion to the aſſiſtance of the *Britains*, who were again miſerably haraſſed by the *Scots* and *Picts*: And at this time it was that *Gildas* ſaith, the *Romans* upon the ſad repreſentations of the *Britiſh* Ambaſſadours, ſent them ſpeedy ſupplies. So far we have been beholding to the learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, now Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*; but if I may interpoſe my own Opinion, I ſhould aſſign the ſending of theſe laſt ſupplies by the *Romans*, to have been in the Year of our Lord 435; when *Aetius* had good ſucceſs againſt the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*: To which Year alſo the *Saxon* Annals refer the ceaſing of the *Roman* Empire in *Britain*; only the Compiler was miſtaken in two things, the firſt in making *Rome* to have been taken this Year by the *Goths*; the other in ſuppoſing the time of the *Romans* ruling here, to be but 470 Years; whereas indeed it was 488 Years, as I ſhall preſently make out.

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So that from this laſt departure of the *Roman* Legion, (which no doubt was done by the Emperour's expreſs Order,) I think, I may very well date the total dereliction of *Britain* by the *Romans*; who now by refuſing them their protection, left them by the Laws of Nature to provide for, and defend themſelves. And from hence I may alſo date the final period of the *Roman* Empire in this Iſland; which had now laſted from *Julius Cæſar*'s ſecond landing in *Britain*, in the 53d Year before Chriſt, to this Year (being the 435th Year after Chriſt) the ſpace of 488 Years; but if you account from the more abſolute Conqueſt of it by *Claudius*, in the Forty Fourth Year after Chriſt, it continued but 391 Years.

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But that the *Britains* were at laſt very unwillingly cut off from being any longer a part of the *Roman* Empire, appears by the laſt meſſage they ſent to *Aetius*, again imploring aſſiſtance; which the Emperour not being able to grant, they had no other way left, but to provide for themſelves as well as they could; which ſince it happened after the time that I ſuppoſe the *Roman* power to have ceaſed in this Iſland, I ſhall refer the further Relation of it to the next Book.

But before I conclude this, I ſhall give you a ſhort account of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in this Iſland, in theſe Two laſt Centuries; where, after the laſt Perſecution under *Diocleſian*, *Bede* tells us, the *Britiſh* Church enjoyed a perfect Peace, till the *Arrian* Hereſie over-ran the whole World, and at laſt infected this Iſland, though divided from the reſt of it; but though neither *Gildas* nor *Bede* hath ſet down the Year when this Hereſie firſt began to ſpread it ſelf here, yet he ſeems to refer it to the Reign of *Conſtantius*, when this Peſtilent Opinion carried the face of Authority, as having been confirmed in ſeveral pretended Councils.

But in the beginning of this Century, though the Year be uncertain; yet between the Years 402, and 406, *Pelagius* a *Britiſh* Monk (whoſe *Welſh* Name is ſuppoſed to have been *Morgan*, as being of the ſame ſignification with the *Latin* Name of *Pelagius*,) broached his Hereſie, for abſolute Free will, without the aſſiſting Grace of God; which Opinion was afterwards condemned by divers Councils in *France* and *Africa*, and was alſo confuted by St. *Auguſtine*: About which times alſo flouriſhed *Feſtidus*, a learned Biſhop (if not an Arch-biſhop) of *Britain*, who writ a Pious Treatiſe, *De Vita Beata*, and who by ſome late *Romiſh* Writers hath been accuſed of *Pelagianiſm*, from which imputation, he is juſtly vindicated by the ſaid Reverend Dr. *Stillingfleet*, in his above cited work.

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Vide *Arch-biſhop* Uſhers *Antiquit. Brit. Eccleſ cap.* 8.

Chap. 4.

Nor did this Iſland remain long free from this *Pelagian* Hereſie; for he having (as it is ſuppoſed) perverted divers of his Country-men abroad, they afterward returning home, brought it over and diſperſed it here, and was eſpecially propagated by one *Agricola*, the Son of *Severian* a *Pelagian* Biſhop, (as *Bede* informs us) who farther ſays, that the *Britains* when they would by no means receive ſo perverſe a Doctrine, that blaſphemes the grace of Chriſt, nor yet were able by diſputing to refute ſo ſettled an Errour, they took a ſafer courſe, to ſend for aid in this ſpiritual warfare, from the Biſhops of *France*; for which cauſe a great Synod being there aſſembled, it was propoſed, who was moſt fitting to be ſent to ſuccour the true Belief then aſſaulted; when by the common votes of them all, *Germanus* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* Biſhop of *Troyes*, were choſen to go and confirm *Britain* in the Catholick Faith; who, when they had received the command of that Church, paſſed the Sea, and * landed here, though not without great danger from Storms, which *Bede* ſuppoſes to be raiſed by the Devil, and which, he alſo ſays, were to be lay'd by the Prayers of Biſhop *German*; as ſoon as they landed, they were joyfully received both by the Clergy and People, to whom they forthwith preached not only in the Churches, but alſo in the High-ways and Streets, whereby the Faithful Chriſtians were confirmed, and many Hereticks brought back to the Truth; at which the Heads of the Heretical party being very much concern'd, though they lay for a great while private, yet at laſt, fearing their ſilence would be interpreted as a quitting of their cauſe; a publick diſputation was agreed upon between them, which was (as ſome of our Authours relate) at *Verulam*, where the Hereticks appeared in a ſplendid garb, and encompaſſed with a great number of Followers; ſo that there met a great multitude of People on both ſides, to be as well Spectators as Judges; where in the firſt place *Germanus* and *Lupus* allowed their Adverſaries a full liberty of diſputing, which took up much time to little purpoſe; then the Biſhops with a Torrent of proofs drawn from the Holy Scriptures, bore down all before them, backing their Reaſons with Divine Authorities, whereby the *Pelagians* being nonplus'd, had nothing to reply; ſo that the People (being the Judges) could ſcarce refrain their Hands from them, and teſtified their reſentment by their great clamour againſt them.

Lib. 1. *cap.* 17

* *Anno* 329. *according to Arch-biſhop* Uſhers *account Vid. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. cap.* 11.

Nor did theſe Biſhops think this enough; but, as *Bede* further relates from one *Conſtantius* (who lived within Fifty Years after this was done) they thought fit likewiſe to confirm their Doctrine by Miracles; for a certain Magiſtrate bringing his Daughter of Ten Years Old, being Blind, offer'd her to the *Pelagians* to be cured, who refuſing to undertake it, the

Conſtant. lib. 1. *ch.* 13.

Anno Dom. CCCCXXXV.

Biſhops were deſired to do it; who, (as this Authour relates) after Prayers to God reſtored the Girl to ſight, by the Application of certain Saints Relicts to her Eyes; whereupon the People were ſo aſtoniſhed, that baniſhing all Errour from their Minds, they followed the Doctrine of theſe Holy Biſhops; who it ſeems, were not however very fond of theſe Relicts, but (as the ſame Authors have it) opening the Tomb of St. *Alban* at *Verulam*, buried them all therein, to the intent that one Grave might contain the Bones of all thoſe Saints, collected from ſo many ſeveral Regions, who being equal in merit, the ſame Heaven had alſo received; this done, *Germanus* only took away in exchange a ſmall lump of Earth, which was yet ſtained with the Blood of the Martyr.

I ſhall paſs over the reſt of the real or pretended Miracles of theſe Biſhops, though related by *Bede*, as being of leſs moment, and come to that famous Victory, which he from the ſame Authours relates, to have been obtained by their means, which was thus; That not long after their coming, the *Picts* and *Saxons* made a fierce Invaſion upon the *Britains*, who marching out againſt them, and miſtruſting their own Forces, ſent to *Germanus* and his Collegue to help them, repoſing more confidence in the Spiritual ſtrength of thoſe Two Holy Men, than in their own Thouſands; ſo theſe Biſhops being arrived, their preſence in the *Britiſh* Camp ſeem'd not leſs than if a whole Army had come to ſecond them: It was then the time of *Lent*, and the People inſtructed by the daily Sermons of theſe Paſtors, came flocking to receive Baptiſm, to which purpoſe a ~~place~~ in the Camp was made up of Green Boughs like a Church, againſt the Day of the *Lords* Reſurrection; the Army being there Baptized march'd out to Fight, and contemning the Defence of Arms, only expected Divine aſſiſtance; the Enemy hearing how they were imploy'd, ſeem'd aſſured of the Victory; when *Germanus*, who alſo had intelligence of their approach, undertook to be their Captain, and riding out with ſome ſelect Troops, to diſcover what advantages the place might offer, happen'd on a Valley encompaſſed with Hills, through which the Enemy was to paſs, and placing there an ambuſh, warned them, that what words they heard him pronounce aloud, the ſame they ſhould all repeat with an univerſal ſhout: the Enemy march'd on ſecurely, and *German* Thrice aloud cryed *Halelujah*, which being anſwered by the Souldiers, with a ſudden noiſe and clamour, was alſo much encreaſed by the Ecchoes from the Neighbouring Hills and Woods; the *Scots* and *Picts* ſtartled hereat, and ſuppoſing it the ſhout of a Mighty Army, flung down their Arms and fled, and for haſt many of them were drowned in that River they had newly paſſed. The Victory thus obtained without fighting, yielded the *Britains* great ſtore of ſpoil, and procured to Biſhop *German* greater Authority and Reputation than before: The place of this Fight is reported to have been near a Town called *Gniderac* in the *Britiſh* Tongue, but in the *Engliſh Mould* in *Flintſhire*, and the place is called *Maes German*, that is *German*'s *Field* to this Day: But there are two Objections to be made againſt the Truth of this Relation. The firſt is, how the *Britains* could fight againſt the *Saxons*, before their arrival here under *Hingiſt*, which was not till above Twenty Years after: Secondly, how the *Britains*, who had been Chriſtians for above Three Hundred Years, ſhould need to be new Baptized. To the former of theſe Objections, Arch biſhop *Uſher* in his *Ant. Brit. Eccleſiæ*, gives us a ſatisfactory anſwer, *viz.* That before the coming in of the *Saxons* to ſettle here; it appears, that they made ſeveral Incurſions by Sea, as hath been already proved from divers Authorities; and further *Paulus Diaconus* in the Relation of this ſtory expreſly ſays, That whil'ſt theſe Biſhops were here, a ſtrong Army of *Scots* and *Picts* Invaded *Britain*.

Anno Dom. CCCCXXVI.

But as for the reſt of the Miracles and Actions of *Germanus* and *Lupus* in *Britain*, ſince they are only related by *Nennius*, and ſome of our *Engliſh* Monks from certain Legends of little or no Credit, as written long after thoſe Times, I ſhall wholly omit them; only could wiſh that the Writers of this Story, would have given us as exact a Relation of Civil Affairs in this Iſland, as they do of thoſe concerning the Religion of this Age, that we might have known what Kings or Governours the *Britains* had, from the time of the laſt departure of the *Romans*, to the making of *Vortigern* King; the want of which no doubt was a great encouragement to *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* to forge ſo many Fictitious Princes, during this interval.

But for the other Objection, it is, I confeſs, ſomewhat harder to be anſwer'd; ſome Modern Writers ſuppoſe, that in that ſad Confuſion and Corruption of Manners, that happen'd after the departure of the *Romans*, a great many of the *Britains* turned Idolaters, or elſe (which is moſt likely) were Chriſtians but in Name; and ſo had never been Baptized at all till now.

Anno Dom. CCCCXXIX.

I ſhall now conclude with the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of theſe Times: This Year as our *Saxon* Annals (from *Proſper*'s Chronicle) relate, *Palladius* the Biſhop was ſent by Pope *Cæleſtine* to the *Scots*, to confirm their Faith, or as *Bede* in his ~~Epitome~~ Histor, *Lib.* I. *cap.*13 as well as in his Epitome at the end (under the Year CCCCXXX.) expreſſes it almoſt in the words of *Proſper*, viz. *Palladius* was ſent the firſt Biſhop by the ſaid Pope, to the *Scots* still believing in *Chriſt*, but in one of the * Copies of the *Saxon* Annals (now in the *Cottonian* Library) it is thus: *This Year* Palladius *was ſent by Pope* Cœleſtine *to Preach Baptiſm* (i. e. *Chriſtianity to the* Scots), in which it agrees with *Nennius*, who ſpeaking of this matter, ſays, "That "this Biſhop was firſt of all ſent by the ſaid Pope to convert the *Scots* "to Chriſt: But being hinder'd from God by certain Tempeſts, de"parted from *Ireland*, and arrived in *Britain*, and there died in the Coun"try of the *Picts*; in which he is alſo followed by *Probus* and *Joſeline*, in their Lives of *S. Patrick*; who, tho they agree, that *Palladius* was ſent to Convert *Ireland*, yet differ from him in the account how he came to fail in his deſign, laying the fault upon the obſtinacy of the *Iriſh*, who would not receive his Doctrine; but they both agree with *Nennius*, that thereupon he left *Ireland*, and dy'd in the confines of the *Picts*.

* Vide the various Lections in the margin of the Oxford Edition of these Annals.

Cap. 54.

This difference in theſe Copies hath bred a great diſpute between the *Engliſh* Antiquaries on the one ſide, and the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians and Antiquaries on the other; the former ſuppoſing from the Authority of *Nennius*, and the above cited Copy of the *Saxon* Chronicle, beſides that of the *Iriſh* Annals, that the *Scots* were not converted to Chriſtianity, till the Year above mention'd, and conſequently were not made Chriſtians ſo early as their Hiſtorians relate; which Opinion hath been ſtrenuouſly aſſerted by Arch-biſhop *Uſher*, in his *Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquitat.* as alſo by the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* (now Biſhop of *Litchfield*) in his Hiſtorical account of Church Goverment, and been alſo further improved by the learned

Cap. 15. p. 41.

Dr.

Serarius in vita Kiliani, de hoc loco chron. Prosperi, notato c. ad aers: Coelestini, sic scripsit. Scotos vero ~~[illegible]~~ Hybernos vocari, testis est Probus in Hist. S. Patricii apud Bedam, causam reddens, cur de profectione in Hyberniam [illegible] Julam toties a Scotis monitus S. Patricius, tandem aliquando profectus sit ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Christianum Episcopum, seu quem Barbarorum Hybernorum singulum [illegible] opera, Christianam insulam fecisse dixit Prosper, ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] videtur [illegible] locodicta Probus. Respondet vero Baronius in Martyrolog. 17° Martii dico tamen potest, convertisse tum Coelestinum, quem Palladium Hyberniam, quemadmodum Christianam occasione fuisse, ut Sanctus Patricius in eandem messem divinitus vocaretur, et a sancto Coelestino mitteretur, et Episcopus consecraretur.

Anno Dom CCCCXXX.

Dr. *Stillingfleet* (now Biſhop of *Worceſter*) in his Antiquity of the *Britiſh* Churches, who all conclude, that the *Scots* were converted to Chriſtianity long before their planting in *Britain*, which they ſuppoſe not to have happen'd till about the end of the Fifth, or the beginning of the Sixth Century.

Againſt which Opinions, though aſſerted by ſo many learned Men, Sir *George Mackenzy* (late Lord Advocate of *Scotland*) hath Written two Treatiſes, which he calls a defence of the Royal-line of *Scotland*; in the former of which written againſt the ſaid Biſhop, as well as the latter againſt Dr. *Stillingfleet*, he alters the ſtate of the Controverſie from an Eccleſiaſtical to a Civil diſpute; making it a crime of læſe Majeſty ſo much as to queſtion the reality of the Kings of *Scotland*, before *Fergus* the Second; but omitting the Proofs that he produces for the Antiquity of the *Scotiſh* Kings before that time, as alſo what he writes for the *Scots* Converſion,as performed in *Scotland*, and not in *Ireland*; being beyond the bounds of our Hiſtory, I ſhall leave the Reader for his farther ſatiſfaction to peruſe thoſe Treatiſes, if he think fit, being writ with great Wit and Smartneſs.

But ſince I found the time of *Palladius*'s being ſent by the Pope to the *Scots*, mentioned not only in *Bede*, but in our *Saxon* Chronicles, I could not well omit putting it down; yet without taking upon me poſitively to determine whither the *Scots* of *Scotland*, or thoſe of *Ireland* are there meant; ſince I confeſs the Words are Ambiguous, and the Copies differ, as I have already ſhewed.

Anno Dom. CCCCXXX.

Dr Gales

that

But the Year after *Palladius*'s being ſent to the *Scots* (whether in *Ireland* or *Scotland*) the *Saxon* Annals tell us, that *Patrick was ſent by the ſame Pope* Cœleſtine, *to Preach Baptiſm* (i. e, *Chriſtianity*) *to the* Scots: Although I find in ~~the~~ Notes ~~of~~ —— upon *Nennius*, p. 129; a Chronicle noting, Anno Dom. 475, *Venit S. Patricius ad Hiberniam.* &c.

Now that theſe were the *Scots* of *Ireland*, is agreed on by all; yet this Controverſie is made more intricate, by what *Ranul. Higden* writes in his *Polychron.* (*l.* 4. *c.* 33. *Celeſtinus Papa miſit S. Patricium, ad Hiberniam Convertendam*; *& Palladium Romanum Diaconum, ad Scotos Convertendos, Anno Scil. Pontificatus ſui IX.*

And alſo by what is found in a Manuſcript Copy of *Dicetus* thus; *Celeſtinus Papa ad Scotos Palladium Primum mittit Epiſcopum*; *Poſtquam ad eoſdem, ab eodem Celeſtino, miſſus eſt S. Patricius filius Conches Sororis S. Martini Turonenſis.*

For which laſt Notes I muſt own my ſelf obliged to the Learned Doctor *Gale*; but on the other ſide, if the *Scots*, to whom *Palladius* is ſaid to have been ſent, were not the ſame with thoſe in *Ireland*, but the *Scots* than living in *Scotland*; it muſt then be confeſſed that the promiſcuous uſe of the Name of *Scotia*, ſometimes for *Ireland*, and ſometimes for *Scotland*, and of *Scoti*, ſometimes uſed by *Bede*, and other Writers of thoſe times for *Iriſh* Men, and ſometimes for Native *Scots*, have ſo confounded the Hiſtories of both theſe *Nations*, that no Man without other Circumſtances can tell when they mean the one, or the other.

But ſince the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Britain* in theſe Times is very obſcure, and deficient, there being ſo little to be found concerning it, either in *Bede*, or any other Writer, and the Age alſo being become very Corrupt and Ignorant, during the frequent Wars and Revolutions that happen'd in this part of the Iſland; It is not to be expected that we ſhould be able to ſet down the Names of any Biſhops, or others, Remarkable in this laſt Age for Piety or Learning: So having given as good an Account as I am able, and as the broken Hiſtory of thoſe Times will allow, of the Riſe and Fall of the *Roman* Empire in *Britain*, and the State of Affairs, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, during the ſpace of near 490 Years that the *Romans* had to do here; I ſhall in the next Book give you a Proſpect of the lamentable State of this part of *Britain*, after the departure of the *Romans*, and that the *Britains* had ſet up Princes of their own Nation.

Anno Dom. CCCCXXX.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE
General Hiſtory
OF
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:
As well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil.

BOOK III.

From its Deſertion by the Romans, *to the Preaching of* Chriſtianity *by* AUGUSTINE *the* Monk, *being One hundred Sixty two Years.*

BEING now come to the Third Period of this Firſt Volume, it is fit we ſay ſomewhat by way of Introduction before ſo great a Change as you will here find to have followed the Deſertion of *Britain* by the *Romans*: For with the *Roman* Empire fell alſo what before were chiefly *Roman*, Learning, Valour, Eloquence and Civility, and conſequently Hiſtory too, which is but the Product of theſe; all which at firſt encreaſing by means of the *Roman* Power and Encouragement, did alſo diminiſh and decline upon its Departure, till it was at laſt quite extinct by the coming in of the *Pagan Saxons*, and the long cruel Wars they made upon the *Britains*, as you may obſerve from the barbarous Latin of *Gildas* and *Nennius*, which are the only Authentick *Britiſh* Hiſtorians that are now extant.

As for the *Engliſh Saxons*, they were at firſt ſo, illiterate, that it is much doubted, whether they had the uſe of Letters and Writing among them or not, ſince we have no Hiſtories or *Annals* of their Times elder than their receiving Chriſtianity; for thô there are ſome few Stones to be found in *England* inſcribed with the ancient *Runick* Characters, (as appears from the late *Engliſh* Edition of Mr. *Camden's Britannia*,) yet that

barbarous &

they are wholly *Daniſh* Monuments, and made after the time of their Converſion, I need only refer you to the Inſcriptions themſelves as they are to be found in the ſaid * *Britannia*, with the Additions that follow it; ſo that it ought not to ſeem ſtrange, that the *Saxon* Annals are ſo ſhort and obſcure in many places, and that the Relations of Things done before the entrance of Chriſtianity among them are contradictory to each other in point of Time, and other Circumſtances; ſince they were only delivered by Memory and Tradition, which muſt be acknowledged for a very uncertain Guide in Matters of Fact, as well as of Doctrine.

Tit. Cumberland.

Nor is this Uncertainty to be found only in the *Saxon* Chronicles, but alſo in thoſe of the *Britains* of that Age, ſince from the Reign of King *Vortigern* to that of *Cadwalladar* is indeed the darkeſt and moſt confuſed part of all the *Britiſh* or *Welſh* Hiſtory: Hence it is that we are forced in this Period, not only to make uſe of Authors who lived long after the Things they treat of were done, but alſo are otherwiſe of no great Credit; ſuch as *Nennius*, and *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, whom we ſometimes make uſe of for want of thoſe of better Authority. As for the *Engliſh Saxon* Hiſtory, we have nothing more ancient than *Bede*, and the *Saxon* Chronicle, which we ſhall here give you almoſt entire, ſince it ſeems to be writ faithfully as far as it goes, yet being only *Annals*, (extracted out of *Bede* as far as he goes,) they barely relate the Succeſſion of their Kings with their chief Wars and Actions, without expreſſing the Grounds or Cauſes of either, or giving us any Account of their particular Laws, and original Conſtitutions; ſo that I confeſs, they cannot prove ſo Inſtructive to Humane Life, as is required of a juſt Hiſtory.

Anno Dom. CCCCXXXV

Gildas, *and* Bede, *l.* 1. *c.* 12.

Britain being thus deſerted by the *Romans*, as you have ſeen in the laſt Book, with an intention to return no more; and having cauſed the *Britains* to rebuild the Wall in the manner already related, the *Scots* and *Picts*, thô in Manners differing from each other, yet ſtill unanimous to rob and ſpoil, hearing that the *Roman* Forces were withdrawn, landed in Shoals out of their Curroghs or Leathern Veſſels, in which they paſſed over that part of the *Iriſh* Sea, which lying next *Britain*, is called by *Gildas*, *The Scythic Vale*; theſe (upon the Aſſurance that the *Romans* would never return) becoming more bold than ever, took poſſeſſion of all the *Northern* Parts, even from the outmoſt Bounds of the Land as far as the Wall already mentioned; in the mean time, the Guards which were placed upon it to defend it being cowardly in Fight, and unable to fly, ſtood trembling on the Battlements, keeping their Stations day and night to little or no purpoſe, whilſt the Enemy from below with long Hooks pluck'd them down, and daſhed them againſt the Ground, thus preventing by a ſpeedy Death thoſe languiſhing Torments which attended their Countrymen and Relations. In ſhort, both the Wall and the Towns adjoyning to it being deſerted, the Inhabitants ſaved themſelves by flight, which yet could not long ſecure them, for the Enemy purſuing them, a freſh Slaughter quickly followed more bloody than the former; and, which was worſe than all the reſt, being tormented with Famine, to get Subſiſtence, they fell upon and robbed each other; for they who came from the North, (as may probably be ſuppoſed,) and had fled from the Enemy, being unable to pay for their Quarters when they came into the Southern Parts, ſeized what they could find; from whence roſe Diſcords and Quarrels among them, and thence Civil Wars; for this Nation,

tion, (as *Gildas* obſerves,) thô feeble in repreſſing Foreign Enemies, yet in home-bred Quarrels was very bold and obſtinate.

Anno Dom. CCCCXLV.

But whilſt they thus for ſome Years wore themſelves out with continual Acts of mutual Hoſtility, the Famine grew General upon all, ſo that thoſe half-ſtarved Men that remained were forced to maintain their Lives with what they could get by Hunting; ~~ſo that~~ at laſt the miſerable Remnants of this afflicted People having now no other Remedy left, were conſtrained to write doleful Letters to **Aetius*, then the Emperour's Lieutenant in *Gaul*, directed, *To* Aetius, *thrice Conſul, the Groans of the* Britains; wherein they thus complain: “The *Barbarians* drive “us to the Sea, whilſt the Sea driveth us back to the *Barbarians*; “between theſe two ſorts of Deaths, we muſt be either ſlain, or drown'd. What Anſwer they received is uncertain, but *Gildas* expreſly tells us, That they received no Aſſiſtance by thoſe Letters, becauſe *Aetius* then expected a War with *Attilla* King of the *Huns*.

Gild. Bede, *lb. c.* 12, 13.

* *In ſome Manuſcripts and Printed Copies it is written* Agitius, *but in the* Bodleian *Manuſcript it is written right, as thus.*

And indeed about theſe Times a terrible Famine invaded not only *Britain*, but extended it ſelf as far as *Conſtantinople*, where the Famine, together with the corrupt Air, produced a great Peſtilence; whilſt this Scarcity prevailed in this Iſle, it forced many of the *Britains* to yield themſelves up to their Enemies, that they might get wherewith to ſuſtain Nature, thô others of them choſe rather to ſally out and reſiſt them, from the Woods and Mountains to which they retreated; yet now it was, (as *Gildas* tells us) that not putting their Truſt in Man, but in *God* alone, they firſt of all made ſome ſlaughter of their Enemies which had preyed upon their Country for ſo many Years; but thô the Boldneſs of their Enemies was abated for a while, yet ſo was not the Wickedneſs of the *Britains*, “Who (as the ſame Author deſcribes them) were very back- “ward to perform the Duties proper to Peace, *viz.* Juſtice and Truth, “but were prone to Lies, and all Wickedneſs; ſo that (ſays he) thô “theſe impudent Robbers (the *Iriſh*) went home, yet it was to return “again within a ſhort time whilſt the *Picts* remained, being both then, “and long afterwards, in the farther Parts of the Iſland, ſometimes “taking Prey, and making Incurſions; ſo that during the Truce, whilſt “this Wound was ſlightly skin'd over, another Malady more Conta- “gious was breeding.

Vid. Chron. Herman. Contracti.

Gild.

“For thô, during this ſhort interval of Peace, there ſucceeded ſo great a “Plenty of all ſorts of Proviſions that no Man's Memory could paral- “lel, yet was it attended with great Luxury, and all ſorts of Wicked- “neſs began alſo to increaſe, but chiefly Cruelty, together with the “Hatred of the Truth, and the Love of Lies, the taking Evil for “Good, and the Love of Darkneſs rather than Light; ſo that what “was pleaſing to God, or not pleaſing, with them, weighed both alike; “and the worſt ſide of the Cauſe moſt commonly prevailed, whilſt all “Things were done contrary to the Publick Good and Safety; ~~nay~~, “not only by Secular Men, but even the Clergy (whoſe Example ſhould “have guided others) were grown Vicious and Corrupt, many of them “being given to Drunkenneſs, or ſwoln with Pride, or elſe full of En- “vy and Contention; indiſcreet and incompetent Judges of what in the “common Practice of Life was good or evil, lawful or unlawful.

Ibid.

pray.

This is the general Character that *Gildas* and *Bede* give us both of the *Britiſh* Clergy and Laity of theſe Times; from whence we may eaſily conclude, that People of this temper were not fit to be truſted with the

Anno Dom. [illegible]

Government of themſelves: but being more fond of the Name of Liberty, than apprehenſive of the Charge of Governing well, they grew heady and violent in their Affairs, and poſitive in what they underſtood not, none being more ſtout and daring in Councels, none ſo fearful when it came to Action, all pretending to know what ought to be done, yet all drawing back in the Performance. Thus in a ſhort time, when the Heat of Liberty was once ſpent, and the Enemy daily encreaſed, they quickly found their old Temper returning upon them, a ſlaviſhneſs of Mind, and ſlothfulneſs of Body, then they might have perceived it was not meer Stomach, or a hot and ſudden Love of Liberty that could protect them; but that Diligence, Wiſdom, and a publick Spirit, were ſtill wanting; ſo that they ſhrunk by degrees into their former tameneſs of Mind, and grew as weary of their new-tried Liberty, as they had been of their old Subjection, which made them write thoſe Abject Letters to *Aetius*, but now mentioned.

What particular Kings or Governours the *Britains* ſet up after they were ſet free from the *Roman* Empire, is hard to determine, only *Gildas* tells us in general, " That Kings were by them anointed, but none of " *God*'s anointing, but ſuch as were moſt cruel, who were ſoon after as " inconſiderately laid aſide without any Examination of the Truth, " whilſt ſome were put to Death by their Anointers, to ſet up others " more Fierce and Tyrannical; but if any of them ſeemed Milder, and " more inclined to the Truth, againſt him as the Subverter of his Country, the general Hatred of all Men was preſently directed.

So that the Office of a King ſeems to have been a very dangerous Employment in thoſe wicked and turbulent Times, thô by what we can gueſs by *Gildas*'s Epiſtle ſetting forth the Faults of all Orders and Degrees of Men, there had been divers Kings ruling in *Britain* at once, not only in his own, but in former Times, but who they were, he does not particularly mention.

But to fill up this Interval, *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* furniſheth us with one *Conſtantine*, Brother of *Adroenus* King of *Armorica*. This *Conſtantine* he makes to have been elected King, and crowned at *Cirenceſter*, and being killed by a *Pict*, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Conſtans*, who from a Monk at *Wincheſter*, was made King; and that he being made away by the Procurement of *Vortigern*, he cauſed himſelf, being at that time Conſul or Count of the *Geviſes*, to be elected King in his room; but if you pleaſe to look back into the former Book, you will there find how *Conſtantine* the Uſurper, with his Son *Conſtans* the Monk, the one being made Emperour, and the other Cæſar, periſhed in *France*, may eaſily confute the falſhood of this Story.

An. Dom. ~~CCCCXLV.~~ CCCCXLVI.

But ſince neither *Gildas*, *Nennius*, nor any other *Britiſh* Hiſtorian, make mention of this *Conſtantine* or his Son, all that we can conclude to be true in this Relation, is, That the *Britains* about this time finding themſelves quite deſerted by the *Romans*, and being now without any Head, and hard preſſed by the *Scots* and *Picts*, choſe this *Vortigern*, being then a popular Man, (thô he proved neither Wiſe, Valiant, nor Virtuous,) for their King; in the beginning of whoſe Reign God was willing to purge his Family, (as *Gildas* words it;) the *Britains* not being amended with ſo many Corrections, were again frighted with a freſh Rumour, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were returning with greater Forces than ever, and that they threatned the Deſtruction of the whole Country,

try,

Anno Dom. CCCCXLVII.

try, and intended no leſs than to plant themſelves from one end thereof to the other; but before their arrival, as if the Inſtruments of Divine Vengeance were at ſtriſe, which ſhould firſt deſtroy a wicked Nation, "The reſidue that the Sword and Famine had left alive, were now "ſwept away with a ſore Peſtilence, inſomuch that the living ſcarce "ſufficed to bury their Dead; but neither were the *Britains* at all amended for all this, for now it ſeems the time drew near, that the meaſure of their Iniquities were full.

Anno Dom. CCCCXLVIII.

* *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

† *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 21.

But before we relate how this Vengeance was executed, we ſhall here ſet down from the aforeſaid Authors, * ~~*Conſtantius*~~ and † *Bede*, *Germanus*'s Second Voyage to *Britain*; the ſubſtance of which is, That it being told *Germanus* that *Pelagianiſm* prevailed here again, thorough ſome promoters of it, the *Britiſh* Clergy (too weak it ſeems at diſpute) renewed their addreſſes to him, that he would come over and defend God's Cauſe, which he had once before undertaken; which Petition he readily granted, taking along with him as an aſſiſtant not *Lupus*, but his Scholar *Severus*, who being ordained Biſhop of *Triers*, then preached the Goſpel to the *Germans*; as ſoon as it was divulg'd, that *Germanus* was come over, one *Elaphius* a Principal Magiſtrate of that Country, brought a Youth, (a Son of his) the Sinews of one of whoſe Legs had been long ſhrunk up, and deſired *Germanus* that he would reſtore them, who granting his requeſt immediately upon his ſtroaking the place with his hand his Leg was reſtored, as the other, whereupon both the Prieſts and the People who had followed *Elaphius* to the place, being aſtoniſhed at the Miracle were again confirm'd in the Catholick Faith, which was followed by an admonition *Germanus* made them to amend their errours; but the Authors of this apoſtacy, being by the ſentence of them all baniſhed the Iſland, were delivered up to the Biſhops to be carry'd into the *Continent*, that ſo the People might quietly enjoy the benefit of this Reformation, who for the future perſiſted in the true Faith.

Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX.

Gildas.

But after this the *Britains* being again preſſed and over power'd, by freſh invaſions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, King *Vortigern* called a Council to conſider what was to be done, and where they might beſt ſeek aſſiſtance to repel theſe frequent and cruel Invaſions of the ſaid Nations; whereupon all his Councellours together with the King (being as it were blinded) found out ſuch a defence as indeed proved the deſtruction of their Country, which was that the Heathen *Saxons*, who were then hateful both to God and Man, and whom when abſent they fear'd almoſt as bad as Death it ſelf, ſhould be ſent for to repel theſe *Northern* Nations, "which ſeems to have been ordained by Divine providence, to take "vengeance on ſo wicked a People, as the event more evidently prov'd. Though at preſent the Council ſeem'd very ſpecious, becauſe the *Saxons* were then a Nation who were very terrible to all others: this Council being thus approved of, Ambaſſadours are immediately ſent into *Germany*, repreſenting to the *Saxons* the *Britains* requeſt, and promiſing them very advantagious Conditions, if they would come over to their aſſiſtance; *Witichindus* an ancient *German* Writer, in his Hiſtory *De geſtis Saxonum*, repreſents theſe Ambaſſadours making a long Speech, wherein they promiſed an abſolute ſubjection to the *Saxons*; but this being not at all likely, nor agreeable to the *Britiſh* account of it, I omit; only this is certain, that the *Saxons* were very well pleaſed with this Propoſal, and their Country being then overcharged with People, beyond what it was able to bear, immediate-

Bede, *l.* 1. *c.* 13

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Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX.

Malmes. lib. 1.

^ot

Gildas p. 8.
Bede lib. 1. *cap.* 15.

Hen. Hunt.l. 11.

^4

ly yeilding to this requeſt, made what haſte they could to come away; and being as it is ſaid choſen out by *Lot*, were put on board Three long Ships or Veſſels, called in their Language *Chiules*, under the conduct of Two Captains, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, being Brothers, and deſcended from that ancient *Woden*, from whom almoſt all the Royal Families of the *Saxons* derive their deſcent. Theſe leaders together with their followers arriving in *Britain* at a place called afterwards *Ypwine's Fleot*, are welcomed with great joy and applauſe both of the Prince and People, the Iſle of *Thanet*, (where they landed) being given them for their habitation; and a League was made with them on theſe Conditions, that the *Saxons* fighting for, and defending the Country againſt Foreign Enemies, ſhould receive their Pay, and Maintenance from thoſe for whom they Fought; this is ſaid to have happen'd in the beginning of the Reign of the Emperour *Martian*, and in the Four and Twentieth Year of *Pharamond*, firſt King of the *French*: *Anno Dom.* 449, as the *Saxon* Chronicle, and almoſt all our Hiſtorians agree. What the number was of theſe *Saxon* Auxiliaries now brought over, is not related in the *Saxon* Annals, or any other; but certainly they could not be above 1500, ſince they all came over in Three Ships, and 500 Men was as much as one of thoſe ſmall Veſſels could well be ſuppoſed to carry.

But before I proceed further in this Hiſtory, 'tis fit we ſhould give ſome account of the Name, Original, and Manners of this Great and Warlike Nation of the *Saxons*, whoſe Poſterity enjoy this Kingdom to this very day.

Lib. 1. *cap.* 26.

Bede in the firſt place tells us, that theſe People came from Three Valiant Nations of *Germany*, *viz.* the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*; from which latter were derived the *Kentiſh* Men, and the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Wight*, and of the Province lying over againſt the ſaid Iſle, (now called *Hampſhire*) and which was afterwards part of the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*, was alſo Peopled by the ſame Nation. From the *Saxons* (that is the Country which was then called old *Saxony*) came the *Eaſt Saxons*, *South Saxons*, and *Weſt Saxons*, and from the *Angles*, that is, that Country which is called *Angulus*, and which lyes between the Countries of the *Jutes* and *Saxons*, are derived the *Eaſt Angles*, the *Middleland Angles*, or *Mercians*, together with the whole Nation of the *Northumbrians*, that is, thoſe *Northern* People which live beyond the River *Humber*, ſo far *Bede*: But *Ethelwerd*, one of our moſt ancient Hiſtorians in his Chronicle, tells us more plainly, that Old *England* is ſeated between the *Saxons*, and the *Jutes*, having for its Capital City that which is called in the *Saxon* Tongue *Sleſwic*, but by the *Danes Heathaby*, and that *Britain* taking its Name from its Conquerors, is now called *England*.

Ant. Brit. (*Eccl. cap.* 12. *p.* 197.

^Albis

But as for the Bounds and Extent of Old *Saxony*, there is a great difference between the Writers about it; yet that it bordered upon Old *England* they all agree: " Arch-biſhop *Uſher* ſuppoſes Old *Saxony* to be that " Country, that beginning with the River ^ ~~*Elbis*~~, is extended towards " the *North*, and was afterwards called *Northalbingia*, being bounded in " its lower parts by the Rivers *Albis*, *Billa* and *Trava*, and in its upper " by the Rivers *Eidora*, and *Slia*; for *Ptolemy* appoints the ſame *Southern* " Bounds to his *Saxons*, placing them between the Bounds of the River " *Albis* and *Caluſus*, or *Trava* (which runneth by *Lubec*) but the *Northern* " bounds *Egenhardus* hath given us in his Annals, in the Year of our " Lord 808; where (ſpeaking of *Godefrid*, King of *Denmark*) he ſets

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Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX.

" it out thus: He reſolved to fortifie the Limits of his Kingdom which looked towards *Saxony* with a deep Trench, in ſuch a manner, as that from that Eaſtern Bay of the Sea which they call *Oſterſalt*, as far as the Weſtern Ocean, this Trench ſhould defend all the Northern Banks of the River *Eidor*. And *Adam* of *Bremen*, in his Treatiſe concerning the Situation of *Denmark*, and other Northern Nations, divides *Denmark* from the Inhabitants of *Saxony* (whom he calls *North Elbings*) by the River *Eidor*; of which *Tranſelbian Saxons*, in another Book, he reckons up three Nations: The firſt, of *Dithmars*, lying upon the Ocean, whoſe chief Church was *Mildenthrope*; the ſecond, *Holſteiners*, through which runs the River *Sture*, whoſe chief Church was *Scolenſield*; the third, who were more noble, are called *Stormars*, whoſe Metropolis is *Hamburgh*; ſo that this Country was the fartheſt part of *Old Saxony*. Herewith agreeth the Anonymus Geographer of *Ravenna*, writing thus of the *Saxons*; *The* Saxons *came into* Britain *under their Prince, by Name* Anſehis, *i. e.* Hengiſt. And then in another place, having ſpoke of the *Friſians*: *After them* (ſaith he) *are the* Saxons, *and on the back of them certain Iſlands; then followeth the Country of the* Nortmanni, *which is alſo called* Dania. Thoſe Iſlands *Ptolemy* calls *Inſulæ Saxonum*. And therefore it was not *Weſtphalia*, as *Theodoric Engelhus*, *Wernerius*, *Lazius*, *Albert Kantz*, and others of the Moderns have ſuppoſed; yet the *Archbiſhop* does not deny, but that in following Times that Country (as well as *Frizeland*) might be alſo poſſeſt by the Poſterity of the ancient *Saxons*, but was then rather that which is now the Dutchy of *Holſtein*, comprehending *Dithmars*, *Stormar*, and *Wagria*, in breadth from *Sleſwick* to the City of *Hamburgh*, ſeated in the further part of *Old Saxony*; and in length is extended from the Weſt to the Eaſtern Sea, or from the *German* Ocean to the *Baltick* Gulph, having *Old France* next adjoyning to it, then lying between the Mouths of the *Elb* and *Rhine*; for as *Ammianus Marcellinus* teacheth us, the *Franks* then reached as far as the River *Rhine*, yet ſo, that they had the *Saxons* next Neighbours to them; and *Julian*, in his Oration in Praiſe of the Emperour *Conſtantius*, calls both theſe Nations the moſt Warlike of all thoſe that inhabit beyond the *Rhine* and Weſtern Ocean.

Krantz

Here give me leave to add what the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, (now Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*) in his *Antiquity* of the *Britiſh* Churches, has given us on this Subject, *Chap.* 5. where he tells us, that Mr. *Camden* is of another Opinion, who, in the Introduction to his *Britannia*, ſaith, That the *Saxons* originally came from the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſe* in the time of *Diocleſian*; and after paſſing the *Elb*, they partly went into thoſe Parts of the *Suevi*, which is ſince called *Saxony*, and partly into *Friſia* and *Batavia*; from whence he ſaith, All the Inhabitants of the *German* Shore, who uſed Piracy at Sea, were called *Saxons*; by whom he underands, the People from *Jutland* to *Holland*, for which he produces the Teſtimony of *Fabius Ethelwerd*'s Chronicle, one of the *Saxon* Blood-Royal, who ſaith, "That the *Saxons* lived upon the Sea-Coaſt, from the *Rhine*, as far as *Denmark*. But *Ammianus Marcellinus* makes them in his me to border upon the Parts of *Gaul*, which is much behither the ounds of *Jutland*, *Holſtein*, or *Sleſwick*. And the ſame Author farther ys, That the *Chamavi* (whom he makes a part of the *Saxons*) had the Command of the *Rhine*, that *Jutland* made Peace with them, becauſe without their leave Corn could not be brought out of *Britain*; as alſo

Lib. 1.

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Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX.

* *Excerpt. Legat. p.* 15.

**Eunapius Sardianus* ſaith, That the *Saxons* in *Julian*'s time had the Command of the *Rhine*. Nor was this only a ſudden Incurſion, ſince i *Valentinian*'s time (when *Ammianus* wrote) they ſtill bordered upo *Gaul*.

Rer. Friſc. l. 1.

Ubbo Emmius a Learned and *German* Hiſtorian, gives this Account o the *Saxons* and their Neighbouring Nations, who inhabited on the North Parts of *Germany*. That the *Friſii* dwelt from the middle Stream of th *Rhine*, about *Utrecht*, to the River *Amaſus*, (or *Emes*;) from thence t the *Elb* lived the *Chauci*, divided into the Greater and Leſſer by the *Weſer*; a great part of theſe leaving their Native Soil, joyned with the *Sicambri* on the *Rhine*, who from their affecting Liberty were called *Franks* beyond the *Elb* were the *Saxons*, and the *Cimbri*; the *Saxons* being preſſe by the more Northern People, or for their own Conveniency, came Southwards, and took poſſeſſion firſt of thoſe Places where the *Chauc* dwelt; and by degrees prevailing over all the other People, who joyne with, or ſubmitted to the *Saxons*, they were called by their Name, an among the reſt the *Friſii*, from whoſe Coaſts he ſuppoſes, the two Brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, to have gone into *Britain*; and returning thither, carried over a far greater Number with them, not ſo much to figh as to inhabit there; therefore he thinks it moſt probable, that *Hengi* and *Horſa*, by their deſcent, were originally *Saxons*; but that the greate part of the People, who went over with them, were rather *Friſians*, tha *Saxons*; which he proves, not only from the greater facility of Paſſag from the Coaſt of *Friſeland*, and the Teſtimony of their own Annals, bu from the greater Agreement of the *Engliſh* Language with theirs tha with the *Saxon*, or any other *German* Dialect; and alſo, becauſe *Be* reckons the *Friſians* among thoſe from whom the *Engliſh Saxons* are derived; and *Wilfrid*, *Wickbert*, and *Willibrod*, all preached to the *Friſians* i their own Tongue, as *Marcellinus*, in his Life of *Suidebert*, relates. Bu this Author ſaith further, That the Affinity of their Language continue ſtill ſo great, that from thence he concludes many more to have gon out of *Friſeland* into *Britain*, than either of the *Saxons*, *Jutes*, or *A* *gles*.

Lib. 5. *cap.* 10.

Ibid.

But to all this, our Learned *Primate* anſwers, That *Hengiſt* and *Hor* might be truly called *Friſians*, there being a *Friſia* in the Southern Par of *Jutland*, which *Saxo Grammaticus* calls the *Leſſer Friſia*, and is parte by the *Eidore* from the Country of the *Angli* on the Eaſt, and the *Saxo* on the South; yet even *Ubbo Emmius* quits the Point upon *Bede*'s Gene logy, and grants they were really *Saxons*, as being derived from *Wode* from whom the Race of *Kings* of many of thoſe Northern Parts a deſcended. But yet for all this it may probably be, that thô the Princes were not Native *Friſians* themſelves, yet ſome of thoſe Natio that followed them, and were in a large acceptation called *Saxons*, mig come from *Friſeland*, and the reſt of the Sea-Coaſt as far as *Old Saxo* properly ſo called. I omit what other *German* Authors have ſaid up this Subject, becauſe I would not be tedious; but whoever deſires f ther Satiſfaction herein, may conſult the Reverend Doctor abo mentioned, to whom I muſt own my ſelf beholding for what I ha now ſaid concerning the Countries from whence the *Engliſh Saxons* ori nally came.

Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX.

But as for the Original of theſe *Saxons* that now came into *Britain*, there is a much greater Diſpute. *Cluverius* in his ancient *Germany*, as alſo our Country-man *Verſtegan*, in his Treatiſe, called, *A Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence*, Chap. 2. would needs have them to be derived from the *Germans*, which is denied by the Learned *Grotius* in his *Prolegomena* to the *Gothic* Hiſtory, as alſo by Mr. *Sherringham*, in his Treatiſe *De Anglorum Gentis Origine*, where he undertakes to prove, that they were a Branch of the ancient *Getæ*, who were the Poſterity of *Japhet*; and coming out of *Scythia* into *Europe*, firſt fixed themſelves under the Conduct of one *Eric* their King in the ancient *Scandinavia* or *Gothland*, which is now called *Sweden* and *Norway*; and from thence ſome Ages, after under the Conduct of *Berig*, another of their Kings, ſent out Colonies into all the *Iſles* of the *Baltic Sea*, and the Northern Coaſts of *Germany*, as far as the *Cimbric Cherſoneſe*, now *Jutland*; ſo that the *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Saxons*, had one and the ſame *Scythic* Original, as the Learned *Grotius* in his ſaid *Prolegomena* hath fully proved; as alſo Mr. *Sherringham*, in *Chap.* 7. of his laſt-cited Treatiſe, as well from the ancient *Gothic* Chronicles written in that Language, both in Proſe and Verſe; as alſo from *Jornandes de Rebus Geticis*, Chap. 4. that theſe *Getæ* or *Goths* multiplying more than thoſe Countries could well bear, in the time of *Filemar* the 5th King after *Berig*, great multitudes of them under his Conduct removed their Dwellings into the *Aſiatic Scythia*, called *Oudin* in their Language; from whence in proceſs of Time they ſpread themſelves as far as the *Palus Mæotis*, and the Northern Countries near the *Euxine* Sea, even to *Thracia* and *Mæſia* towards the South, where they ſtill retained the Name of *Getæ* or *Gotti*, thô they were alſo from the Countries where they lived often called *Thracians* or *Mæſians*, being divided into ſeveral Tribes, *viz.* *Viſigoths* or *Weſtern Goths*, and *Oſtrogoths* or *Eaſtern Goths*; the former of which invaded *Spain*, and the latter *Italy*.

But ſome Ages before this, (as the *Norwegians* and *Swediſh* Annals, cited by Mr. *Sherringham* relate,) one *Woden*, King of a Territory and City in *Aſia*, called *Aſgard*, near the River *Tanais*, led back a great multitude of theſe *Goths* out of the *Aſiatic Scythia* into *Europe*, and partly by good will, and partly by force, ſeized on all thoſe Countries afterwards called *Saxony*; but that afterward leaving his Sons Princes of thoſe Regions, he returned into *Swedeland*, where after many Travels he ended his Days, being counted a great Magician as well as Warriour, ſo that after his deceaſe his Subjects and Deſcendants worſhip'd him as a God. But divers *Daniſh* and *Swediſh* Authors do very much doubt, whether this *Woden*, whom they thus worſhip'd, were the ſame with him from whom the *Saxon* Princes drew their Pedigrees; ſince thereby it appears, that *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* were the Sons of *Witgilſus*, who was the Son of *Witta*, and he the Son of *Vecta*, and he the Son of *Woden*. So that theſe Princes were no more than three Deſcents removed from him, which could not amount to above 200 Years, and conſequently was too ſhort a time for their multiplying into ſuch great Multitudes, much leſs for their worſhiping him for a God; yet this is very probable, that moſt of the *Goths* that came along with this *Woden* changed their Names to that of the *Saxons*, and Peopled all thoſe Countries already mentioned; and thô there may be a great deal of Fabulous Stuff in this Story, as it is related in the Old *Swediſh* and *Iſelandiſh* Hiſtories called *Eddas*; yet thus much is certain, that there was ſuch a Prince who brought back the *Goths* out of *Aſia*

Chap. 11.

Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX.

* Excerpt. Legat. p. 15. *Eunapius Sardianus* ſaith, That the *Saxons* in *Julian*'s time had the Command of the *Rhine*. Nor was this only a ſudden Incurſion, ſince in *Valentinian*'s time (when *Ammianus* wrote) they ſtill bordered upon *Gaul*.

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Lib. 5. cap. 10. with the *Saxon*, or any other *German* Dialect; and alſo, becauſe *Be* reckons the *Friſians* among thoſe from whom the *Engliſh Saxons* are derived; and *Wilfrid*, *Wickbert*, and *Willibrod*, all preached to the *Friſians* i their own Tongue, as *Marcellinus*, in his Life of *Suidebert*, relates. Bu this Author ſaith further, That the Affinity of their Language continue ſtill ſo great, that from thence he concludes many more to have gon out of *Friſeland* into *Britain*, than either of the *Saxons*, *Jutes*, or *Angles*.

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Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX.

But as for the Original of theſe *Saxons* that now came into *Britain*, there is a much greater Diſpute. *Cluverius* in his ancient *Germany*, as alſo our Country-man *Verſtegan*, in his Treatiſe, called, *A Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence*, Chap. 2. would needs have them to be derived from the *Germans*, which is denied by the Learned *Grotius* in his *Prolegomena* to the *Gothic* Hiſtory, as alſo by Mr. *Sherringham*, in his Treatiſe *De Anglorum Gentis Origine*, where he undertakes to prove, that they were a Branch of the ancient *Getæ*, who were the Poſterity of *Japhet*; and coming out of *Scythia* into *Europe*, firſt fixed themſelves under the Conduct of one *Eric* their King in the ancient *Scandinavia* or *Gothland*, which is now called *Sweden* and *Norway*; and from thence ſome Ages after under the Conduct of *Berig*, another of their Kings, ſent out Colonies into all the *Iſles* of the *Baltic Sea*, and the Northern Coaſts of *Germany*, as far as the *Cimbric Cherſoneſe*, now *Jutland*; ſo that the *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Saxons*, had one and the ſame *Scythic* Original, as the Learned *Grotius* in his ſaid *Prolegomena* hath fully proved; as alſo Mr. *Sherringham*, in *Chap.* 7. of his laſt-cited Treatiſe, as well from the ancient *Gothic* Chronicles written in that Language, both in Proſe and Verſe; as alſo from *Jornandes de Rebus Geticis*, Chap. 4. that theſe *Getæ* or *Goths* multiplying more than thoſe Countries could well bear, in the time of *Filemar* the 5th King after *Berig*, great multitudes of them under his Conduct removed their Dwellings into the *Aſiatic Scythia*, called *Oudin* in their Language; from whence in proceſs of Time they ſpread themſelves as far as the *Palus Mæotis*, and the Northern Countries near the *Euxine* Sea, even to *Thracia* and *Mæſia* towards the South, where they ſtill retained the Name of *Getæ* or *Gotti*, thô they were alſo from the Countries where they lived often called *Thracians* or *Mæſians*, being divided into ſeveral Tribes, *viz.* *Viſigoths* or *Weſtern Goths*, and *Oſtrogoths* or *Eaſtern Goths*, the former of which invaded *Spain*, and the latter *Italy*.

Chap. 11.

But ſome Ages before this, (as the *Norwegians* and *Swediſh* Annals, cited by Mr. *Sherringham* relate,) one *Woden*, King of a Territory and City in *Aſia*, called *Aſgard*, near the River *Tanais*, led back a great multitude of theſe *Goths* out of the *Aſiatic Scythia* into *Europe*, and partly by good will, and partly by force, ſeized on all thoſe Countries afterwards called *Saxony*; but that afterward leaving his Sons Princes of thoſe Regions, he returned into *Swedeland*, where after many Travels he ended his Days, being counted a great Magician as well as Warriour, ſo that after his deceaſe his Subjects and Deſcendants worſhip'd him as a God. But divers *Daniſh* and *Swediſh* Authors do very much doubt, whether this *Woden*, whom they thus worſhip'd, were the ſame with him from whom the *Saxon* Princes drew their Pedigrees; ſince thereby it appears, that *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* were the Sons of *Witgilſus*, who was the Son of *Witta*, and he the Son of *Vecta*, and he the Son of *Woden*. So that theſe Princes were no more than three Deſcents removed from him, which could not amount to above 200 Years, and conſequently was too ſhort a time for their multiplying into ſuch great Multitudes, much leſs for their worſhiping him for a God; yet this is very probable, that moſt of the *Goths* that came along with this *Woden* changed their Names to that of the *Saxons*, and Peopled all thoſe Countries already mentioned; and thô there may be a great deal of Fabulous Stuff in this Story, as it is related in the Old *Swediſh* and *Iſelandiſh* Hiſtories called *Eddas*; yet thus much is certain, that there was ſuch a Prince who brought back the *Goths* out of *Aſia*

Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX. into thoſe parts, ſince the *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Norwegians* and *Saxons* worſhip'd him as their common Deity, and all agree in the ſame Tradition concerning him.

Ibid. Yet ſince *Cluverius*, and *Verſtegan* have both affirmed the *Saxons* not to be derived from the *Goths*, but *Germans*; and that the former has endeavoured to prove that the ancient *Getæ* or *Gothes* were not the ſame Nation, I ſhall here give you the ſum of thoſe Arguments, which *Grotius* and Mr. *Sheringham* have given us to prove, the ancient *Getæ*, and *Gothi* to have been all one Nation, and that the *Saxons* were deriv'd from them: For the firſt, they alledge the Teſtimony of the moſt ancient *Latin* and *Greek* Authours that make any mention of the *Goths*, as *Voſpicus* in his Life of the Emperour *Probus*, to whom may be alſo added divers Chriſtian Writers, as *Origen*, St. *Hierome*, and St. *Auguſtine*; and of the *Greeks*, *Procopius*, *Photius the Patriarch*, [redacted] *Georgius Syncellus*, not to mention the *Gothic* Writers themſelves, as *Jornandes* and *Iſſidore* in his *Gothic* Chronicle; who all agree that the *Goths* were anciently called *Getæ*, and that they were one and the ſame Nation; Secondly, from the places where theſe ancient *Getæ* or *Scythians* firſt inhabited, that they were the ſame from whence the *Goths* afterwards came, who over-ran the *Roman* Empire, (*viz.*) from the Countries about the *Palus Mæotis*, which are now poſſeſſed by the *Chrim Tartars*; Laſtly from their great agreement in Language; and *Grotius* in his ſaid *Prolegomena* brings divers Inſtances (too long here to be recited) to prove that the ancient *Scythic* or *Gothic* Tongue was the Mother of the *German*, which ſeems to be further made out by Mr. *Sherringham*, from the Etymology of divers *Scythian* Words which are found to be the ſame with the *Gothic* and *Saxon*: *Epiſt.* 4. Laſtly *Busbequius* in his *Turkiſh* Epiſtles, mentions ſome remainders of the ancient *Goths* who dwell among the *Tartars* in the *Cimbric Cherſoneſe*, ſome of whom he met and diſcours'd with at *Conſtantinople*, and gives you not only their names of numbers, but alſo above Forty Words which are very near the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, ſignifying the ſame things, and which argue a derivation from the ſame *Gothic* Original; and thô this Authour there doubts, whether theſe *Goths* were not ſome remainders of the *Saxons*, brought thither by *Charles* the Great; yet *Grotius* in his ſaid *Prolegomena* fully removes that difficulty, and ſhews from the Teſtimony of *Joſophat Barbarus* a Noble *Venetian*, who had lived among them, that theſe People called themſelves not *Saxons* but *Goths*, and their Country *Gothland*; which is alſo confirmed by the learned *Scaliger* in his * *Canon Iſagog.*; where he relates that they ſtill lived under the *Precopian Tartars*, and have the Bible in the ſame Characters, which were invented by *Ulphilas* their Biſhop.

* *Lib.* 3.

But the learned Dr. *Hicks* hath given us much greater light into this matter, in his *Engliſh Saxon*, and *Mæſogothick Grammar*; as alſo by reprinting the *Iſeland Grammar* of ~~*Randolph*~~ *Jones*, in both which, by comparing the radical Words of the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue, as alſo the Declenſions of the Verbs, and Pronouns, any Man that will but take the pains to peruſe it, muſt needs think that not only the Old *Mæſogothic*, and *Scandian Gothic*, were one and the ſame Language, the latter being derived from the former, but that our *Engliſh Saxon* comes from ~~one, and~~ the ſame Original.

But if the *Getæ* and *Gothi* were one and the ſame Nation, and if all the *Daniſh*, *Swediſh*, and *Saxon* Writers have it that *Woden* was a *Goth*, it will alſo follow that all thoſe who came into *Germany* along with him, were alſo *Goths*, and from whom that part of it was called at firſt *Reid Gothland*, now *Jutland*; in which, as *Grotius* tells us, there is a River called *Guden Aa*. i. e. the *Goths* River, which Country being deſerted, by its ancient Inhabitants, the *Jutes* and *Angles*, was not long after ſeized by the *Danes*, who poſſeſs it to this day, and who, as we find by their Hiſtories, had maintained Wars upon that account with the *Saxons* for many Ages before: I ſhall not here trouble the Reader with the particular Arguments and Objections that *Verſtegan* and *Cluverius* have brought to prove, that *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Saxony*, were Peopled from *Germany*, and not *vice verſa*; ſince it is not the part of an Hiſtorian to dwell too long on Arguments *pro* and *Con*; ſo having given you, I hope, ſufficient authorities for this Opinion, I refer you for the more particular Anſwers to their Objections, to *Grotius*'s forecited *Prolegomena*, and to Mr. *Sherringham*'s ſaid Treatiſe,

But, farther the very Name of *Jutes*, the ancient Inhabitants of *Juteland*, may be uſed as another Argument, to prove their deſcent from the *Getæ* or *Goths*; ſince they are called by no ~~Names~~ other in our ancient *Saxon* Hiſtorians, then *Giotas* or *Jutes*, and in King *Alfred*'s *Saxon* Tranſlation of *Bede*'s Hiſtory, they are called *Geatuln*, i. e. *Getes*.

Names

As for the *Angles* (who afterward gave their name to all the reſt of the *Saxon* Nations of this Iſland) they are ſuppoſed to be derived from the ancient *Cimbri*, and to have paſſed by that Name in *Julius Cæſar*'s Time, or elſe they might then make a part of the *Swevi*, whom he in his Commentaries calls the moſt warlike of all the *Germans*, and whom *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy* ſubdivided into divers Nations, the latter making them three diſtinct People, (*viz.*) the *Swevi Langobardi*, the *Swevi Semnones*, and *Swevi Angili*; whom *Tacitus* and other *Latin* Authours call'd *Angli*, and who, * *Saffridus*, in his Treatiſe *De Origine Friſiorum*, tells us, had as many denominations with the Name of *Angli* added to them, as there were Countries into which they were diſperſed, and there reckons up a great many; and though this Nation was not at firſt the ſame with that of the *Saxons*, nor dwelt in the ſame *Inland* Country, in which they are placed by *Ptolemy*, yet they might, according to the ancient cuſtom of the *Germans*, change their ſeats after *Ptolemies* Time (as *Strabo* obſerves they often did) and ſo removing their dwellings from the Banks of the *Elbe* into *Holſtein*, they might be there conquered by the *Saxons*, and after make up one Nation or Common-wealth with them, though ſtill retaining their ancient Name, as the ancient *Britains*, or *Welſh*, do among us at this day; ſo that I confeſs it remains a great doubt, why they were at firſt called *Angles*; for thô moſt Writers think it ſufficient to derive their Name from the *Latin* Word *Angulus* a corner, becauſe forſooth they lived in a corner of *Germany*, yet this ſeems very forced, ſince *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy* mention them by that Name, as then well known and given them a long time before they came to be ſo called by the *Romans*; ſo that I ſtill believe that this Name may be derived from ſome *Gothic* Original, though what it was, is now hard to determine.

Bell. Gal. l. 4. Vide *Sherringham de orig. Gent. Angl. c.* 2.

* *Lib.* 2. *c.* 10

As for the name of *Saxons* in general, there is a great diſpute about it amongſt learned Men; *Goropius Becanus*, and Mr. *Camden* from him, ſuppoſe them to have been firſt called *Sacaſons*, i. e. the Sons or Poſterity

Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX. of the *Sacæ*, from whom he imagins them to be derived; but this Etymology is proved by Mr. *Sherringham*, in his ſaid Diſcertation, not only to be forced, but alſo falſe in matter of Fact; for firſt the name of theſe People was never written, or pronounced *Sacaſons* in the *Plural*, but *Sacen* or *Saxons*, nor can we find in *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, or any other ancient Authour, that ever the *Sacæ* ſent any *Colonies* out of *Aſia*, where they were planted near the *Caſpian* Sea, not far from *Bactria*; but *Strabo* tells us to the contrary, that this whole Nation being ſet upon by the *Perſians* at unawares, were totally deſtroyed.

Iſidore hath found out another derivation of this Name, from the Latin Word *Saxum* a Stone, or Rock, becauſe they were a ſtrong and hardy Race of Men, excelling all others in piracy; which were not improper, if this Name could be proved to have been firſt given them by the *Romans*; whereas this Nation was ſo called by their Neighbours (thô not by themſelves) many Ages before the *Romans* had any knowledge of them; ſo that the moſt likely *Etymology* of this Name, ſeems to be that which *Verſtegan* hath given us in his ſaid Treatiſe, from the Opinion of the learned *Lipſius*, that it was firſt given them by their Neighbours, from their wearing a ſort of long Daggers, or ſhort crooked Swords, like Cymeters, called in their Tongue *Saexen*, and whence from their particular uſe of it, they were called *Saxons*, and in the *Dutch*, *Welſh* and *Iriſh* Tongues, the *Engliſh* are called *Sacen* to this day; and from whence probably the Arms of *Saxony* are two ſuch crooked Daggers, placed Saltire-wiſe, as *Pontanus* hath very well obſerved.

But whenceſoever this name is derived, it is certain they are firſt mentioned by *Ptolemy*, by the Name of *Saxons*, and he places them at the back of the *Cimbrians*; thô they were not commonly known to the *Romans* by this Name, till the Fourth Century after Chriſt, when they grew terrible by reaſon of their many Piracies; *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Claudian* the Poet, (whoſe Verſes concerning them, I have given you in the former Book,) being the firſt *Roman* Authours, who make mention of them; and the ~~latter~~ former ſays, that the *Saxons* are formidable above all other Enemies. After him, *Oroſius* ~~ſays~~ makes, The *Saxons* ~~were~~ terrible, by reaſon of their Valour; but in the Time of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, I. they were grown ſo formidable, that there were Ships and Watch-houſes appointed on purpoſe in the Coaſt of *Britain* to hinder their depredations, and the Commander over them was called *Comes littoris Saxonici*, in which times they became more known to the *Romans*.

Vide Not. [illegible] *Imperii*.

As for the ancient *Saxons* Religion, it is likewiſe another great argument of their *Gothic* Original, ſince the *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Norweigans* (who all derive themſelves from the *Goths*) worſhip'd the ſame *Gods* in Common with the *Saxons*, (*viz.*) *Thor* the *God* of Thunder, who anſwer'd the *Roman Jupiter*, (though he was not the ſame.) *Woden*, who was their God of War, together with his Wife *Friga* or *Frea*, who was their *Goddeſs* of Love and Pleaſure: So that whoever will but conſider their Names of the Days of the Week, from which ours are derived at this Day, will eaſily perceive the chief Gods they worſhip'd, and from whom thoſe Names are deriv'd, to have been all the ſame; only I deſire the Reader to take notice, That whereas *Verſtegan*, to prove the *Saxons* to come from the *Germans*, would make our *Tueſday* to be derived from *Twiſto* the God of the *Germans*; Mr. *Sherringham* proves that Opinion not to be at all likely; ſince the *Germans* (whoſe peculiar *God* this *Twiſto* is ſuppoſed

Vide *Sherringham de Anglor. Gent. Orig.*

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ſuppoſed to be) do not call it *Tweſday*, but *Dinſday*, or *Zinſtag*, and the *Swedes* and *Danes*, *Triſdag* and *Driſdag*, and therefore *Angrimus Jonas* in his Hiſtory of *Iſeland*, rather derives it from *Tyr* the Son of *Woden*, from whom the *Iſlanders* call it to this day *Tyſdag*, or *Tyrſdag* in their Language; but *Ol. Wormus* in his learned Work, *De monumentis Danicis*, would rather derive this Name from a *Gothic* Goddeſs, called *Dyſa* or *Thiſa*, the Wife of *Thor*, and whom the ancient *Swedes* and *Danes* made their *Goddeſs* of Juſtice, who had her Temple at *Upſal*; as for the Name of the laſt day of the Week, though *Verſtegan* would derive it from a *God* called *Seater* (whom the *Danes* call *Crodo*) yet whither he was the ſame with the Roman *Saturn*, may be very much doubted; ſince the *Danes*, *Swedes*, and *Saxons* Worſhip'd theſe falſe *Gods*, before they ever had any thing to do with the *Romans*.

Beſides theſe Seaven greater Deities, from whom the days of the Week take their Names, the ancient *Saxons* and *Angles* had many other leſs *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, ſuch as * *Hertha*, who was the ſame with the *Goddeſs Tellus*; among the *Romans*, *Rheda*, from whom they call the Month of *March Rhed Monach*; *Eaſter*, from whoſe Feaſt falling out in *April*, our *Eaſter* is derived; as alſo *Mara*, which was a Spectre, ſuppoſed to have haunted People in the Night, and from whence comes our Word *Mare*, or Diſeaſe ſo called; as for what Worſhip and Sacrifices they paid theſe falſe *Gods*, they are very uncertain, only we find that the *Swedes*, and *Danes* (and it is likely the *Saxons* too) ſacrificed Men to *Thor* before any great enterprize; but whoever deſires to know more on this Subject, may conſult *Verſtegan*, *Wormius*, and other *German* and *Daniſh* Writers.

* Vide *Vocit de moribus Germ.*

Anno Dom. CCCCL.

Gild. Bede. H. Hunt.

But it is now time to return to our *Engliſh Saxon* Hiſtory, from which I doubt we have made too long a digreſſion; the *Saxons* being thus arrived in *Britain*, as you now have heard, ſtreight joyned their Forces with the *Britains*, and marching together againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, who were then entred into the Country, as far as the hither part of that Province we now call *Lincoln-ſhire*, and near *Stanford* they joyned Battle with them, where the former fighting with Darts and Launces, but the *Saxons* with Battle-Axes and long Swords, they had very much the advantage; ſo that the *Picts* could not bear their Force, but provided for their ſafety by Flight, the *Saxons* obtaining a clear Victory with the ſpoil of the Field.

Anno Dom. CCCCLI.

Nennius c. 3. *Bede lib.* 1.

Hengiſt perceiving the Iſland to be Rich and Fruitful, but her Princes and Inhabitants given to Vicious Eaſe and Luxury; ſends home word of it, inviting his Country-men to ſhare in this good ſucceſs, who coming over with Seventeen freſh Ships full of Stout men, were now grown up to a ſufficient Army, being entertained without ſuſpicion, on thoſe terms already mentioned; with which laſt ſupplies (as *Nennius* relates) came over *Rowena*, the fair Daughter of *Hengiſt*; upon whoſe arrival *Hengiſt* made a great Feaſt for King *Vortigern*, and his Courtiers; where was alſo his Interpreter; (no *Britain* but he underſtanding the *Saxon* Tongue) *Hengiſt* then commanded his Daughter to wait on them, and to ſerve the King with Wine, with which growing Merry, he fell violently in Love with her, and demanding her of her Father, told him he ſhould have what ever he pleaſed, even to the half of his Kingdom, on condition he might obtain her; whereupon *Hengiſt* taking Council with thoſe Chief, or Ancient Men, who had come over along with him,

what

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CCCCLI.

what he ſhould ask of the King for his Daughter; they all agreed that he ſhould demand the Country of *Kent*, which was preſently granted him, one *Guorangonus* then Ruling there, being ignorant that his Goverment was given away to the *Saxons:* So the Damoſel being by her Father given to the King, he Married her, and grew ſo extreamly fond of her, that he Divorced his former Wife, by whom he had ſeveral Sons of great hopes.

Anno Dom.
CCCCLII.

Nen. ibid.

But *Hengiſt*, not ſatisfied with this, told the King farther, That being now his Father-in law, he muſt take upon him to adviſe him; and therefore, if he would not ſlight his Counſel, he need not fear being overcome by any other Nation, as long as that of the *Saxons* was ſo potent; That therefore he would ſend over for his own * Son and his Nephew, who being War-like young Men, would fight ſtoutly againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, if the King would beſtow upon them thoſe Countries in the North lying near the *Picts* Wall. So the King gave him leave to ſend for *Octa* and *Ebuſa* with 40 Veſſels, who ſailing round about the *Picts* Country, coaſted the Iſles of *Orcades*, and came and poſſeſſed many places on the other ſide of the *Frith* or Streight, even to the Borders of the *Picts*; *Hengiſt* ſtill ſending by degrees for more Men and Ships, 'till at laſt the Countries from whence they came were left almoſt without any Inhabitants: And now they being ſufficiently increaſed in Number and Strength, they wholly planted the Country of *Kent* with *Jutes*. But by the flocking in of ſuch numerous Troops into this Iſle, of all the above-mentioned Nations, they began ſo exceedingly to increaſe, that they ſoon became a Terror to thoſe who had invited them over, and now began to pick Quarrels with their Entertainers, ; and firſt they demanded larger Allowances of Corn, and other Proviſions, openly declaring, unleſs this were allowed them, they would break the League, and waſte all parts of the Country.

* Will. *of* Malmsbury *calls this* Octa *the Brother of* Hengiſt; *from whom he ſuppoſes the Northumbrian Kings to have been deſcended.*

Bede.

Gildas, *Sect.* 23 24.
Nennius *c.* 36.
Bede *lib.* 1.

Anno Dom.
CCCCLIV.

The *Britains* refuſing to give them what they demanded, deſired them to return home, ſince their Numbers were increaſed beyond what they were able to maintain: Whereupon the *Saxon* Commanders reſolved to break the League, and having made Peace ſecretly with the *Picts*, they immediately turn'd their Arms againſt their Confederates, waſting the Country with Fire and Sword from the *Eaſtern* to the *Weſtern* Sea, none being able to hinder them, ſo that they over-ran almoſt the whole Iſland; the Buildings, as well publick as private, were ruined; the Prieſts were commonly ſlain at the very Altars, and the Biſhops were deſtroy'd without any Reſpect, together with the People; nor were ſcarce any left to bury the dead: Whilſt ſome of the miſerable Remains of the *Britains*, being taken among the Mountains, were ſlain in Heaps, others pined away by Famine, yielded themſelves to their Enemies, and to get Food were forced to undergo perpetual Servitude, if they could ſo preſerve their Lives; others being forced to ſeek for Refuge among Foreign Nations; but thoſe that remained at home, living in perpetual Fear, led a hard and miſerable Life among the Woods and Mountains. *Will.* of *Malmesbury* ſuppoſes the League between the *Britains* and *Saxons* to have laſted Seven years; and the firſt Battel between them is placed in the 6th year after; but it is moſt likely that they fell out ſome time before that.

This Flight of theſe *Britains* not only our own, but Foreign Writers relate; for ſome fled to *Armorica*, and peopled it (as ſome ſuppoſe,) with *Britains*, from whom it was called the *Leſſer Britain*; though others think it was called

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ſo long before, either by the Gift of the laſt *Conſtantine* the Great, or elſe of *Maximus*, to thoſe *Britiſh* Forces who had ſerved them in their Foreign Wars: To whom came thoſe alſo that did not miſcarry with the latter *Conſtantine* at *Arles*, and now laſt of all by theſe Exiles, driven out by the *Saxons*, who fled thither for Refuge.

chap. 5. p. 35

But that the *Britains* of *Armorica* were ſetled there long before the *Britains* here were driven out by the *Saxons*, is proved by the above-cited Doctor *Stillingfleet* in his *Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches*, which he proves by theſe Authorities; Firſt, from *Sidonius Appollinaris*, in whom there are two Paſſages, which tend to the clearing this matter: The firſt is concerning *Arvandus*, accuſed at *Rome* of Treaſon, in the time of *Anthemius*; for perſuading the King of the *Goths* to make War upon the *Greek* Emperour, (i. e. *Anthemius*,) who then came out of *Greece*: And upon the *Britains* on the *Loir*, as *Sidonius Appolinaris* expreſly affirms, who lived at that time, and pitied his Caſe. This hapned about *Anno Dom.* 467, before *Anthemius* was the ſecond time Conſul; from whence it appears, not only that there were *Britains* then ſetled on the *Loir*, but that their Strength and Forces were conſiderable, which cannot be ſuppoſed to conſiſt of ſuch miſerable People as only fled from hence for fear of the *Saxons*; (and not being able to keep their own Country, it is not likely they could that of others:) And it is farther obſervable, that about this time *Aurelius Ambroſius* had ſucceſs againſt the *Saxons*, and either by *Vortimer*'s Means, or his, the *Britains* were in great likelihood of driving them quite out of *Britain*; ſo that there is no probability, that the Warlike *Britains* ſhould at that time leave their native Country. A ſecond Paſſage is concerning *Riothamus*, a King of theſe *Armorican Britains*, in the time of *Sidonius Appollinaris*, (and to whom he wrote,) who went with 12000 *Britains* to aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt *Euricus* King of the *Goths*, but were intercepted by him, as *Jornandes* relates the Story; and *Sigibert* places it *Anno Dom.* 470: Now, What clearer Evidence can be deſired than this, to prove, that a conſiderable number of *Britains* were there ſetled, and in a condition not only to defend themſelves, but to aſſiſt the *Romans*? which cannot be imagined of ſuch as meerly fled thither for Refuge after the *Saxons* coming into *Britain*. Beſides, we find in *Sirmondus*'s *Gallican* Councils, *Manſuetus*, a Biſhop of the *Britains*, ſubſcribing to the firſt Council at *Tours*, which was held *Anno Dom.* 461, by which we ſee the *Britains* had ſo full a Settlement then, as not only to have Inhabitants, but a King and Biſhops of their own; which was the great Encouragement for other *Britains* to go over, when they found themſelves ſo hard preſs'd by the *Saxons* at home: For a People frighted from hence would hardly have ventured into a Foreign Country, unleſs they had been ſecure before hand of a kind Reception there; And if they muſt have fought for a Dwelling, had they not far better have done it in their own Country? From whence I conclude, that there was a large Colony of *Britains* in *Armorica*, before thoſe Numbers went over upon the *Saxon* Cruelties, of which *Eginhardus*, and other Foreign Hiſtorians ſpeak: Though how it ſhould come to be ſetled there, unleſs ſome Colonies were carried over before by *Maximus*, or *Conſtantine*, the laſt Uſurper of the Empire, I know not, but as for this, it being very obſcure, I determine nothing.

Nen. c. 33.

K. *Vortigern*, nothing bettered by theſe Calamities, is ſaid to have added this to his other Crimes, that he took his own Daughter to Wife, who brought forth a Son, who (according to *Nennius*) was called *Fauſtus*, and

Anno Dom. CCCCLIV.

and proved a Religious Man, living in great Devotion by the River *Rennis* in *Glamorganſhire*; but for the reſt of his Stories concerning the Dialogue between *Vortigern* and St. *German*, and that the King was condemn'd for this Inceſt, in a great Synod or Council of Clergy-men and Laicks, in which St. *German* preſided, is certainly falſe; he being then dead, (as appears from the beſt approved Authours,) the year before the *Saxons* arrived in *Britain*. And indeed this whole Story of *Vortigern*'s committing Inceſt with his own Daughter ſeems altogether unlikely; for when ſhould he do it? Not before he married *Rowena*, for *Nennius* places it afterwards; nor could it well be during the time of his Marriage with her, ſince, as the ſame Authour relates, ſhe continued his Wife long after, when he was taken Priſoner by *Hengiſt*; and it is very ſtrange he ſhould fall in love with his own Daughter, when at the ſame time he had another Wife, whom he is ſaid to have loved ſo well, that he was divorced from his firſt Wife for her ſake.

Geoffery *of* Monm.

Nennius, *c.* 38.

Geoffery of *Monmouth* relates, That the Nobles of *Britain* being highly diſpleaſed at King *Vortigern* for the great Partiality he ſhewed to the *Saxons*, and for the ill Succeſs that followed it, beſeeched the King wholly to deſert, ~~him~~; but he refuſing ſo to do, they depoſed him, and choſe his Son *Vortimer* King, who following their Advice, began to Expel the *Saxons*, purſuing them as far as the River *Dervent*, or *Darent*, in *Kent*, where obtaining the Victory, he made a great Slaughter of them; beſides which, that he fought alſo another Battle with them near the Ford which is called in the *Saxon* Tongue *Episford*, and in the *Britiſh* Tongue *Sathenegabail*; which is alſo confirmed by the *Saxon* Annals, which ſay, That *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* fought with King *Vortigern* at a place called *Eglesford* (now *Aylesford*) in *Kent*, and that *Horſa* was there ſlain (*Nennius* ſays by *Cartigern* the Brother of King *Vortimer*,) * and that afterwards *Hengiſt* and his Son *Æsk* obtained the Kingdom of *Kent*; and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* relates, that after the Death of his Brother *Horſa*, the *Saxons* choſe *Hengiſt* for their King, being 8 Years after his arrival in *England*.

Anno Dom. CCCCLV.

And yet after this, † *Nennius* ſuppoſes *Vortimer* to have fought a third Battle with them in a Field which was near the Stone *Titulus*, which was fixed near the Shore of the *Gallic* Sea, which place Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* will have to be *Stonar* in the Iſle of *Thanet*; but Mr. *Somner*, in his Treatiſe of the *Roman* Ports and Forts in *Kent*, ſuppoſes it ſhould be written *Lapis Populi*, in ſtead of *Tituli*; and then *Folkſtone* in *Kent* is moſt likely to be the place where this Battle was fought, it having the ſame Signification as *Lapis Populi* in the *Latin*. *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, and from him *Mathew Weſtminſter*, further relate, That *Hengiſt* not being able to withſtand the Valour of K. *Vortimer*, was made to retire into the Iſle of *Thanet*, whither he was alſo purſued by the Sea; and that at laſt the *Saxons* being forced on board their Ships, returned into *Germany*. *Nennius* adds, That they durſt not return again into this Iſland till after the Death of *Vortimer*, which, thô not mentioned in our *Engliſh Saxon* Annals, yet is very likely to be true; ſince *Bede* relates, That about this time the *Saxon* Army returned home, when the Natives, thô before driven out or diſpers'd, began again to take freſh Courage, and come out of their Hiding-Places and Retreats.

* Camden *in his* Britannia, (*Tit.* Kent) *ſays, He was buried near* Horſted, (*to which he gave Name.*

† Nen. *c.* 46. Ran. Higden. Polychron.

Anno Dom. CCCCLVI

Geoff. Monm. Mat. Weſt.

which is [illegible] unlikely [illegible] tion [illegible]

This Year *Vortimer* having obtained many Battels againſt the *Saxons*, is ſuppoſed by our *Britiſh* Hiſtorians to have died. *Geoffery* makes him to have been poiſoned by the Procurement of his Mother-in-Law, *Rowena*; and *Nennius* adds, That *Vortimer* lying upon his Death-bed, deſired his Servants to bury him near the place where the *Saxons* uſed to land, ſaying, If that were done, thô they might take ſome other Haven in *Britain*, yet they ſhould never have that; but notwithſtanding, he is ſaid (contrary to his own will) to have been buried at *Lincoln*. After whoſe Deceaſe, *Nennius* and *Geoffery* make *Vortigern* to have been again reſtored to the Throne.

Anno Dom. CCCCLVII

It is much more certain which the *Saxon* Annals relate, that *Hengiſt* and his Son *Æsk* this Year fought againſt the *Britains* in a place which is called *Creecanford*, and there killed four principal Men, (but in *Florence* of *Worceſter*'s and Ethelwerd's Copy of theſe Annals, which ſeems to have been trueſt, it was 4000 Men;) and the *Britains* then left *Kent*, and fled in great fear to *London*. but who was then King or General of the Britains is not mentioned

From which Victory, *Ran. Higden* in his *Polychronicon* dates the beginning of the Kingdom of *Kent* under *Hengiſt*, who Reigned Twenty four Years.

Nennius, *cap.* 47.

For *Hengiſt* being now returned out of *Germany*, (as it is related by *Nennius*,) King *Vortigern* ſtill maintained the War againſt the *Saxons*, who thereupon took Council, how they might intrap *Vortigern* and his Army; wherefore they ſent Ambaſſadours to him offering Peace, and that the former Friendſhip might be renewed between them; whereupon, *Vortigern*, taking Advice with his wiſe Men, they all agreed to make Peace: So it was conſented to on both ſides, That the *Britains* and *Saxons* meeting together without any Arms, a firm League ſhould be made between them. *Ibid. c.* 48. But the treacherous *Hengiſt* commanded all his Followers to take their Daggers or Seaxes along with them under their Coats, and that when he gave the Word, and cried out in his own Tongue, *Nimed your Saexes*, that is, *Pull out your Daggers*, that they ſhould then fall upon the *Britains* and kill them, but ſpare their King, and (for his Wife's ſake) only take him Priſoner, becauſe it would be more for their advantage ſo to do, that he might be Ranſomed. And thus being met according to Agreement at a Feaſt, or Drinking-bout, they talked at firſt very Friendly together, being placed every *Saxon* by a *Britain*; but *Hengiſt* giving the Word, they roſe up on a ſudden and diſpatched 300 (*Geoffery* ſays 470) of the *Britiſh* Nobles. *Vortigern* alone being then taken alive and put in Fetters, was forced for his Ranſom to ſurrender to the *Saxons* all thoſe Countries that were afterwards called *Eaſtſex*, *Middleſex*, and *Suſſex*; which is alſo recited by *William* of *Malmesbury*, who adds, That at this Entertainment the Company growing in drink, *Hengiſt* on purpoſe pick'd a Quarrel, and ſome hard Words paſſing, they fell to blows, where the *Britains* were ſlain.

Anno Dom. CCCCLXV

But here being a conſiderable Interval in the *Saxon* Chronicle, we may very well fill it up with *Britiſh* Affairs, for it is about this time that the *Welſh Chronicles* ſuppoſe, that *Aurelius* was elected General of the *Britains*, *Vortigern* being as yet King, thô but in Name, having retired (as *Nennius* relates) to a Caſtle built by him in *South-Wales*. And to this time we may refer that Paſſage in **Gildas*, That when thoſe cruel Robbers the *Saxons* were gone home, the Remainders of the *Britains* being ſtrengthened by GOD, came together from divers Places, and praying to

* *Sect.* 25.

Anno Dom. CCCCLXV.

Aurelius

to him with all their Hearts, that he would not totally deſtroy them, choſe *Ambroſius* ~~*Aurelian*~~, a modeſt Man, for their General, and who alone was found ſtout and faithful, as being of *Roman* Race, who in ſo great a confuſion remained alive, his Parents who had enjoyed the Crown having been killed; but whether by the *Scots* and *Picts*, or elſe (which is moſt likely) were murdered by their Subjects, he leaves it uncertain. But **Nennius* ſaith little more than that *Vortigern* was afraid of him; and then immediately he confounds himſelf with *Merlin*, who being a Boy, tells *Vortigern*, (after the Story of his being born without a Father,) That he had concealed his Father's Name out of fear, but that he was one of the *Roman* Conſuls; whereupon *Vortigern* gave him a Caſtle, together with all the Weſtern Parts of *Britain*, which is as true as being born without a Father. But if *Geoffery* were to be believed, he tells us very plainly, That he was one of the Sons of *Conſtantine* King of *Britain*, who was forced to fly from *Vortigern* after the murder of their Brother *Conſtans* by his contrivance: but we know that *Conſtantine*, and his Sons *Conſtans* and *Julian*, were killed abroad many Years before; and it is not probable the *Romans* would have permitted any one of his Sons to have remained here; or if they did, this *Ambroſius* muſt have been by this time near 60 Years of Age, ſuppoſing him to have been but One Year old when his Father died. And beſides, it is certain that *Conſtantine* was ſlain in the Reigns of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius* the Second, *An. Dom.* 411; and *Aurelius* is not ſuppoſed to be choſen General, or King of the *Britains*, till the Year 465.

* *Cap.* 14.

Gildas.

But immediately after *Aurelius* was thus made General of the *Britains*, it is certain that he obtained a great Victory over the *Saxons*, thô the place where be not named by *Gildas*.' But afterwards (he ſays) ſometimes his Country-men and ſometimes their Enemies prevailed, and that thus it continued till the Year of the Siege of *Mount Badon*, where was the lateſt and not the leaſt ſlaughter made of the *Pagan Saxons*; but that the *Saxons* about this time received a great defeat, their own *Annals* intimate, though they are aſhamed to confeſs it in expreſs words, being thus related under this very Year, [*Hengiſt* and *Æſc* fought with the *Britains* near *Wippedes Fleat*, and there ſlew Twelve *Britiſh* Commanders; but loſt one Man of note on the *Saxons* ſide, whoſe Name was *Wypped* (who it ſeems left his name to that place) *H. Huntington* adds, that this Victory was very fatal even to the *Saxons* themſelves, both parties being thereby ſo weakned, that neither the *Saxons* durſt enter the *Britiſh* borders for a long time; nor yet the *Britains* preſume to Invade *Kent*, however the *Britains*, thô Foreign Wars were now for a time intermitted, did not ceaſe to raiſe Civil ones among themſelves: But this much appears even from the ſilence of *Saxon* Annals, that for Twelve Years following, there was no conſiderable action paſſed on either ſide, or elſe that the *Britains* had the better of it, under the conduct of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, which is moſt agreeable to *Gildas*'s Relation.]

Sax. Ann.

Anno Dom. CCCCLXVI

Vid *Dr.* Stillingfleets Orig. Britan. *Chap.* 5 *from whence this enſuing paſſage is borrowed.*

It is alſo very probable which *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* now relates, and which is followed by many of our Engliſh *Hiſtorians*, that *Aurelius Ambroſius* after his firſt Victory over the *Saxons*, called the Princes and Great Men together at *York*, and gave Order for the repairing the Churches which the *Saxons* had deſtroyed; and that after due care taken in other places, he marched to *London*, which had ſuffered as well as other Cities; and having called the diſperſed Citizens together went

about

~~Anno Dom.~~ [illegible]

about the repairing of it; all his deſign being the reſtoring the Church and Kingdom; from thence he went to *Winchester* and to *Salisbury*, doing there as he had done at other places: But in the paſſage thither *Geoffrey* launches out to purpoſe in his Hiſtory of *Stonehenge*, tranſlated (ſays he) by *Merlin* out of *Ireland*, to make a Monument for the *Britiſh* Nobles ſlain there by *Hengiſts* Treachery: Which is ſuch an Extravagancy that it is to be wondered any ſhould follow him in it, and yet *Mat Weſtminſter* tranſcribes the main of it, and * *Walter* of *Coventry* ſets it down for Authentick Hiſtory; but he adds two Circumſtances, which make it ſeem probable that *Stonehenge* had ſome relation to *Ambroſius*, (*viz.*) that here *Ambroſius* was Crowned, and was not long after buried: *Polydore Virgil* makes it the Monument of *Ambroſius*; and *John* of *Tinmouth* in the Life of *Dubricius*, calls it *Mons Ambroſii*; and the name of *Ambreſburg*, a Town near it, doth much confirm the probability, of its being founded by *Ambroſius*, rather than either by the *Romans* or *Danes*, as ſome of our late Antiquaries and Architects have ſuppoſed. But I ſhall not inſiſt any longer on this Subject; *Geoffery* adds yet further concerning Eccleſiaſtical Matters in his time, that at a ſolemn Council he appointed two Metropolitans for the two Sees, at that time vacant, (*viz.*) *Sampſon* one of Eminent Piety for *York*, and *Dubricius* for *Caer-leon*; but *Mathew Weſtminſter* ſaith, that *Sampſon* was afterward driven into *Armorica*, and there was made Arch-biſhop of *Dole*, among the *Britains*, which is very likely to be true, being confirmed by *Sigebert* in his Chronicle, *Anno Dom.* 566.

* MS. Penes R. Episc. Wigorn.

It is obſerved by *H.* of *Huntington* that after the *Britains* had a little reſpite from their Enemies, they fell into Civil diſſentions among themſelves, which is very agreeable to what *Gildas* hath ſaid; of this *Geoffrey* gives us no improbable account, when he relates that one of *Vortigerns* Sons called *Paſcentius*, raiſed a Rebellion in the *North* againſt *Ambroſius* among the *Britains*, who were overcome by him and put to flight; what became of *Vortigern* is uncertain, nor can the *Britiſh* Writers themſelves agree either about the time or the manner of his Death; *Nennius*, hath two ſeveral ſtories about it, the one certainly falſe, and the other very improbable; The firſt is, that St. *German* followed him, into a Country in *South Wales* (which was called by his own Name *Guorthigernian*) where he lay hid with his Women in a Caſtle which he had built, called *Din Guortigern*, near the River *Thebi*; to which Caſtle when St. *German* came, he prayed, and faſted there with his Clergy three whole Days and Nights (it ſeems without any intermiſſion) when the Caſtle about Midnight was ſet on Fire from Heaven, and *Vortigern* with his Wives and Family were all burnt, and this *Nennius* ſays, he found in the Book or Legend of St. *German*; yet he declares, That others relate how that *Vortigern* becoming hateful to all ſorts and degrees of Men, none would keep him company from the greateſt to the leaſt; till at laſt, as he wandred from place to place, his Heart was broken (I ſuppoſe for grief) but *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* with more probability relates, that *Vortigern*, being again depoſed, was beſieged and burnt in this Caſtle by his Succeſſour *Aurelius Ambroſius*, who ſet it on Fire.

Anno Dom. CCCCLXXIII.

Sax. Ann.

But now it is time to return to our *Saxon* Chronicle; where after Eight Years interval, without any action mentioned, [We now find *Hengiſt* and *Æſc* joyned Battel with the *Britains*, and took many Spoils, and the

Sax. An.

the *Welſhmen* vaniſh'd before the *Engliſh* like Stubble before the Fire, as the *Saxon* Chronicle words it.

Anno Dom. CCCCLXXVII.

After this there is no more ſaid of any Victories gained by *Hengiſt*; but now after Four Years interval, began the Kingdom of the *South Saxons*; for *Ælla* with his Three Sons, *Cymen*, *Wlencing*, or *Pleting*, (as *Huntington* calls him) and *Ciſſa*, landing in *Britain* at a place called *Cymens ora* (which ſignifies in the *Saxon* Tongue *Cymens* Shore or Coaſt,) there they ſlew a great many *Britains*, and made the reſt fly into the Wood or Forreſt, called *Andredes Leage* (ſuppoſed to be part of the wild of *Kent*, and the Woody parts of *Suſſex*) where now are, or were lately *Aſhdowne*, and *Arundel* Forreſts, with ſeveral others now disforreſted. *Henry Huntington* giveth a large account of this Action, and tells us that upon the *Saxons* firſt landing, a great many *Britains* immediately drew together at the Alarm, and ſtreight ways a great Fight was begun, but the *Saxons* being taller and ſtronger Men, received them couragiouſly; and the *Britains* coming on very raſhly in ſmall ſtragling Parties were killed by the *Saxons*, who were drawn up in cloſe Order, and ſo the *Britains* were routed upon the firſt encounter; whereupon theſe *Saxons* poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Sea Coaſt of *Suſſex*, enlarging their Territories more and more, until the Eighth Year after their coming; when *Ælla* fought againſt the *Britains*, near *Mearcredes*, *Burnamſtede* or *Mecredeſburne* (but where it lies is uncertain) now it ſeems (as *H. Huntington* relates) all the Kings and Princes of the *Britains* were got together, and fought with *Ælla* and his Sons, where the Victory remained doubtful, for both Armies returned home very much weakned; whereupon *Ælla* ſent unto his own Country for freſh ſupplies.

Anno Dom. ~~[illegible]~~ CCCCLXXXI

Vid. *Dr.* Powel's *Catalogue of the Kings of* Wales

The ſame Year alſo *Aurelius Ambroſius*, is ſuppoſed by the *Welſh* Chronicles to be choſen King (having been before only General) of the *Britains*, and to have Reigned Nineteen Years. *Nennius* tells us, That he being King of all *Britain*, beſtowed *Buelt*, and another Country in *South Wales*, upon *Paſcent* Son to *Vortigern*.

Anº Dom. CCCCLXXXIX.

About Three Years after this, *Hengiſt* King of *Kent* dyed; For this Year (as the *Saxon* Annals relate) *Æſc* (who is alſo called *Oiſc*, and by our Hiſtorians, ~~called~~ *Oſric*) his Son began his Reign, which continued Twenty Four Years; but of *Hengiſt* his Father, *Will.* of *Malmesbury* very well obſerves, that he obtained a Crown by Craft, as much as Valour; but *Æſc* his Son (who ſucceeded him) maintained his Kingdom by the Valour of his Father, rather than his own Merit, and did not much encreaſe his Dominions: This happened in the Time of *Zeno* the Emperour. Nor can I here omit what *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, and (from him) *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter* falſly relate, concerning the Death of *Hengiſt*; That fighting againſt *Aurelius Ambroſius*, he was taken Priſoner near *Coninsburgh* in *Yorkſhire*; and not long afterwards beheaded by *Eldol* (a feigned) Duke of *Glouceſter*; which ſince it is not found in the *Saxon* Chronicle, nor in any other Authentick Hiſtorian, deſerves little credit.

Anno Dom. CCCCXC

Ælla and *Ciſſa* having now received freſh recruits out of *Germany* (wherein they much confided) did this Year beſiege *Andredeſceaſter* (ſuppoſed to be that we now call *Newenden* in *Kent*) and took it by Force, putting all the *Britains* to the Sword; but *H. Huntington* is very particular in the manner of this Siege, and tells us that the *Britains* raiſed a great Army to relieve it, and made many aſſaults upon the *Saxons* Rear, whil'ſt they

Anno Dom. CCCCXC
Sax. Ann.

lay before the Town; who thereupon raiſing the Siege, turned all their Forces againſt the *Britains*; whil'ſt they being more nimble, preſently ran away to the Woods, when the *Saxons* returning again to the Siege, they were as ſoon upon their backs; by which means the *Saxons* being for a time tired out, received a great loſs, till they divided their Army into two bodies; ſo that whil'ſt the one aſſaulted the City, the other ſhould defend the Aſſailants: whereby at laſt the Citizens being quite ſpent with hunger and fatigue, could no longer endure the Force of the Beſiegers, and all periſhed by the Sword, even to the very Women and Children, none eſcaping; and the *Saxons* quite deſtroyed that City, which remained a vaſt heap of Ruins in his Time, thô the Town of *Newenden* was afterwards built where it ſtood in the Reign of *Edward* the I.

But news being carried into *Germany*, of the good ſucceſs of the *Saxons*, it gave occaſion for new Commanders, together with their Armies to come over hither to try their Fortunes; and thus Five Years after began the Kingdom of the *Weſt* Saxons.

Anno Dom. CCCCXCV.

For now Two Commanders, *viz. Cerdic*, and *Cynric* his Son, landing in *Britain*, with Five Ships at a place, called *Cerdiciſora*, (i. e. *Cerdic*'s Shore) the ſame day fought with the *Britains*: this *Cerdic* was the Tenth in deſcent from *Woden*; His pedegree (which is needleſs here to be recited) I have referred to another place; but in Six Years after their coming, he and his Sons conquered all the Country of the *Weſt Saxons*: This *Cerdic* reigned Twenty Five Years; to ~~his Son *Cynric* whom ſucceeded, him.~~ leaving the Kingdom to his Son Cynric, who succeeded him.

Then follows, in the *Saxon* Annals, the whole Succeſſion of theſe Kings as far as K. *Edward* (called the *Martyr*,) Son of *Edgar*, which I have omitted, becauſe it ſerves for no other uſe, but to let us ſee about what time theſe Annals were drawn into the form we now have them; but to return to the Hiſtory, *H. Huntington* further informs us, that the ſame day in which *Cerdic* landed, there aſſembled a great multitude of *Britains* to oppoſe him; the *Saxons* ſtanding in Battel array before their Ships, the *Britains* boldly aſſaulted them, but were forced to return without any great Execution, becauſe the *Saxons* could not be over come, though they fought till Night parted them; whereupon the *Britains* finding the *Saxons* too ſtrong to be dealt with, were forced to retreat, it proving a drawn Battel; but after this, *Cerdic* and his Son ſeiſed all the Countries upon the Sea Coaſt, though not without divers Battels.

Anno Dom. DI.

But about Six Years after came over to their aſſiſtance, *Porta* with his Two Sons *Bleda* and *Megla*, who landed in *Britain* with two Ships at a place, which (from him) is ſtill called *Portſmouth*: Here as ſoon as they landed, they ſlew a Young *Britiſh Prince*, or Commander, who (as *H. Huntington* relates) being then Governour of this Province, advancing with a great multitude, without any Order they all periſhed in the twinckling of an Eye, ſo that *Port* and his Sons obtained a great Victory; but ~~in *Anno Dom.* 500.~~

Vi. Dr. Powel's Catalogue of Britiſh Kings.

DIV

Aurelius Ambroſius King of the *Britains*, is ſaid by the *Welſh* Chronicles to have dyed this year, Being poyſoned as (*Geoffery* relates) by the procurement of *Paſcent*, Son to *Vortigern*, who had before rebelled againſt him; Thô who ſucceeded him is uncertain: for as to his ſuppoſed Brother *Uther Pendragon*, whom *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* would here bring in, he is looked upon even by the *Britiſh* Antiquaries, as a mere imaginary King of his own; Therefore this muſt be owned for the moſt obſcure time of all the *Welſh* Hiſtory; but this is certain, that for about the ſpace of Seven Years, there is no mention made of any Wars between the *Saxons* and the *Britains*, until

S. C.

Anno Dom. DVIII.

Cerdic and *Cynric* ſlew the great *Britiſh* King, *Natanleod* or *Nazaleod*, together with 5000 Men, from which time that Province is called *Natanleage*, as far as *Cerdicsford*; but *H. Huntington* is more particular in this War, and tells us, That this *Natanleod* was the greateſt and moſt powerful King of the *Britains*; who having gathered together his whole Forces, *Cerdic* and his Son were fain to ſend for aid to *Æſc* King of *Kent*, and *Ælla* King of the *South* Saxons, as alſo from *Port* (who came lately over) and that before the Battel, the *Saxon* Army was divided into two bodies, whereof *Cerdic* Commanded the one, and his Son *Cynric* the other; that the Battle being begun, King *Nazaleod*, ſeeing the *Saxons* Right Wing to be the ſtrongeſt, fell upon it with all his Forces, and immediately routed it; whereupon *Cerdic* being put to flight, there happned a great ſlaughter on that ſide, which, when it was perceived by his Son *Cynric* from the Left Wing, he ruſhed upon the backs of the purſuers: So that the Battle being again renewed, King *Nazaleod* was Slain, and his Army totally defeated, whereby the *Saxons* obtaining a great Victory, remain'd undiſturbed for a long time, and then came to them ſome Years after many Valiant aſſiſtants out of *Germany*.

But to make ſome Reflections upon this Story, before we proceed further, it is worth our enquiry, who this *Nazaleod* was; ſome think him to be *Ambroſius* above mentioned, but others take him for his pretended Brother *Uther Pendragon*, whil'ſt others again ſuppoſe him not to be any King at all, but only the General of the King of the *Britains*, thô what King that was, remains as uncertain, and ſince it is ſo much in the dark, I ſhall not undertake to determine it.

A.D. DXV

Vid. *Thoſe Annals at the end of* Doms-*Day Book in the Exchequr.*

* of good credit, make

It is alſo as uncertain who ~~new~~ ſucceeded this *Nazaleod*; moſt of the * *Welſh* Annals here leave an *inter-regnum* of about Six Years, and do not begin the Reign of K. *Arthur*, till the Year 514, or 515. So likewiſe, whether he was ſole King of the *Britains* is much queſtioned; ſince ſome ancient Manuſcripts, *Welſh* Chronicles and Poems,* make him to have been only King of *Cornwall*. As to his Father, Arch-biſhop *Uſher* very well conjectures, that this *Uther*, who is ſaid to have been his Father, was no other than *Nazaleod* above mentioned; who for his great Actions was called in *Welſh*, *Uther*, which ſignifies as much as Wonderful or Terrible; and thus (as *Nennius* tells us) *Artur* (whoſe name ſignifies in *Welſh* an horrible bear) was alſo called *Mabuter*, that is a horrible Son, becauſe in his Childhood he was very cruel, or rather becauſe he was the Son of this *Nazaleod*, Sirnamed *Uther*: out of which *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* forged the Name of *Uter Pendragon*; if this could be proved, as it is an ingenious conjecture of the learned Lord Primate, it would go a great way to clear the *Britiſh* Hiſtory of theſe obſcure times: But ſince we are now treating of King *Arthur*, and that it is certain he gained many conſiderable Victories over the *Saxons*, thô the particular Years are not ſet down by *Nennius*, or any other Author; I ſhall here ſet them down altogether as they are found in *Nennius*; his firſt Battle was fought near the Mouth of the River, which is called *Glein* or *Gleni* (which is ſuppoſed by ſome to have been in *Devonſhire*, but by others (and that more likely) to have been *Glein* in *Lincolnſhire*): the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Battels were near another River called *Duglas*, which is in the Country of *Lin*

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or *Linnis*, (by ſome ſuppoſed to be the River *Dug* or *Due*, in *Lincoln-ſhire*, but others place it in *Lancaſhire*, where there is a River called *Dugles* near *Wigan*;) the Sixth Battel was by a River called *Baſſas* (which is ſuppoſed to run by *Boſton* in *Lincoln-ſhire*) the Eighth Battel was near the Caſtle of *Gunion* or *Guinion*, in which *Arthur* carried the Picture of *Chriſt's* Croſs, and of the Virgin *Mary* upon his back, or (~~as~~ according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) has it painted on his Target; and the Pagans were that day put to flight, and many of them ſlain, ſo that they received a very great overthrow, the Ninth Battel was fought near the City of *Legions*, that is in the *Britiſh* Tongue *Kaer-Leon*, ~~(now *Cheſter*~~;) the Tenth was near a River called *Ribroit* or *Arderic*; the Eleventh was upon the Mountain, which is called *Agned Cath Reginian* (which is ſome place in *Somerſet-ſhire*, but by *Humphrey Lloyd* it is ſuppoſed to have been *Edinburgh*;) *H. Huntington* confeſſes theſe places to be unknown in his time, and therefore can be only gueſſed at in ours: As for the Twelfth Battel, ſince the certain time of it is fixed, we ſhall ſpeak of that by and by: but the learned Dr. *Gale* (to whom we are beholding for this laſt Edition of *Gildas*, and *Nennius* printed at *Oxon*, as alſo for the various readings, and Notes at the end of him) ſuppoſes that all the Battels here reckoned up, were performed in the ſpace of Forty Years, aforegoing, and althô they may be here attributed to King *Arthur*, yet might be fought under *Vortigern*, *Ambroſius* and others; but that ſome of theſe Battles were really fought by King *Arthur*, againſt the *Saxons*, is acknowledged by all our *Engliſh* Writers; and *Ranulph Higden* in ~~his *Polychronicon* expreſly~~ relates, that it is found in ſome ancient Chronicles, that K. *Cerdic* fighting often with *Arthur*, thô he were overcome, yet ſtill came on again more fiercely; until *Arthur* being quite wearied out, after the Six and Twentieth Year of *Cerdic's* coming over, gave him up *Hampſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*; which Countries he then called *Weſt-Sexe*: And *Thomas Rudburne*, in his greater Chronicle about this time we now treat of, relates, That *Cerdic* fought oftentimes with King *Arthur*, who being at laſt weary of War, made a League with *Cerdic*, who thereupon granted to the *Corniſh-men* to enjoy the Chriſtian Religion under a Yearly Tribute; which is likely enough to be true, ſuppoſing, as we have already ſaid, that he was only King of *Cornwal*, and which ſhews this Prince not to have been ſuch a mighty Monarch, as *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* would make him. Which is likewiſe confeſſed by the *Welſh* Hiſtorian *Caradoc* of *Lancarvan*, in his Life of *Gildas*; where he relates, That *Glaſtenbury* was in *Gildas* his time beſieged by King *Arthur* with a great Army out of *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*, becauſe Queen *Gueniver*, his Wife had been raviſh'd from him by *Melvas*, who then Reigned in *Somerſetſhire*, and that ſhe was there kept by him becauſe of the Strength of that Place; whereupon King *Arthur* raiſing a great Army out of *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*, marched to take the Town, when the Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* accompanied with *Gildas* went between the two Armies, and perſwaded *Melvas* ~~his King~~ to reſtore the raviſh'd Wife; which being done, both Kings were reconciled: Which plainly ſhews this *Arthur* to have been but of ſmall Power, as well as Reputation, who could thus tamely ſwallow ſuch an Affront. But to return to the *Saxon* Annals, which relate, [That *Stufe* and *Withgar* (Nephews to King *Cerdic*) arrived in *Britain* with three Ships at the Port called *Cerdics-Ora*, and fighting againſt the *Britains*, put them to flight. *H. Huntington* makes a long Deſcription of this Battel, which, ſince it is not much to the purpoſe,

Anno Dom.
~~DVIII.~~ DXVII

Vid. Uſher de Aut. Britan. Eccl. *c.* 13.

Sax. Ann.

Anno Dom.
DXIV.

Anno Dom. DXIV.

poſe, I omit, only he tells us, That the *Britiſh* Army was drawn up on a Hill ſide, as alſo in the Valley; which at firſt put the *Saxons* in much fear, till recovering themſelves, they put them all to the Rout. Under this Year alſo *Ranulph Higden*, in *Polychron*, places the Death of *Æſc* the Son of *Hengiſt*, to whom ſucceeded *Otta* his Son, who Reigned 22 Years, without any thing related of him, either in the *Saxon* Annals, or any other Hiſtory.

About this time alſo, (thô without aſſigning the Year,) the ſame Author places the Death of *Ælla* King of the *South-Saxons*, who had all the Kings and chief Men in *Britain* under his Command, to whom ſucceeded his Son *Cyſſa*; but in a ſhort time, his Poſterity (whoſe Names are no where mentioned) grew weaker and weaker, till they became ſubject to other Kings.

Anno Dom. DXIX.

This Year *Cerdic* and *Cynric* took upon them the Title of *Kings of the Weſt-Saxons*, and the ſame Year fought againſt the *Britains* at a place called *Cerdice's-Ford*, (now *Charford* in *Hampſhire*,) from which time the Royal Race of the *Saxon* Kings have reigned there; and the ſame Year the Emperour *Juſtin* the Elder began to reign.

It ſeems King *Cerdic* was hitherto very modeſt, for tho he had now been a Conquerour for 24 Years, yet did he never take upon him the Title of *King* till now, when he had gained a very large Territory, and his Affairs were well eſtabliſhed by this great Victory at *Cerdice's-Ford*; but the Time when this Kingdom began is the more obſervable, becauſe at laſt it conquered all the other ſix *Saxon* Kingdoms, and ſo obtained the ſole Command of all *England*; ſo that (ſays *H. Huntingdon*) the Times of all other Kingdoms being applied to theſe Kings, may be by them the better diſtinguiſhed.

Anno Dom. DXX.

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In this Year, as all the beſt *Britiſh* Manuſcripts, as well as printed Chronicles, relate, was fought the great Battel of *Badon-Hill*, (which is ~~ſuppoſed~~ to be the ſame with *Baneſdown* near *Bathe*,) where the *Britiſh* Writers ſuppoſe King *Arthur* to have Commanded in Perſon; thô divers of our Authors make him to have been only General to *Aurelius Ambroſius*, which is not at all likely; ſince according to the beſt *Britiſh* Accounts *Aurelius* died above 20 Years before this Battel, This *Nennius* makes to be the twelfth Battel he had fought with the *Saxons*; yet ſince Mr. *Milton*, as well as others, have been pleaſed to queſtion, whether there was ever any ſuch King who Reigned in *Britain*, it were not amiſs if we did a little clear and eſtabliſh that Point before we proceed any further, ſince ſo great and remarkable a part of the Hiſtory of the *Britiſh* Kings depends upon it. The Objections that are made againſt *Arthur's* being a King in *Britain* are theſe: Firſt, That *Gildas* makes no mention of him. Secondly, That he is not ſo much as mentioned by any ancient *Britiſh* Hiſtorian, except *Nennius*, who lived near 300 Years after, and whom all grant to have been a very credulous, trivial Writer, and to have vented a great many Fables. Thirdly, That thô *William* of *Malmesbury* and *H. Huntington* both make mention of this *Arthur*, and his Victories over the *Saxons*, yet that the latter took all he has written concerning him from *Nennius*, as the former did either from him, or elſe from ſome Monkiſh Legends in the Abby of *Glaſtenbury*; and that he knew no more of this *Arthur* above 500 Years ago, when he wrote his Hiſtory, than we do at this day. Laſtly, That the pretended Hiſtory of *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* hath made ſuch incredible Romances concerning

this

Anno Dom. DXX.

this Prince's Actions and Conqueſts, not only in *Britain*, but in *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Norway*, and other Countries, as are ſufficient to ſhock the Credit of his whole Hiſtory: It being a likely matter, that he, who could not maintain his own Country, ſhould have Forces and Leiſure ſufficient to conquer the Kingdoms of ſo many Foreign Princes.

To each of which Objections we ſhall return theſe Anſwers. That in the firſt place, as to *Gildas* his not mentioning him, it is at the beſt but a Negative Argument, ſince it is evident that he did not deſign any exact Hiſtory of the Affairs of his Country, but only to give a ſhort Account of the Cauſes of the Ruine of it by the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Saxons*, the chief of which he aſcribes to GOD's Vengeance upon the *Britains* for their great Wickedneſs, and corruption of Manners; nor does he mention any Kings or Commanders of thoſe Times, except *Vortigern*, and *Aurelius Ambroſius*. As for *Nennius*, thô what is objected againſt him be true, yet ſince he lived near 300 Years after *Arthur*'s Death, (as appears by the Preface to his Hiſtory,) it is highly probable he ſet down what he there wrote, if not from ſome other more ancient Writers, yet at the leaſt from the general Tradition of his Country-men at that time, who can never be ſuppoſed to have been able to forge this whole Story of K. *Arthur*, and the Battles he fought; and thô it be true, that the *Saxon Annals* make no mention of this King, yet if theſe were alſo written from Traditions long after theſe Things were done, being not put into the Form we now have them till long after the *Saxons* became *Chriſtians*, it is no wonder if there be no mention made of him; eſpecially ſince they could not do it without Recording to Poſterity the many Defeats he gave them; but notwithſtanding this, divers of our beſt and moſt ancient *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, as *Radulphus de Diceto*, ~~and *Thomas Rudburn*~~, do & others mention King *Cerdic*'s fighting divers Battles with King *Arthur*. But as for *William* of *Malmesbury* and *H. Huntington*, thô it might be true, they neither of them knew any thing of them, but what they had from *Nennius*, or the Legends of *Glaſtenbury*; yet are not the ancient Regiſters of that Monaſtery to be wholly ſlighted as falſe, ſince King *Arthur* was there buried: But *William* of *Malmesbury*, in his Book of the Antiquities of that Church, makes King *Arthur* to have begun his Reign over the *Britains* in the Tenth Year of King *Cerdic*, in which he is alſo followed by *Ran. Higden* in *Polychronicon*, and *Joh. Tinmuth* in his *Golden Hiſtory*; and ies thô the Tomb of King *Arthur* was not found in the time of *William* of *Malmesbury*, yet was it ſome Years after diſcovered, about the end of the Reign of *Henry* the Second, as *Giraldus Cambrenſis* relates at large, both in his Book *De Inſtitutione Principis*, and in his *Speculo Eccleſiaſtico*; where he gives a large Account of the manner of finding his Coffin, (which was made out of a ſolid Oak,) as alſo of the largeneſs of his Bones which he ſaw and handled; together with an Inſcription upon a Leaden Croſs of about a Foot long, fixed to the lower ſide of a broad Stone laid three Foot above the Coffin, on which was inſcribed this Epitaph, *Hic jacet ſepultus inclytus Rex Arthurus in Inſula Aualonia*; which Croſs being preſerved in the Monaſtery of *Glaſtenbury* till *Leland*'s time, he ſaw and took a Copy of it, and is the very Inſcription which Mr. *Camden* hath given us the Draught of in his *Britannia*.

[illegible] in [illegible] [illegible] 3. 13.

Somerſetſhire, New Edit. p. 65.

But as for the laſt Objection, thô it be true what *William* of *Malmesbury* very well obſerves, that the *Britains* had vented a great many Fables of him, yet he ſtill acknowledges him to have been a Prince more worthy to

Anno Dom. DXX.

be celebrated in true Hiſtories, than Romances; and thô it muſt be confeſſed, that the Stories the *Welſh* had then made of him, encouraged *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* to write thoſe incredible Fables of his Conqueſts; yet does it not therefore follow, that all that is written of him muſt be Lies; ſince a true Hiſtory may be corrupted, and yet the Subſtance of it remain true. But whoever deſires to ſee more in juſtification of the Hiſtory of King *Arthur*, how much of it is true, and what moſt likely to be falſe, may, if they pleaſe, conſult Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s Antiquities of the *Britiſh* Churches. But to return to our *Saxon* Annals, in which, for the ſpace of 7 Years, there is nothing at all mentioned until the time

Cap. 5. *p.* 332.

Sax. Ann. A° DXXVII.

'When *Cerdic* and *Cenric* fought againſt the *Britains*, in a place called '*Cerdics-Leah*. To which Year alſo *H.Huntington* refers the beginning of 'the *Eaſt-Saxon* Kingdom by *Erchenwin* the Son of *Offa*. He ſeems to be 'the only Prince who is derived from one *Saxnat*, and not from *Woden*; thô 'of this Prince they tell us nothing, except his Name and Pedigree, relating neither the Number of his Forces, the Place of his Landing, nor ſo 'much as the leaſt Encounter he had with the *Britains*. In the ſame Obſcurity 'we might have alſo paſſed over *Sledda* his Son, had he not married *Ricicla* Daughter of *Emerick*, King of *Kent*, and Siſter to *Ethelbert* the firſt 'Chriſtian King; ſo that this Kingdom being at firſt Tributary to that of '*Kent*, and then to that of the *Mercians*, never came to be very conſiderable, thô it had *London* (the chief City of *England*) under its Dominion; But in the Year

Anno Dom. DXXX.

'530, *Cerdic* and *Cenric* conquered the Iſle of *Wight*, and ſlew a great 'many Men in *Withgarabyrig*.

Anno Dom. DXXXIV.

'~~But~~ 4 Years after, *Cerdic* King of the *Weſt-Saxons* died, and *Cenric* his 'Son ſucceeded him, and Ruled 26 Years.

About [illegible]

'Theſe two Kings beſtowed the Iſle of *Wight* on *Stuf* and *Withgar*, 'who were Nephews to *Cerdic*. This (according to *H.Huntingdon*) happen'd in the time of *Juſtinian* the Emperour.

Anno Dom. DXXXVI.

'*Offa* King of *Kent* dying, his Son *Ermeric* ſucceeded him. *Ran. Higden* places it (thô falſly) *An*. 544.

Anno Dom. DXXXVIII.

'This Year the Sun was Eclipſed the 14th of the Calends of *March*, 'from early in the Morning, to the third Hour, (*i. e.* till nine of the Clock.) 'And the Year following,

Anno Dom. DXL.

'The Sun was again Eclipſed the 12th of the Calends of *June*, and the 'Stars ſhewed themſelves for near half an hour after nine in the Morning. But to take a View of the *Britiſh* Hiſtory,

Anno Dom. DXLII.

King *Arthur* died this Year, (as all the *Britiſh* Writers agree,) but as for the manner of his Death, it is uncertain. The *Britiſh* Chronicles ſuppoſe him to have been ſlain in a Fight at *Camala* againſt his own Nephew *Mordred*, who had uſurped the Crown in his abſence. It is ~~more~~ uncertain who ſucceeded him; *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* makes *Arthur* at his Death to have bequeath'd the Crown to one *Conſtantine* his Couſin, Son of *Cador* Duke of *Cornwal*, whom he makes to have fought ſeveral times with the Sons of *Mordred*, that he ſlew them, and after 4 Years Reign died: But divers of the ancienteſt *Britiſh* Chronicles we have ſeen make no mention of this *Conſtantine*, but leave here an *Inter-regnum* of near 11 Years. But to return to our *Saxon* Annals.

[illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ ano: [illegible] ther ancient [illegible] make King Arthur have [illegible] The w[illegible] [illegible] received in [illegible] battle which is not unlikely.

Sax. Ann. *Ann.* DXLIV.

'*Withgar* died, and was buried at *Withgarasbyrig*; which Place being 'called after his own Name, was certainly ſome Place in the Iſle of *Wight*; 'and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Careſbrook* Caſtle in the ſame Iſland.

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Let us now look back to the *Britiſh* Affairs: King *Conſtantine* being ſuppoſed by *Geoffery* to have died about this time, he makes his Nephew *Aurelius Conan* to have ſucceeded him, who Reigning about two Years, was followed by *Vortipore*; who alſo dying four Years after, was ſucceeded by *Malgo*, (called by *Gildas*, *Malgoclunus*,) and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Maelgwn Guined*, (ſo often mentioned in the *Welſh* Annals;) ſo that according to *Geoffery*, theſe three Princes reigned ſucceſſively after one another, which can by no means be reconciled with *Gildas*'s Epiſtle, who ſpeaks to all of them, as living and reigning at one and the ſame time; ſo that it is moſt likely that *Malgo*, or *Malgocunus*, was only King of *North-Wales*, or elſe of the Northern Parts of *Britain*, (as ſome of the *Welſh* Chronicles affirm;) but that *Vortipore* was King of that part of *South-Wales* called *Demetia*, *Gildas* himſelf relates, whilſt *Aurelius Conan* ruled in *Powis* Land, or ſome other Southern Province, (as Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* with preat probability ſuppoſes;) but *Gildas*'s Epiſtle, wherein he ſo ſharply inveighs againſt all theſe *Britiſh* Kings above-mentioned, is to this effect.

Anno Dom. DXLIV.

" *Britain* has Kings, yet Tyrants; it has Judges, but preying upon, " and oppreſſing the Innocent; their Kings have Wives of their own, yet " are Whoremongers; often Swearing, yet as often Perjuring themſelves; " often making Wars, but thoſe unjuſt, or Civil Ones; proſecuting " Thieves, yet having the greateſt near them, even at their own Tables; " ſitting in the Seat of Juſtice, yet not obſerving the Rules of right " Judgment; deſpiſing the Innocent and Peaceable, and countenancing " the Bloody and Adulterous; keeping Men in Priſon, whom they have " put there rather out of Malice, than Deſert. And then proceeds particularly to all the Kings then reigning, beginning with *Conſtantine*, whom he calls *The Tyrannical Whelp* of an impure *Damonian Lioneſs*; and accuſes him this very Year, in which he wrote that Letter, to have been guilty of murdering two innocent Youths of Royal Blood at the very Altar, and under the Cope of the holy Abbot: (Theſe are ſuppoſed to have been the two Sons of *Mordred*.) He likewiſe accuſes this Prince, that being polluted with frequent Adulteries, he had, contrary to Chriſt's Precept, put away his own Wife.

In the next place, applying himſelf to *Aurelius Conan*, he accuſes him of the like, if not worſe Parricides, beſides Fornications and Adulteries; and that hateing the Peace of his Country, he had out of deſire of Prey fomented Civil Wars.

In the third place he comes to *Vortipore*, whom he calls *The wicked Son* of a *good Father*, and *Tyrant* of the *Demetæ*, (that is, *South-Welſhmen*) and whom he accuſes of the like Faults; and that thô his Head were then grey, yet he was guilty of Adultery, his Wife being put away; him he alſo adviſes to Repentance.

Next he proceeds to *Cuneglaſus*, (who is ſuppoſed by ſome Antiquaries to have been King of the *Northern* or *Cambrian Britains*;) but this is to be obſerved, that *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* takes no notice of him; which ſhews, that either he never ſaw this Copy of *Gildas*, or elſe, if he did, knew not where to place this Prince; having already made as many Kings to ſucceed each other, as the Time he had to beſtow upon them would allow: But whoever he was, *Gildas* accuſes him for fighting both againſt GOD and Men; againſt Men, by taking Arms againſt his own Country-men; againſt God, by infinite Wickedneſs; and beſides his other Faults, that having

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put away his own Wiſe, he had married her Couſin who had vowed perpetual Chaſtity.

Then he concludes with a ſharp Reproof of *Maglocunus*, whom he calls the Iſland *Dragon*, and the Expeller of many other Tyrants; he alſo accuſes him of Sodomy, asking him, Why, being taller in Stature, and greater in Power than all the reſt of the Princes in *Britain*, he had made himſelf, in ſtead of being better, far worſe than they? Upbraiding him, that in his Youth he had murdered the King his Uncle, with many of his Men. After many other Reproofs, threatens him with ſpeedy Deſtruction unleſs he repent.

This is the Subſtance of *Gildas*'s Reproof to the *Britiſh* Princes; from which all that we can gather is, Firſt, that there were no leſs than five Kings at this time in *Britain*, thô by what Means or Title they came to the Crown is uncertain; more than that it ſeems probable, ſome of theſe Princes here mentioned were deſcended from *Aurelius Ambroſius*; thô (as *Gildas* obſerves) highly degenerated from the Virtue of their Anceſtors: But what great Actions theſe Kings did during their Reigns, or what good Qualities they were indued with, is not known, ſo that there is but a ſlender Account of them in the Rolls of Fame; which may make us ſuſpect they were guilty of but very few good Qualities, becauſe we here find a large Catalogue of their bad Ones. Who ſucceeded each of theſe Kings in their diſtinct Territories, the moſt authentick *Britiſh* Chronicles do not mention * and therefore, thô *Geoffery* makes one *Careticus* to have now governed that part of *Britain* which was ſtill left unconquered by the *Saxons*, and whom he will have to ſucceed *Malgo*; and that thereupon the *Saxons* ſent for one *Gormund* an *African* King with a great Army of his Countrymen, who making a League with the *Saxons*, ſet upon *Careticus*, and beſieged him in the City of *Circeſter*, and taking and burning it, afterwards fought with *Careticus*, and forced him to flie beyond the Mountains of *Wales*: Yet ſince neither in our *Saxon* Annals, nor any other good Hiſtorian, there is any thing to be found concerning theſe Kings, or any *Africans* that ever invaded *Britain*, it is to be looked upon as no better ~~than one of the bold Inventions of this Author~~.

A.D. 554
* that after a long inter-regnum, Mailgwn Gwined was elected King of all the Britains, having been before only King of Mon, or Anglesey. This is supposed to have happened nine years after the death of K. Arthur and therefore the Geoffery of Monmouth fills up this Gap with names and actions ~~successive~~ names of some his British Kings, yet since his Relations concerning them deserve little or no credit, I shall hardly mention them [illegible] time

But as I have given you *Gildas*'s Character of their Kings, ſo I ſhall now give you that of their Clergy, whom he thus reproves. *Britain* (ſays he) *hath Biſhops, but without Diſcretion; many Miniſters, but thoſe Impudent; many Clerks, but ſubtle Prowlers; Paſtors in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent upon all Occaſions not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themſelves, making uſe of their Churches only for Lucre's ſake; teaching the People ſound Doctrine, but they themſelves ſhewing evil Example; rarely Officiating at the Altar, and then ſcarce ever ſtanding there with pure Hearts; not correcting the People for their Sins, as guilty of the ſame themſelves; deſpiſing the Precepts of Chriſt, and fulfilling their own Luſts; uſurping the Chair of* Peter, *but through the blindneſs of their own worldly Luſts ſtumbling upon the Seat of* Judas; *deadly haters of Truth, and lovers of Lies; looking upon the poor Chriſtians with Eyes of Pride and Contempt, but fawning upon the wickedeſt rich Men without Shame; great Promoters of other Men's Alms with ſet Exhortations, but themſelves ever contributing leaſt; concealing, or ſlightly touching the reigning Sins of the Age, but highly aggravating their own Injuries as done to Chriſt himſelf; ſeeking Preferments and Degrees in the Church more than Heaven; and having ſo gained them, make it more their ſtudy how to keep, than to illuſtrate them by their good Examples; dull, and ſtupid to the Reproofs of holy Men,*

(if

Anno Dom.
DLXIV. X

concerne

(if ever they hear them at all,) *but ſhew themſelves very attentive to the trivial Diſcourſes of the Laity; ready to act any unlawful Things; carrying their heads a loft, but having their affections* (notwithſtanding the checks of their own Conſciences) *as low as Hell; ſad at the loſs of a penny, but joyed if they can get one: in Apoſtolical Cenſures, either through their own Ignorance, or the greatneſs of the Sins; Dull and Mute, but very skillful in the cheating Tricks of Worldly buſineſs; from which wicked ſort of Converſation many run into Prieſts Orders, which they buy for Money, taking the Prieſthood, without obſerving its Rules and Inſtitution, or knowing what belongs to matters of Faith or Manners.* And then proceeding in a tedious invective againſt Simony, he at laſt thus addreſſes himſelf to the Laity: *What can ye expect, O unhappy People, from theſe Beaſts, all Bellies! Shall theſe amend thee, who* (as the Prophet ſays) *weary themſelves in commiting Iniquity? Shalt thou ſee with their Eyes, which regard only thoſe ways that lead to Hell; leave them rather,* (as bids our Saviour), *leaſt ye fall both blindfold into the ſame Perdition. But are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not ſo groſly: But what did it avail* Eli, *to be himſelf blameleſs, whil'ſt he connived at his Sons, that were wicked? Who of theſe hath been envied for his better Life? Who of them have hated to conſort with ſuch, or withſtood their entring into the Miniſtry, or zealouſly endeavoured their caſting out?* This is the Senſe of what he there ſays, it being not only tedious, but impoſſible to Tranſlate *Verbatim,* ſo barbarous and obſcure a Writer, thô otherwiſe he ſeems to have been a Man of great Wit, and ardent Piety, above what that Age would admit of: But hence we may learn what the State of the Government and Religion among the *Britains* was in that long Calm of Peace, which the Victory at *Badon* Hill had produced.

Alſo at the end of his Hiſtory, he gives a farther account of the ſad ſtate of Affairs, and great corruption of Manners in thoſe Times;

And complains, “That the Cities of his Country were not then inhabited, as before, but lay ruined and deſerted; for though Foreign Wars were ceaſed for a time, yet ſo were not the Civil, ſo that there did ſtill remain upon the face of the Iſland evident marks of ſo miſerable a deſtruction; but that alſo as long as the memory of that unlooked for aſſiſtance laſted, their Kings, as well as their Biſhops and Prieſts did pretty well obſerve due Orders; but thoſe deceaſing, as the next Generation ſucceeded, which had not ſeen the former Calamities, and were only ſenſible of the preſent Proſperity, all the Principles of Truth and Juſtice were totally ſhaken and ſubverted: So that ſcarce any footſteps remained of them in all the Orders and Degrees of Men above mentioned, except ſome, and thoſe but few, very few in reſpect of thoſe who go to Hell; ſo that although they are the only true Sons of our Mother the Church, yet by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of their number, ſhe can ſcarce take any notice of them, albeit they lye in her very Boſome.

This much may ſuffice to give an account, as well of this Epiſtle of *Gildas,* as of his Hiſtory, which *Caradoc* of *Lancarvon* in his Legendary Life of this Author ſuppoſes to have been writ whil'ſt he lived at *Glaſtenbury.* * But theſe paſſages, I thought good to Tranſcribe from him, as not unuſeful to be inſerted in theſe Annals; not out of any deſire to rip up, or expoſe the faults of the ancient *Britiſh* Clergy or Nation, much leſs to inſult over their Calamities; but rather to ſerve as a warning to us, who live in this looſe and corrupt Age, that we may avoid the like Sins, leſt we provoke God to ſend the like Judgments upon us: But to return to the *Saxon* Chronicle;

* viz: about A.D. 45 (4)

Sax. Ann.

Anno Dom.
X DL~~X~~VII.
^ DXLVII

[This Year began the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, or in the Words of our Annals; *Ida* began to Reign, from whom is derived the Royal Family of the *Northumbrian* Kings; the *Saxon* Annals here give us a long pedegree of this *Ida*, who reigned Twelve Years, and built *Bebbanburgh* (now *Bamborough* Caſtle in *Northumberland*) which was at firſt encompaſſed only with a Trench, and afterwards with a Wall.

H. Huntington ſays, This Prince was always in War, and *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, and *Mat. Weſtminſter*, make him to have had Twelve Sons partly by Wives, and partly by Concubines: And the latter alſo tells us that he together with his Sons came into *Britain*, and landed at *Flensburgh* with Forty Ships.

Will. Malm. lib. 1. cap. 3.

But though *Ida* was the firſt that took upon him the Title of King, yet there were Princes of the *Saxons*, in that Country many Years before; for the ſame Authors tell us, That *Hengiſt* had long before ſent his Brother *Ottha*, and his Son *Ebuſa*, Men of great Experience in War, to Conquer the North Parts of *Britain*; who purſuing his directions, met with a ſucceſs anſwerable to their endeavours; for fighting often times with the Natives of the Country, and conquering all thoſe who indeavoured to reſiſt them, they received the reſt into their Protection, and ſo enjoyed the fruits of Peace. But though they had by their own induſtry, as well as the conſent of their Subjects, gained ſome Power in thoſe Parts; yet did they never till now take upon them the Title of Kings, the ſame moderation deſcending alſo to their Poſterity: So that for near an Hundred Years, the Princes, Earls, ~~or Dukes~~ of *Northumberland* lived like Vaſſals, under the Protection of the Kings of *Kent*. But this Nation being naturally haughty, in the Year above recited, (that is Sixty Years after the Death of *Hengiſt*) this Principality was changed into a Kingdom, *Ida* firſt reigning there; who without doubt was a very gallant Man, being then in the prime of his Youth; but whether he enjoyed that Principality in his own Right, or whether he had it by Election, our Author will not take upon him to determine, becauſe the Truth was very obſcure; only it was certain, that thô he was deſcended of an Ancient and Royal Family, yet by his Great and Noble Qualities, he added much to the greatneſs of his Birth, and that being invincible in War, he tempered the Severity of Kingly Majeſty with his own natural affability. To return now to the affairs of the Weſt *Saxons*, ~~*Anno* 552~~.

A. Dom.
~~DLXXII~~
DLII

After Five Years, *Cynric* fought againſt the *Britains*, at a place which is called *Searebyrig* (*i. e.* Old *Sarum*) and put the *Britains* to flight; then follows a Repetition of his Pedigree, as far as King *Ethelbert*, who was the firſt Chriſtian King; which ſhews that theſe *Annals* were continued by ſeveral hands, at ſeveral times long after thoſe Kings lived.]

i.e. of north:
wales.

About this time, ſome *Britiſh* Chronicles place the Death of *Malgoclunus*, or *Mailgwn Gwined*, thô Mr. *R. Vaughan* a Learned *Welſh* Antiquary would rather underſtand this of his Civil than Natural Death; that is, to his reſigning the Crown, and profeſſing himſelf a Monk, as *Gildas* in his Epiſtle ſaith he did; For it is certain he lived and reigned long after; and he is in the *Welſh* Annals reckoned as the Supreme, or ſole King of the *Britains*; being, (as it ſeems) after the breach of this Vow, Choſen by the *Welſh* Nobility and People to that Dignity, ſome Years after: So that divers of the *Welſh* Chronologers, begin his Reign over all *Wales* and *Cumberland* from this very Year, thô *Humphrey Lluyd* in his Deſcription of *Britain*, out of an ancient *Britiſh* Law-Book, begins it about the Year 560, which is moſt likely. He is ſaid by *John Roſſe*, in his Hiſtory, to have built *Bangor* near the River *Menai*, where now is an Epiſcopal See. But to return to our *Saxon* Annals,

Sax. Ann. *Ann.* DLVI.

'This Year *Cynric*, and *Ceawlin* his Son, fought a Battle againſt the *Britains* at *Berinbyrig*, (now *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire*,) and put them to flight. *H. Huntington* is very large in the Deſcription of this Battle, relating, That the *Britains* having gathered together all their Forces to revenge the Loſſes they had received for five Years aforegoing, marched as far as *Beranbury*, where they drew up their Men in nine Diviſions; but the *Saxons* being drawn up in one great Body, and ſetting boldly upon them, having broken their Lances, finiſhed the Victory with their Swords, which remained doubtful till night drew on. Some Years after this, (*viz.*)

Anno Dom. DLX.

'*Ceawlin* began alſo to reign over the *Weſt-Saxons* in the room of *Cynric* his Father; the ſame Year *Ida* dying, *Ælla* began to reign over the *Northumbers*. His Pedigree likewiſe follows, thô needleſs to be inſerted; but it terminates in *Woden*, thô from another Anceſtor than *Ida*'s.

Sax. An.

'But you are here to obſerve, That now the *Northumbrian* Kingdom became divided into two, for this *Ælla* reigned over the Kingdom of *Deira*, while *Adda*, the eldeſt Son of *Ida*, reigned at the ſame time over the *Bernicians*, (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* teſtifies.)

'This Year alſo *Ethelbert* ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Kent*, which he held for 53 Years. In his time Pope *Gregory* ſent us Baptiſm, (that is, made the *Engliſh Saxons* Chriſtians,) in the 32d Year of this King's Reign.

Anno Dom. DLXV.

This Year (as *Bede*, and alſo the *Saxon* Annals relate,) *Columba* the Prieſt or Presbyter came out of *Ireland*, (which in his Epitome he alſo calls *Scotland*,) to preach the Word of GOD to the Northern *Picts*, that is, thoſe that were divided from the Southern by a large Tract of high Mountains; for the Southern *Picts* had been already converted from Idolatry to the Chriſtian Faith by *Nynias*, a Reverend Biſhop of the *Britiſh* Nation, (as hath been already declared.) But *Columba* came into *Britain* in the 9th Year of the Reign of *Bridius* the Son of *Meiloch* King of the *Picts*, and having converted the ſaid Nation to the Chriſtian Faith, received the Iſland [of *Hy*], therein to build a Monaſtery. Then *Bede*, after giving us a ſhort Deſcription of this Iſland and Monaſtery, has this remarkable Paſſage, *viz.* "But this Iſland (*viz. Hy*,) is always "wont to have for its Governour the Abbot, ~~or~~ a Presbyter, to whoſe Authority all the Province, and even the Biſhops themſelves, after an unuſual Order, ought to be ſubject, according to the Example of their firſt Teacher, who was never a Biſhop, but a Monk. But the *Saxon* Chronicle is more expreſs, and ſays, "That there muſt be always in *Hy* an Abbot, and not a Biſhop, and that all the Biſhops of *Scotland* ought to be ſubject to him.

Lib. 3. c. 4.

Ibid.

From the above-mentioned Paſſage in *Bede*, ſome Writers have inferr'd, That Biſhops were not then thought ſo neceſſary, ſince the Church of *Scotland* was able to ſubſiſt ſo long without them; and the Abbot of *Hy*, without being ordained Biſhop, exerciſed Epiſcopal Authority over thoſe that were Biſhops; to which, Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* in his before-cited Work, *De Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquit.* anſwers, That this Authority of the Abbots of *Hy*, their exerciſing Juriſdiction over the Biſhops of *Scotland*, was a Supe-

Cap. 16. *p.* 367.

Anno Dom. DLXV.

Superiority of meer Juriſdiction, and not of Order; and he there cites certain ancient Annals of *Ulſter*, to prove, That this little Iſland had always a Biſhop reſiding in it, either in or near that Monaſtery: Which is alſo further enforced in the Learned Biſhop *Lloyd*'s Hiſtorical Account of *Church Government, &c.* where he brings ſeveral Authorities to prove, that this *Columba* received his Orders from *Finean* Biſhop of *Meath* in *Ireland*, before ever he came from thence; and that if he refuſed being made a Biſhop, it was out of a pure Monkiſh Humility, having from his Youth devoted himſelf to a Monaſtic Life; but that he himſelf did own the Order of a Biſhop to be above that of a Presbyter, is urged from *Adamannus* his Succeſſor, who wrote his Life; particularly mentioning *Columba*'s refuſing to break the Bread to be received at the Communion, together with a concealed Biſhop, (as two Prieſts uſed to do in their way of Conſecration,) but would needs make him break it alone, (as a Biſhop ought to do,) asking him, Why he had endeavoured to conceal himſelf, that they might give him due Veneration? Which Words of *Columba* a Presbyter to a Biſhop, are ſuppoſed ſufficiently to ſhew, that he acknowledged the Epiſcopal Order ſuperiour to his own; and that the *Scots* ever acknowledged, that Biſhops were neceſſary for the Ordaining of others in the Miniſtery, the ſaid Biſhop further urges from *Bede*, who there tells us, "There was a Biſhop of all that Province; as "alſo from another place in the ſaid Author, where he relates, That "when King *Oſwald* becoming a Chriſtian, deſired to have a Biſhop from "*Hy*, to plant a Church among his *Northumbrians*; *Aidan* was ſent to "him, having firſt received the Degree of a Biſhop, in the time when "*Segenius*, Abbot and Prieſt, was over that Monaſtery; and alſo, that "after he came into *Northumberland*, he choſe the Place for his Epiſcopal See in the Iſle of *Lindisfarn*, where he was with his Clergy; and "there he was Abbot with his Monks, who all belong to the Care of "the Biſhop, where he was alſo ſucceeded by divers other Biſhops; till "that Church being deſtroyed by the *Danes*, the Biſhop's See was removed to *Durham*. I need ſay no more upon this Subject, but ſhall refer the Reader to the ſaid Learned Biſhop's *Diſſertation*, to prove, that no other Church-Government, but Epiſcopal, was ever ſetled amongſt the *Scots*, *Picts*, or *Saxons*, upon their Converſion to Chriſtianity. But that we may return again to our *Saxon* Annals.

Cap. 5.

Lib. 3.

Ibid. cap. 5, 6, 8.

Sax. Ann.

An. DLXVII.

'*Adda* King of *Bernicia* dying this Year, (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* and '*Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* relate) one *Glappa* reigned in his ſtead two Years; 'but who he was, or how deſcended, theſe Authors do not tell us.

The ſame Year died *Maelgwn Guineth* King of the *Britains*, after five Years Reign over all that part of *Britain* that was left them: This is according to the account of that Learned Antiquary Mr. *Robert Vaughan*; thô *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Powell*, and Sir *John Price*, make him to have began his Reign long after, *viz.* the former of theſe in 581, and the latter in 590; both which Opinions the ſaid Mr. *Vaughan* Learnedly confutes ~~(in a Manuſcript I have now in my poſſeſſion)~~ [illegible] but who ſucceeded *Maelgwn Guineth* as King of all the *Britains*, ſince the *Welſh* Annals are ſilent, I ſhall be ſo too; for as to thoſe Succeſſors which *Geoffery* hath given him, I have already ſaid ſufficient to deſtroy his Credit in this matter; and *Will.* of *Newberie's* Cenſure of him is not leſs ſharp than true: "That concerning the Succeſſors of *Arthur*, he does not lie with leſs "Impudence, when he gives them the Monarchy of all *Britain*, even to "the 7th Generation. *

* in MSto Tractatu penes me ipsum

Liburghs

~~[illegible]~~

The

Anno Dom. DLXVIII.

‘The next year *Ceawlin*, and *Cutha* his Brother, beginning a Civil War, fought with King *Ethelbert*, and drove him back into *Kent*, and killed two of his Commanders, *Oſlac* and *Cnebba*, at *Wibbendon*, (now *Wimbledon* in *Surrey*.) This King *Ethelbert* (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* obſerves) was in the beginning of his Reign a Scorn to the Neighbouring Princes; for being beaten in one or two Battels, he could ſcarce defend his own Territories: But when in his riper Years he learned more Experience in War, in a ſhort time he brought under his Subjection all the Nations of the *Engliſh-Saxons*, except the *Northumbrians*; and that he might alſo gain the Friendſhip of Foreigners, he became allied to the King of the *Franks* by the Marriage of *Bertha* his Daughter. But of this King we hear no more for many years, till his Converſion to the Chriſtian Faith.

Anno Dom. DLXIX.

Glappa King of *Bernicia* dying, *Theodwulf* ſucceeded him for one year. But then he alſo deceaſing,

Anno Dom. DLXX.

Freothwulf reigned after him for ſeven or eight years more. We are beholding for the Succeſſion of theſe two Kings, to *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *Rog. Hoveden*, being omitted by all other Authors; they are alſo more exact in diſtinguiſhing this Kingdom from that of *Deira*, moſt of the reſt confounding them together.

Anno Dom. DLXXI.

Cuthwulf the Brother of *Ceawlin* (as it is in *H. Huntington*) fought againſt the *Britains* at *Bedicanford* (now *Bedford*), and took four Towns, *viz. Lugeanburh* (now *Loughborough*) in *Leiceſterſhire*, or elſe *Leighton* in *Bedfordſhire*; and *Eglesburh* (now *Ailesbury*) in *Bucks*; with *Bennington* and *Egoneſham* (now called *Benſington* and *Eniſham*) in *Oxfordſhire*.

Anno Dom. DLXXV.

Vid. Will. Malmesb. *l.* 1. H. Huntingd. *l.* 2.

About this time, as is ſuppoſed, (for the Year is not ſet down in the *Saxon* Annals, nor any other Hiſtorian) began the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles* under *Uffa* (the Eighth from *Woden*) tho it ſeems there were before him divers other petty *Saxon* Princes, who had invaded and fixed themſelves in the Countries we now call *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; for in one Copy of *Matth.* of *Weſtminſter* which Mr. *Twine* had ſeen, (tho it be not found in our printed ones) he ſaith, That *Anno* 527. the *Pagans* came out of *Germany* and took poſſeſſion of the Countrey of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and tormented the Chriſtians with all ſorts of Cruelty; but it ſeems this *Uffa* in Strength and Policy overpowering the reſt of thoſe Petty Princes, got himſelf made ſole King, and governed with that Glory, that *H. Huntingdon* tells us, the Kings deſcended from him were called *Uffings*, though how long he reigned is uncertain, only that dying he left the Crown to *Titul* or *Titillus* his Son, of whom likewiſe nothing is recorded, and therefore *Will.* of *Malmesbury* takes no notice of theſe two Princes: The firſt he ſpeaks of is *Redwald*, the Tenth from *Woden*, whom he calls the greateſt King of the *Eaſt-Angles*; but ſince his Reign began after this Period, I ſhall reſerve the ſpeaking further of him to the next Book.

Anno Dom. DLXXVII.

To return to the *Saxon* Annals: ‘This year *Ceawlin* and *Cuthwin* his Son fought with and ſlew three *Britiſh* Kings, *viz. Commail*, *Candidan*, and *Farinmaile*, at a place which is called *Deorham* (now *Durham*) in *Glouceſterſhire*, and then took three Cities, *Glewanceſter* (now *Gloceſter*), *Cirenceſter*, and *Bathonceſter*, (now *Bathe*.)

Who theſe three Kings were, is very doubtful; ſome ſuppoſe the firſt and ſecond of them to be *Cuniglaſ*[illegible] and *Aurelius Conan*, both men-

Anno Dom. DLXXVII.

tioned by *Gildas*; but for the third, I cannot tell what to make of him, there being no ſuch King mentioned in any of the old *Britiſh* Chronicles; ſo all that we can gueſs is, that he was ſome Petty Prince, whoſe Name is wholly omitted in the *Welſh* Annals, or elſe miſtaken in ours. From the time of this Battel, the *Britains* or *Welſhmen* (as the *Engliſh* call them) being driven into that rough and mountainous Countrey we now call *Wales*, lying beyond the Rivers of *Dee* and *Severn*, made fewer Invaſions into (what we call) *England*.

[illegible]

now

This year, as the *Welſh* Chronicle, called *Triades*, relates (being an Ancient Manuſcript written near 1000 years ago), the Battel of *Arderydd* was fought on the Borders of *Scotland*, between *Aeddan Vradog*, (*i.e.* the Treacherous) and *Guendelew* Son of *Keidiaw*, *Britiſh* Princes of the North Parts of *Britain*, on the one ſide; and *Reiderch-hoel*, (*i.e.* the Liberal) a *Britiſh* King of *Cumberland*, on the other ſide, and that upon a very ſlight occaſion, a Lark's-Neſt, and two Dogs. In which Battel *Guendelew* was ſlain, though his men fought and skirmiſh'd with the other *Britains* for Six Weeks to revenge his Death. After which Fight *Aedan* being there overcome, fled into the Iſle of *Man*.

The like Story is related by *Hector Boethius*, concerning the Battel between *Ædan* King of the *Scots*, and the *Picts*, upon the like occaſion; ſo that either the *Scots* borrowed it from the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, or elſe this had it from them; though the former be the moſt likely. But how this can agree with our *Saxon* Annals, who make *Adda* King of *Bernicia* to have died Ten Years before, I know not; one of them muſt certainly be miſtaken, ſince there was but one King of *Northumberland* who was called *Adda*.

This year, or the next, King *Freothwulf* dying, *Theodoric* the Son of *Ida* (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *Matth. Weſtminſter*) ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, *Ælla* ſtill reigning in *Deira*. This *Theodoric* and his Sons (according to the Ancient Author of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Genealogies at the end of *Nennius*, lately put forth by Dr. *Gale*) fought with *Urbgen*, or *Urien*, King of *Cumberland*, and his Sons, with various Succeſs, who beſieged *Theodoric* in the Iſle of *Medcant*, (now *Turne* Iſland) until by the means of *Morgant*, a Prince of the ſame Countrey who envied his Valour, *Urien* was in that Expedition murthered by his own men: But the Succeſſion of theſe Kings of *Northumberland* is very obſcure and uncertain.

For the Author of the abovecited Genealogies makes one *Freodguald* to have ſucceeded this *Theodoric* or *Deoric* (as he calls him); but whether he was the ſame with *Freothwulf*, mentioned by *Florence*, is hard to determine; and after this *Freodguald*, who reigned ſeven years, one *Huſſa* is ſaid to have ſucceeded, who reigned ſeven years likewiſe; but whether in *Deira* or *Bernicia*, he does not ſay; in which he is alſo followed by *Rog. Hoveden*, in his Prologue to his Hiſtory; but the Succeſſion of theſe Kings having no certain Time aſſigned them, I can only ſet them down as I find them. Here is a large Gap left in the *Saxon* Annals, where nothing occurs further of *Engliſh* Affairs for ſeven years. To ſupply which, we muſt have recourſe to the *Britiſh* Affairs in thoſe Countries we now call *Wales*. Where (to ſhew you the Uncertainty of the *Britiſh* Chronology),

Anno Dom. DLXXXI.

According to *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, *Malgo*, or *Magoclunus*, whom the *Welſh* Annals call *Mael Guineth*, was elected King of all the *Bri-*

tains

Anno Dom. DLXXXI.

tains of *Wales* (having been long before King of *North-Wales*, as the word *Gwineth* in the *Welſh* Tongue ſignifies). And *Humphrey Lloyd*, in his Fragment of the Deſcription of *Wales*, from an Ancient Book of *Britiſh* Laws, thus gives us the manner of his Election.

After the *Saxons* had obtained the Kingdom and Crown of *London* upon the Expulſion of the *Britains*, all the People of *Wales* met at the mouth of the River *Dee* to Elect a King; and thither came the men of *Gwineth* (or *North-Wales*), the men of *Powis-land*, the men of *Dehaubarth*, *Glamorgan*, and divers other Countries; who all elected *Mael Gwineth* King:

Whom *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* fables to have been King not only of all this Iſland, but alſo to have conquered *Ireland*, *Iceland*, *Gothland*, *Norway*, *Denmark*, and the *Orcades*; a ſtory ſo ridiculous, that the very telling it is a ſufficient Confutation: And all this he collects from thoſe words of *Gildas*, wherein he calls him the *Iſland Dragon*, and a driver out of many Tyrants; and becauſe to expreſs his great wickedneſs he ſays, *He was drunk with the Wine of* Sodom; *Geoffry* will needs conclude him to have been guilty of *Sodomy*. This Prince is ſuppoſed to have reigned as Supreme King of *Wales* about ſix years.

Anno Dom. DLXXXIV. Saxon. An.

Ceawlin King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Cutha*, fought againſt the *Britains* at a place called *Frethanleag* (now *Frethern*) in *Glouceſterſhire*, where *Cutha* was ſlain; yet *Ceawlin* now took many Towns, with great Treaſures, and other Spoil, and ſo returned home: As *H. Huntington* relates, the *Britains* had at firſt the better, but *Ceawlin* having ſent for freſh Recruits, overcame the Conquerors. *William* of *Malmesbury* mentions a Son of *Ceawlin*'s, of the ſame Name, to have been killed before his face; but either the Copy he had of theſe Annals differed from thoſe we have left us, or elſe he was no other than this *Cutha* here mentioned, who was his Brother.

Anno Dom. DLXXXV.

About this time began the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, (according to *H. Huntington* and *Matth.* of *Weſtminſter*) whoſe firſt King was *Crida*, or *Creoda*; this, though the laſt erected, yet was one of the largeſt of the *Engliſh Saxon* Kingdoms, and was alſo one of the laſt that was conquered by the *Weſt-Saxons*.

This Year alſo (according to the *Welſh* Annals) happened a great Slaughter of the *Britains* of the North; for now *Gurgi* and *Predur*, two *Britiſh* Princes, being Brothers and Twins, the Sons of *Oliver Goſgard Vawr*, (*i. e. Oliver* with the great Train) a Prince of *Cumberland*, fought with *Ædda*, or *Adda*, the *Saxon* King of *Northumberland*, at a place called *Caergrew*, where both the Brothers were ſlain, many of their men treacherouſly deſerting them the Night before the Battel.

Anno Dom. DLXXXVIII.

'This year *Ælla* King of *Deira* died [after 30 years Reign], and *Athelric* ſucceeded him, and reigned 5 years over all *Northumberland*, having (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* relates) obtained the Kingdom in his Old Age, his Youth being ſpent in a very narrow Fortune; yet having, according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*'s Account, reigned two years over *Bernicia* in *Ælla*'s time. And this year alſo, according to *Matth.* of *Weſtminſter*, this *Athelric* (for ſo I ſuppoſe it ſhould be, and not *Ethelfrid*, who had not yet begun to reign) married *Acca*, Daughter to *Ælla* King of *Deira*, and on her got ſeven Sons, whoſe Names he there gives us.

Anno Dom.
DLXXXVIII.

Alſo this year in the *Welſh* Annals, as well as thoſe of *Vlſter*, *Conſtantine* is mention'd to be converted to the Lord; whom Archbiſhop *Vſher* underſtands to have been that wicked *Conſtantine*, King of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, whom *Gildas* has before inveighed againſt, and who at this time, being now bereft of his Wife and Children, was alſo weary of his Kingdom, and therefore went privately into *Ireland*, and there building a Monaſtery, took upon him the Habit of a Monk; as *John* of *Tinmouth*, in his Life of St. *David*, relates. And this *Conſtantine* *Hector Boethius* in his * *Scotiſh* Hiſtory, will have to have been ſent over by a certain *Iriſh* Biſhop to preach the Goſpel to the *Scots*, and being by them martyr'd, to have been ſome Ages after canonized for a Saint: But this ſounds like a Legend, ſince the *Scots* had been long before converted by St. *Patrick* to the Chriſtian Faith.

* *Lib.* 9.

Sax: An:

Anno Dom.
DXCI.

This year there was a great and bloody Battel fought at *Wodensbeorge* (now called *Wodensburg*, a little Village in *Wiltſhire*) between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*, though it is not here ſaid who were the Generals on either ſide; only *H Huntington* tells us, that the *Britains* having drawn up their Army after the *Roman* manner, and the *Saxons* charging them boldly, but confuſedly, there followed a ſharp Battel, in which GOD gave the Victory to the *Britains*; for the *Saxons* being wont to have the better in all their Wars, being now grown more careleſs, were vanquiſhed, and the whole Army almoſt deſtroyed, which (as *W.* of *Malmesbury* relates) happened through the *Engliſh* joining with the *Britains* againſt him (though of what Countrey the *Engliſh* were, he does not tell us); ſo that *Ceawlin* being driven out of his Kingdom, and *Ceolric* Son to his Brother *Cuthwalf* obtaining it, reigned five years. *Ceawlin* being thus expell'd after 31 years Reign, was forced to take Refuge in ſome other Kingdom; but whether in this Iſland, or elſe beyond Sea, our Hiſtories are ſilent: He had been a little before the greateſt and moſt powerful of all the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, his Atchievements being a Wonder to the *Engliſh*, and till then a Terror to the *Welſh* or *Britiſh*.

About this time *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* makes *Careticus* above-menti~~oned~~ to have ſucceeded *Malgo* (who perhaps was the ſame with *Mael Gwineth*) in the Kingdom of the *Britains*, whom he deſcribes to have been a lover of Civil Wars, and to be hateful to God and all the *Britains*; ſo that the *Saxons* ſeeing his weakneſs, invited *Gormund* an *African* King out of *Ireland*, to Invade *England* with Six thouſand *Africans*, who joining with the *Saxons* invaded the Territories of *Careticus*, and beating him in many Battels, at laſt beſieged him in the City of *Cirenceſter*, which being taken and burnt, he again joined Battel with *Careticus*, and forced him to fly beyond *Severne* into *Wales*; and then *Gormund* deſtroying all the Neighbouring Cities, never left till he had deſtroyed the whole Iſland from Sea to Sea; and ſo for a time obtained the Supreme Dominion of the whole Kingdom.

But of theſe Kings *Gareticus* and *Garmund*, ſince not only the moſt Authentick *Welſh* Chronicles, but the *Saxon* Annals are wholly ſilent, I ſuppoſe them to have been only Romances, and invented by *Geoffrey* to fill up this Gap in his *Britiſh* Hiſtory; not that I will deny that one *Gormund* a *Daniſh* King might reign in *Ireland* about this time; but that he ever reigned in *England*, is utterly falſe, no other Hiſtorian but himſelf, and thoſe that borrow from him, making any mention of it.

Anno Dom. DXCII. Sax: An

This year *Gregory* was made Biſhop of *Rome*.

Anno Dom. DXCIII.

Mat. Weſtm. in hoc Anno.

Ceawlin (late King of the *Weſt-Saxons*) died in Baniſhment; and the ſame year died *Cwichelm* (his Brother), together with *Cryda* [King of the *Mercians*, to whom ſucceeded his Son *Wipha* or *Wippa*] ; and *Ethelfred* began alſo to reign over both the *Northumbrian* Kingdoms, being the Son of *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida*. This Prince did not only defend his own Territories, but alſo invaded and ſeized thoſe of others. But the third year after was very remarkable,

Anno Dom. DXCVI. Sax: An

For now Pope *Gregory* ſent *Auguſtine* into *Britain* with many Monks to preach the Word to the *Engliſh* Nation.

As for the *Britiſh* Affairs, we have but little more to remark ever ſince the Death of *Maelgwin Gwineth*, for the ſpace of 24 years; only we find in the Book of *Landaffe*, that about this time *Tudric* King of *Glamorgan*, who was ~~ſtill~~ Victorious, is ſaid to have exchanged his Crown for an Hermitage; till going in Aid of his Son *Mouric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduced to great extremity, taking up Arms again, he defended him againſt them at *Tinterne*, by the River *Wye*, but he himſelf received a Mortal Wound.

But about the end of this Century (as *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* relates) when the *Britains* could not agree for 24 years who ſhould be their Supreme Governor, at laſt they choſe *Cadwan* Prince of *North Wales* to be King of all the *Britains*; but the year of this Election is not ſet down by *Geoffry*, nor is this Prince mentioned by any other *Britiſh* Author or Chronicle, before he wrote. But I ſhall defer ſpeaking farther of this Prince, till I come to the next Book.

Anno Dom. DXCVII. Sax: An

Ceolwulf began to reign over the *Weſt-Saxons*, who making continual Wars all his time, fought ſometimes againſt the other *Engliſh-Saxons*, ſometimes againſt the *Britains*, or elſe againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*; but (what is more remarkable) this year *Auguſtine* the Monk, with his Companions, arrived in *Britain*.

Vid. Uſſerii Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquit. cap. 5, 12, 13.

But before I conclude this Period, I cannot omit taking ſome further notice of the Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, in that part of *Britain*, now called *Wales*, where the Remainders of Chriſtianity in this ſide of our Iſland, were now wholly confined; *Bangor* in the *North*, and *Caer-Leon* upon *Usk* in *South-Wales*, being the chief Places for Learning, as well as Religion, the laſt of theſe being alſo the See of an Archbiſhop; where was likewiſe a College of Philoſophers, of which (as *Alex. Elſebienſis* relates) *Dubritius*, Archbiſhop of that City, was the Founder; who reſigning his Biſhoprick, became an Anchoret in the Iſle of *Bardſey*; to whom ſucceeded *David* (afterwards Sainted), who flouriſhed about the year 509, and is ſaid to have been Uncle by the Mother's ſide to King *Arthur*; he removed the Epiſcopal See from *Caer-Leon* to *Menevia*, now called St. *David*'s, in *Pembrockſhire*. Nor can I paſs by ſeveral Learned and Holy Men among the *Britains* of this Age; as firſt, *Daniel* the moſt Pious Biſhop of *Bangor*; *Cadocus* Abbot of *Lancarvan* in *Glamorganſhire*, whoſe Life is written by *John* of *Tinmouth*. In the ſame Age alſo flouriſhed *Iltutus*, a Pious and Learned Man of that Countrey; to whom we may alſo add *Sampſon* his Scholar, conſecrated Biſhop by *Dubritius*, Succeſſor to St. *David*; this *Sampſon* was afterwards Archbiſhop of *Dole* in *Britain*, having upon his leaving *Britain* carried away the Pall along with him, (as hath been already mentioned): Not to omit *Patern* and *Petroc*, the former a

Preacher at *Llan Patern* in *Cardiganſhire*, and the other in *Cornwal*; beſides *Congal* Abbot of *Bangor*, and *Kentigern* the famous Biſhop of *Ellwye* in *North-Wales*, as alſo *Aſaph* his Scholar, and Succeſſor in the ſame See, now from him called St. *Aſaph*; to whom I may alſo add *Talieſſen*, the famous *Britiſh* Poet, whoſe Verſes are preſerved to this day. All theſe flouriſhed from the beginning till the middle of the Sixth Century, which now as much abounded in Learned and Pious Men, as the former Age was wanting of them.

Thus, omitting Fables, we have given you a View of whatever we find can be relied on for Truth, tranſacted in *Britain* ſince the *Romans* firſt conquered and then forſook it: Wherein we may obſerve the many Miſeries and Deſolations brought by Divine Providence on a wicked and perverſe Nation; driven (when nothing elſe would reform them) out of a Rich Countrey into a Mountainous and Barren Corner, by Strangers and Heathens: So much more intolerable in the Eye of Heaven is the diſhonouring the Chriſtian Faith and Religion by Unchriſtian Works, than downright Infidelity. Yet am I not of *Bede*'s Opinion, That the *Britains* omiſſion to preach the Goſpel to the *Engliſh-Saxons* (though they inhabited the ſame Iſland) was any of their crying Sins; ſince it was not to be expected, that they could either Preach, or the *Saxons* would ever Receive the Goſpel from thoſe who were their utter Enemies, and had taken their Countrey from them by Violence: Yet God was not wanting to this Nation, but appointed other Preachers to convert it to the Chriſtian Faith; which how it was brought about, ſhall be the Subject of the enſuing Book.

8 JA 58

The End of the Third Book.

THE

7

8 JA 56

Leaſt the Names of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings which have been in the for begain to reign, ſhould render their Succeſſion perplexed, and hard to and *Mat. Weſtminſter*, placed the ſeveral Kingdoms of the *Saxon* H the End of this Period, (*viz.*) *Anno Dom.* 597.

Note, *The Years in this Table do not always follow the Printed Text of the* Saxon *Annals, ſince* *I thought to be the beſt Account.* *The Succeſſion of* Britiſh *Kings is according t*

Anno Dom.	*Kings of* Kent.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* South-Saxons.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* West-Saxons.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* East-Saxons.	*Kings of* *Anno Dom.*	mber
457	* Hengiſt *reigned* 31 *years.* * *He was not choſen King till above ſeven years after his arrival, which was* An. 449.								
488	Æſk, *or* Oric, *his Son*, 24 *years.*								
		491	Ælla *reigned* 24 *years.*						
512	Otha, *or* Oiſc, *his Son*, 20 *years.*	515	Ciſſa *reigned, uncertain how many years.*						
								547	Id Eop- *ed over* *ngdoms*
532	Ermenric, *his Son*, 29 *years.*			519	Cerdic *reigned* 15 *years.*	527	Erkenwin, *or* Eſcwin.		
				534	Cynric, *his Son, reigned* 26 *years.*		Sigebert.	559	A Odda, *reigned*
						535	Swithelm.		
								564	C *years.*
			After whom reigned divers Kings, whoſe Names are not to be found in our Annals or Hiſtorians.					571	T lf 1
561	Ethelbert, *his Son.*			560	Ceawlin, *his Son*, 31 *years.*				
								572	F lf 7
								579	T ic 7
						587	Sledda, 9 *years.*		
								588	2 *years.* *laſt were* Ida, *and* *re, whilſt* *reigned* ira. helric *laſt* *n'd, began* *o reign o-* *both theſe* *doms, after* *ath of* Æl- *d reigned* 5 *years.*
				591	Ceolric, *his Kinſman*, 5 *years.*				
						596	Seabert.	593	ed *his Son* *d* 24 *over* *Kingdoms.*
				597	Ceolwulf 14 *years.*				

Book ſet down promiſcuouſly according to the Years in which they
membred; I have from the *Saxon* Annals, *Florence* of *Worceſter*;
chy, together with their Kings, in a *Chronological* Order; as far as

ies often differ, ſometimes one year, and ſometimes more; and then I have always followed that which
ount I received from the Moſt Reverend Father in God, Humphrey *Lord Biſhop of* Bangor.

mberland *in the Provinces called*			*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* Eaſt-Angles.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of* Mercia.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* Britains.
a.	*Anno Dom.*	Deira.						
							445	Vortiger.
							454	Vortimer *his Son; his Father being Depoſed.*
							458	Vortiger *again reſtored after the Death of his Son.*
							465	Aurelius Ambroſius *made General of the* Britains, Vortiger *ſtill living.*
Eop- *d over gdoms*							481	Aurelius *choſen King, after the Death of* Vortiger.
Odda, *reigned*	559	Ælla, *the Son of* Yffi, *reigned near* 30 *years.*					508	Nazaleod, (*or* Nathanleod) *Chief King of the* Britains; *who whether he was not the ſame with* Aurelius Ambroſius, *is doubtful.*
years.				Uffa *reigned uncertain how long.*				
lf 1								
lf 7								
ic 7			578	Titylus, *or* Tytila, *his Son, reigned uncertain too how long.*	585	Crida, *or* Creoda, *how long he reigned is uncertain.*		*Here follows an* Inter-regnum *of about ſix years.*
2 *years.*								
laſt were Ida, *and* re, *whilſt reigned* ira.	589	Edwin, *his Son, who being ſoon expell'd by* Æthelfrid *King of* Bernicia, *reigned over* Re *both Kingdoms* 14 *years;* ~~*till*~~ & then Edwin *was again reſtored.*					515	K. Arthur *reigned twenty ſeven years.*
helric *laſt* n'd, *began reign over both theſe* doms, *after* th *of* Æl- d *reigned* 5 *years.*						Wippa, *or* Pybba, *his Son, the like.*	542	*After whoſe Death followed Nine years* Interregnum.
			593	Redwald, *his Son.*			551	*Mailgwin Gwined *was elected King of all the* Britains.
ed *his Son* d 24 *over* Kingdoms.						Ceorl *the like.*	[illegible] 581	Mailgwin *died; after whom was a* 17 *years* Interregnum.

This is a likely to be Maglocunus mentioned by Gildas. others [illegible] his death An. D. 580.

THE
General Hiſtory
OF
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:
As well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BOOK IV.

From the Preaching of the Chriſtian Religion *by* AUGUSTINE *the* Monk, *to* ECBERT, *the firſt Chief or Supreme* King *of* ENGLAND; *containing Two Hundred and Three Years.*

THIS Fourth Period will give us a new and more pleaſant Proſpect of the Affairs of *Britain*: For as the Goſpel of Chriſt did now diſpel that *Egyptian* Darkneſs of *Paganiſm*, under which it had ſo long laboured; ſo, together with *Chriſtianity*, Human Learning (and conſequently the Art of compoſing Hiſtories or Annals) entred alſo with it; the Monaſteries, which were not long after founded, being then the only Univerſities in which the Liberal Arts and Sciences were in thoſe times chiefly taught and profeſſed; which though it was not without a great mixture of that *Gothic* Barbariſm that had then overſpread all *Europe*, and even *Italy* it ſelf, yet was it ſufficient (in ſome meaſure) to inſtruct men not only in Divine, but Civil Knowledge; the Monks of that Age poſſeſſing the greateſt ſhare of Learning, and being almoſt the only Hiſtorians as well as Divines: Therefore we muſt be beholding to them for what Accounts we have, not only of the Eccleſiaſtical but Civil Affairs of thoſe Times; for *Bede*, our firſt *Engliſh* Hiſtorian, was himſelf a Monk: And the *Saxon* Annals (which we here give you) were firſt collected and written in divers Monaſteries of *England*; and to which is to be aſcribed that difference which is found between the Copies of that Chronicle, as to the Dates of Years, and other Matters; for before there was ſcarce any thing remembred by Tradition, but the great Wars and Battels fought by the *Saxon* Kings againſt the *Britains*; ſo, after the Monks came to commit things to writing, they began to make us underſtand ſomewhat of their Civil Conſtitutions, and the Acts of Peace as well as War; tho it muſt be confeſſed they are not ſo exact in the former as they might and ought to have been; minding more the relating of Viſions and Miracles, which they ſuppoſed to have happen'd and been done in thoſe times, for the Confirmation of ſome new Doctrines then not fully received: Yet however, I doubt not but from thoſe Remains they have left us, both the Conſtitution of their Government, and the manner of the Succeſſion of their Kings, may be clearly made out; of both which, in the former Period, we were wholly ignorant: But for this we are chiefly beholding to thoſe *Engliſh-Saxon* Laws that are left us, which were made by the Supreme Authority of each Kingdom in their *Wittena Gemot*, *Mycel Gemot*, or great Council (which we now call a *Parliament*); from which times moſt of the Laws made in thoſe Councils were carefully preſerv'd, and would have been convey'd to us more entire, had it not been for the loſs of ſo many curious Monuments of Antiquity, at the ſuppreſſion of Monaſteries in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII.

[illegible]

But ſince it muſt be confeſſed, that it was to the Learning which Chriſtianity brought in, that we owe the knowledge we have of the Hiſtory of our Ancient Times, we ſhall begin where we left off in the former Book, and ſhew you by what means this part of ~~*Britain*~~ was brought to the knowledge of Chriſt, and all the Kingdoms of the *Saxon* Heptarchy became, by degrees, united in the ſame Faith: For the doing of which it is neceſſary that we look ſome years backward, and give you Venerable *Bede*'s Relation, how Pope *Gregory* (ſirnamed *The Great*, to whom the *Engliſh* Nation owes its Converſion) came to ſend *Auguſtine* the Monk to preach the Goſpel ~~here~~ in *Britain*; which he thus relates, as he received it down by Tradition.

[illegible]

Bede, *l.* 2. *c.* 1.

An: Dom DXCVI

The Report is, That many Merchants coming to *Rome*, great ſtore of Commodities being expoſed in the Market-place to be ſold, Chapmen flocking in apace, *Gregory* alſo himſelf going thither (tho rather out of Curioſity than to buy), ſaw among other things, certain handſome Boys expoſed to ſale; whom, when he beheld, he demanded from what Countrey they were brought; and anſwer being made, That they came out of the Iſle of *Britain*; then he asked again, Whether thoſe Iſlanders were Chriſtians? To which it was anſwered, They were Heathens; when, fetching a deep ſigh, he ſaid, *It was pity the Father of Darkneſs ſhould be Maſter of ſuch bright Faces:* They alſo told him, that they were called *Angles*, of the Kingdom of *Deira*, and that their Kings were named *Ælla:* On each of which Names *Bede* either invents, or elſe had heard, that Pope *Gregory* made divers *Latin* Alluſions; which ſince, if tranſlated, they would ſeem dry or trivial to moſt Readers, I therefore paſs by. But *Will.* of *Malmesbury* further adds to this ſtory, That it was then, and long after, the Cuſtom of the Nation of the *Northumbers*, to ſell their own Children, or other near Relations, to Foreign Merchants; which ſhews them then to have been either extraordinary neceſſitous, or elſe to have been as barbarous and void of Natural Affection, as the *Negroes* of ſome parts of *Africa* are at this day.

Gregory going immediately to the then Biſhop of *Rome*, (for himſelf was not ſo as yet,) intreated him to order ſome Preachers of God's Word to be ſent to the *Engliſh* Nation, by whoſe means it might be converted to Chriſt; and that he himſelf was ready to undertake the Performance of this Work, in caſe it would pleaſe the Pope to ſend him; who, although he was willing to grant his Requeſt, yet the Citizens of *Rome* (who had a great value for him,) would by no means permit that he ſhould go ſo far from that City.

But *Gregory* being not long after himſelf advanced to the Papacy, he performed by others his ſo long deſired deſign; for in his Fourth Year, being admoniſhed (ſaith *Bede*) by Divine inſtinct, he ſent *Auguſtine*, whom he had deſigned for Biſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation, and other Zealous Monks along with him, to preach the Goſpel in *Britain*; who being now upon their way, and diſcouraged by ſome falſe Reports, diſpatch'd *Auguſtine* in all their Names, beſeeching the Pope that they might return home, and not be ſent a Journey ſo full of hazard to a fierce and Infidel Nation, whoſe Language they underſtood not: But the Pope immediately ſent back their Meſſenger with Exhortatory Letters to them, not to be diſcouraged by vain Reports; but vigorouſly to purſue the work they had undertaken, ſince their labours would be attended with laſting Glory; both in this life and that to come, and that they ſhould obey *Auguſtine*, whom he had appointed for their Abbot; beſides which Letters the Pope Wrote alſo to *Eutherius*, Arch-Biſhop of *Arles*, wherein he recommended them to his Care and Protection, and that he would furniſh them with what they wanted; alſo recommending to him *Candidus* a Presbyter, whom he had ſent to receive and diſpoſe of the Churches Revenues in *France*; beſides which there is nothing remarkable in theſe Letters, except the date which is in the Tenth of the Kalends of *Auguſt*, in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of our Lord, *Mauritius Tiberius Auguſtus*, and the Fourteenth *Indiction*, which falls out in the Year of our Lord 596; though the Author of the old *Gregorian* Regiſter hath for ſome Reaſons omitted to put down the dates of theſe Epiſtles; perhaps leſt Poſterity might underſtand that the Pope at that time called the Emperour his LORD, and dated his Letters by the Year of his Reign. *Lib.1.chap.23.*

Auguſtine and his Companions, being thus confirmed by the Pope's Exhortation, proceeded in their Voyage, and paſſing thorough *France* took Sea, and landed in the Iſle of *Thanet*, (lying on the Eaſt part of *Kent*) with about Forty Perſons in his Company, together with ſome Interpreters of the *French* Nation: *Ethelbert* was at that time King of that Country; being the moſt powerful Prince that had Reigned there, as having extended the bounds of his Dominion, as far as the banks of the River *Humber*: As ſoon as *Auguſtine* arrived, he ſent to King *Ethelbert*, giving him to underſtand, that he came from *Rome*, and had brought good tidings of Eternal Happineſs to all them that would receive it; the King hearing this, commanded that they ſhould remain in the place where they landed, and that all neceſſaries ſhould be plentifully ſupplied them, till he had determined what to do; for he had heard of the Chriſtian Religion long before, as having married a Chriſtian Lady, called *Bertha*, Siſter to the King of *France*, (as hath been already ſaid) upon this condition, that ſhe ſhould have the free Exerciſe of her Religion, and liberty to have a Biſhop of her own, named *Lethard*, whom ſhe brought with her to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen her in the Faith.

The King after ſome Days came to the Iſland, and fearing Inchantments, ſate down in the open Air, commanding that *Auguſtine* and his Companions ſhould be brought into his preſence; for he was perſwaded by his Country Superſtition, that if they brought with them any Inchantments, they could not there ſo eaſily work upon him; but *Auguſtine* and his Companions Armed with the Power of God, and bearing a Silver Croſs before them, with the Image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a Banner, came on ſinging (as in a ſolemn Proceſſion) the Litany as they went, and praying unto God for the Eternal Salvation of thoſe to whom they were ſent: But when ſitting down with the King, they had preached the Word of Life to him and his Nobles, the King thus ſpoke; " The Doctrines and the promiſes ye have made, are indeed fair and inviting; But I am not as yet reſolved to embrace them, ſince I cannot " ſuddenly conſent to quit that Religion I have ſo long profeſſed, together with the whole *Engliſh* Nation; yet becauſe ye are Strangers, " and come a long Journey, and as it ſeems would impart to us the knowledge of that Religion you believe to be the beſt, we will not give " you the leaſt Moleſtation, but rather will protect you, and take care " that all things neceſſary ſhall be provided for your Maintenance; " neither ſhall we prohibit you from gaining as many as you can, to the " belief of your Religion.

And accordingly he allotted them their reſidence in the City of *Canterbury*, (which was the Metropolis of his Kingdom) neither did he hinder them from the freedom of Preaching publickly to whom they would.

When they came to the place provided for them, they began to imitate the Innocent Life of the Primitive Chriſtians, by applying themſelves to continual Prayers and Faſting, and eſpecially to the Preaching the Word of God, to all that would hear them; deſpiſing the things of this World as ſuperfluous; being content with the bare neceſſaries of Life; living exactly according to the Rules they taught others: the ſucceſs of which, was, That many believed, and were baptized, admiring the ſimplicity of their Lives, as well as the Purity of their Doctrine.

There was near this City, towards the *Eaſt*, an old ruinous Church anciently Built in honour of St. *Martyn*; whileſt the *Romans* inhabited *Britain*, in which the Queen was wont to perform her Devotions: Here they firſt began to aſſemble and exerciſe their Spiritual Functions, until the King being converted, they obtained a full liberty of Preaching, and building Churches. But when the King, by the pure Lives of theſe Holy Men, as alſo by the Miracles they wrought, (as our Author relates) became convinced of the Truth of their Doctrine, and was thereupon Baptiſed, many flocking in, from all Parts to hear the Goſpel, and leaving their Heathaniſm, joyned themſelves to the Church of Chriſt, (ſo powerful a Motive is the Example of a Prince to his Subjects.) At whoſe Faith and Converſion, the King extreamly rejoyced; yet nevertheleſs would not compel any to receive Chriſtianity; only thoſe that believed, he cheriſhed with a more tender regard; for he had learnt from the Authors of his Salvation, *That the Service of Chriſt ought to be voluntary, and not conſtrained*; neither did he defer long the giving his Teachers places fitting for their imployment, in his City of *Canterbury*; and confer'd upon them large Poſſeſſions: But this was not done till ſome time after, being confirmed in a great Council of his Kingdom, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place.

But as ſoon as *Auguſtine* had by his Preaching converted the greateſt part of the *Kentiſh* Nation, he returned into *France*, where he was ordained Arch-Biſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation, by *Eutherius*, Arch-Biſhop of *Arles*, according to the commands they had received from Pope *Gregory*; but upon his coming back into *Britain*, he ſent immediately to *Rome*, *Laurence* a Prieſt, and *Peter* a Monk, to certifie the Pope, that the Chriſtian Faith was now received by the *Engliſh*, and that he was now made Biſhop; deſiring alſo his Opinion in certain Queſtions, he thought neceſſary to be reſolved: To all which, he ſpeedily received ſuch Anſwers from the Pope, as were proper to the Queſtion propoſed; ſome of which we have thought fit to inſert into our Hiſtory, becauſe they ſhew us, what was the State of Religion in the *Weſtern* Church, when *Auguſtine* came over hither.

Anno Dom. CCCCXCVIII.

Ibid.

His firſt Queſtion was, how the Biſhops ſhould converſe with their Clergy, as alſo concerning thoſe things that are Offered at the Altar, by the Oblations of the Faithful? And how many Portions there ought to be made of them? And how a Biſhop ought to behave himſelf in the Church? To theſe things the Pope anſwered to this effect.

That as for Biſhops, how they ought to carry themſelves in the Church, the Holy Scriptures teach, and eſpecially the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*; in which he endeavours to teach him, how he ought to behave himſelf in the Houſe of God: alſo that out of every thing that ſhall be Offered at the Altar, there ought to be made four diviſions, *viz.* One for the Biſhop and his Family, for Hoſpitality, and Entertainment of Strangers; the Second for the Clergy; the Third for the Poor; and the Fourth for Repairing of Churches: But as you are well skilled in the Monaſtic Rules, nothing ought to be poſſeſſed by any Clergy-men in particular in the *Engliſh* Chhrch, which lately by God's Grace is brought to the Faith; but you ought to imitate the Primitive Converts, among whom none enjoyed any thing as his own, of thoſe things he poſſeſſed, but all things were in common among them.

In the ſecond Queſtion, *Auguſtine* deſires to be inform'd, whether Prieſts, not able to contain, may Marry? And if they ſhall Marry, Whether they muſt return to the Secular Life?

This Queſtion *Bede* hath not, but prepoſterouſly joins the following Anſwer to the firſt Queſtion: Yet Sir *Henry Spelman* hath added it, out of the *Paris* Edition of Councils, *Anno* 1518.

Where the Anſwer of Pope *Gregory* is thus, That if there be any of the Clergy out of Holy Orders that cannot contain, they ought to Marry, and ſtill to receive their Stipends, concluding great care ought to be had of the Stipends of the Clergy, that they may be diligent in Service; and that there was no occaſion of making a long diſcourſe concerning their keeping Hoſpitality, when all the over-plus ought to be beſtowed upon Pious and Religious uſes?

Anno Dom. CCCCXCVIII.

The third Queſtion of *Auguſtine* was this, that ſince there is but one Faith, Why are there divers cuſtoms of Churches? One manner of ſaying Maſs in the Holy *Roman* Church, and another in thoſe of *Gaul*?

To which Pope *Gregory* anſwered to this effect: You know very well the cuſtom of the *Roman* Church in which you were bred; but it is my pleaſure, That if you can find either in the *Roman* Church, or thoſe of *Gaul*, or in any other Churches, any thing more pleaſing to God, carefully chooſe it, and what things ſoever you can gather from any other Churches, of Good and Pious Example, bring them into the *Engliſh* Church; for things are not to be belov'd for the places, but places for the good things that are in them.

Auguſtine's fourth Queſtion was, What Puniſhment ought to be inflicted on him that commits Sacriledge?

The Pope's Anſwer to this Queſtion being ſomewhat long, I ſhall only give you the ſubſtance of it. In the firſt place, He diſtinguiſhes between thoſe who commit Theſt out of a wicked intent, and thoſe that offend out of neceſſity; from whence it follows, that ſome are to be puniſhed with Fines, others with Stripes, and ſome more ſeverely; and when (ſays he) you proceed againſt any with more rigour than ordinary, you muſt do it out of Charity, not out of Anger; becauſe the puniſhment is inflicted to this intent, that the party puniſhed may be ſaved: Then ſhews the end of ſuch puniſhments from the Example of Fathers correcting their Children, purely for their good, though they love them very well; he admoniſhes him to uſe a mean in chaſtiſing them, and not without the Rules of Reaſon: But if you ask how things taken from the Church are to be reſtored? God forbid that the Church ſhould receive any encreaſe for the loſs of meer Earthly things, or go about to make advantage of ſuch trifles.

The three following Queſtions, concerning in what degrees of Conſanguinity Men and Women may Marry, I ſhall omit, as being impertinent to our purpoſe; and ſhall proceed to the Eighth Queſtion which is this.

If, for the great diſtance of places, Biſhops cannot eaſily meet, Whether a Biſhop may be ordain'd, without the preſence of other Biſhops?

The Anſwer of Pope *Gregory* is to this effect; Certain it is, That in the *Engliſh* Church, wherein as yet there is no other Biſhop but your ſelf, you can ordain a Biſhop no other way than without Biſhops: for how can Biſhops come from *Gaul*, that may aſſiſt at the Ordination of a Biſhop in *Britain*? But we would have you ſo to appoint Biſhops, that they be not too far aſunder from one another, that there may be no hinderance; but that at the Ordination of a Biſhop others may be preſent, and ſuch other Presbyters alſo, whoſe preſence is requiſite, ought to have eaſie means of acceſs; when therefore Biſhops ſhall be ſo ordained in places near one another, the Ordination of a Biſhop ought never to be without Three or Four Biſhops aſſiſting, *&c.*

Auguſtine's Ninth Queſtion was this, How ought we to behave our ſelves towards the Biſhops of *Gaul*, and *Britain*?

Anno Dom. CCCCXCVIII.

The Pope's Anſwer was to this purpoſe, for being ſomewhat long, we ſhall alſo contract it.

In the firſt place, The Pope allows him no Authority over the Biſhops of *Gaul*, any further than by Advice, or Spiritual Admonition, if they ſhould happen to be guilty of any faults, becauſe they were no ways ſubject to his Authority: and concludes thus; But all the Biſhops of *Britain* we commit to your Brotherhood; That the Ignorant may be Taught, the Weak by perſwaſions ſtrengthned, and the perverſe corrected by our Authority; The remaining Queſtions, concerning Women with Child, and other unneceſſary, if not immodeſt things, I omit.

This Year alſo, according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *Ceolric*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons* dying, *Ceolfus*, or *Ceulphus* ſucceeded him, and Reigned Twenty Four Years.

This Year *Redwald*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*, dying, his Son *Eorpenwald* Reigned in his ſtead, as *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates.

Anno Dom. DXCIX.

Anno Dom. DC.

But *Bede* proceeds to tell us, That *Auguſtine* having ſettled his Archiepiſcopal See at *Canterbury*, rebuilt that old Church which had been firſt erected by the *Chriſtian Romans*, and having dedicated it in the Name of *Chriſt* our Saviour, he appointed it as a See for himſelf and his Succeſſours; he likewiſe founded a Monaſtery towards the *Eaſt*, not far from the City, where alſo *Ethelbert*, by his perſwaſion, built the Church of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; in which the Bodies of St. *Auguſtine* himſelf, and of all the other Biſhops of *Canterbury*, as alſo of the Kings of *Kent* ſhould be interred: *Peter* a Presbyter was made the firſt Abbot of this Monaſtery, who was drown'd going on a Meſſage into *France*; but *Auguſtine* never lived to to finiſh this Church, which was afterwards Conſecrated by Arch-Biſhop *Laurence* his Succeſſour.

Ibid.

But the Reader is deſired to take notice, That according to a fair, but indifferent ancient Manuſcript, concerning the Foundation of the Church and Monaſtery of St. *Peter* and S. *Paul* (afterwards called St. *Auguſtine*'s) in *Canterbury*, which is now preſerved in the Library of *Trinity Hall* in *Cambridge* (part of which is printed in * Sir *H. Spelman*'s Vol. of Councils) it appears that though the Cathedral of *Chriſt Church* be firſt mentioned by *Bede*; yet that according to the ſame Author, it was not the firſt built, but rather the Church of St. *Pancrace*, which from a Heathen Temple was turned into a Chriſtian Church, where King *Ethelbert* himſelf was Baptized; and upon the ground belonging to which, the Church and Monaſtery of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* were firſt founded, as hath been already related from *Bede*.

* P. 111. & *Dein.*

Anno Dom. DCI.

Auguſtine having about this time ſent the Pope word, that the Harveſt indeed was great, but the Labourers few, he therefore ſent him more Preachers of the Word; among whom the chiefeſt were *Mellitus*, *Juſtus*, *Paulinus*, and *Rufinian*; and with them all thoſe things which were neceſſary for the Service or Ornament of the Church, (ſuch as) Holy Veſſels and Altar-Cloaths, as alſo Sacerdotal Veſtments, together with divers Relicts, and a great many Books; he alſo ſignified to him in his Letters, That he had ſent him an Archiepiſcopal Pall; and thereby he gives him power to ordain Twelve other Biſhops in ſeveral places, all which ſhould be ſubject to his juriſdiction; only the Biſhop of *London* was to be choſen

Anno Dom. DCI.

choſen by his own Synod, and ſhould receive his Pall from the Apoſtolic See (for it ſeems the Pope then intended *London* for an Arch-biſhoprick, but as for *York* (when converted) he gives him power to ordain whom he pleaſed Biſhop there; who ſhould likewiſe ordain Twelve Biſhops more, and ſhould enjoy the honour of a Metropolitan; yet ſo, that as long as *Auguſtine* lived, he ſhould be ſubject to him, but after his Deceaſe, he ſhould not be at all ſubject to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, or any other Biſhop; only, that he ſhould have the precedence who was firſt ordained; then exhorts him to tranſact all things by a common conſent, yet gives him a juriſdiction over all the Biſhops of *Britain*, that they might learn how to perform their duties, as well by his Inſtruction as Example; this Letter bears date in the Eighteenth Year of the Emperour *Mauritius*, which falls out in the Year of our Lord Six[illegible], with which alſo the *Saxon* Annals agree; for under this very Year.

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They place Pope *Gregory's* ſending of the Pall to Arch Biſhop *Auguſtine*, with many holy Teachers to aſſiſt him: Sometime after the ſending theſe Meſſengers with theſe Letters, the Pope alſo writ other Letters to *Mellitus*, "Wherein he gives him Inſtructions concerning the Temples of Idols, "which the Pope would not have pull'd down, but only new Conſecrated by the ſprinkling of Holy Water, and erecting of new Altars; "and as for the Oxen that uſed to be ſacrificed to their falſe Gods, he "would have ſuch kind of Solemnities ſo to be obſerved, That on the "days of the Dedication of their Churches, or of the Holy Martyrs, "whoſe Relicts were there preſerved, Booths ſhould be made up of "boughs near the ſaid Churches, where having kill'd thoſe Oxen (that "were formerly wont to be ſacrificed) they might make merry, in giving "God thanks; ſince it was certain, that it ſhould be impoſſible to take "away all vain and Superſtitious cuſtoms at once, out of Men's minds ſo "prejudiced by long Education.

"At the ſame time alſo the Pope returned an Anſwer to other Letters "which *Auguſtine* had before wrote to him; wherein, having congratulated his great ſucceſs in the Converſion of the *Engliſh* Nation, and "alſo taking notice of the great Miracles that Almighty God had done "by him; he tells him, That though he may rejoyce in ſome meaſure "for that Heavenly gift, yet with ſuch a joy, as ought to be allay'd with "fear; for as he might rejoyce, that the Souls of the *Engliſh* were through "Miracles drawn to an inward Grace, ſo he ought to be afraid, leaſt by "the Miracles that were now wrought, his Mind might be puffed up by "vain Glory; Therefore that he ought ſtill to remember, that when the "Diſciples, returning from their preaching with joy, ſaid to their Heavenly Maſter, *Lord, in thy name the Devils be ſubject unto us*, they preſently received a rebuke; rejoyce not for this, but *rather rejoyce, that* "*your Names are written in Heaven.*

Bede alſo tells us, That Pope *Gregory* about this time ſent King *Ethelbert* many noble Preſents, together with a Letter full of good Advice and Inſtructions; "Exhorting him to cultivate that "Grace which he had received by the eſpecial providence of God; to "make haſte to propagate the Chriſtian Faith among his Subjects; to "increaſe the fervency of his own Feith, by furthering their Converſion, to deſtroy the Worſhip of Idols; to eſtabliſh the Manners of "his Subjects, in the purity of Life, by Exhorting, Encouraging, and "Correcting them, and by ſhewing himſelf an Example of good Works, "that ſo he may find his Reward in Heaven: Then propoſing to him the

Ibid.

"Example

Anno Dom. DCI.

" Example of *Conſtantine* the Emperour, who had freed the Common-" Wealth from Idols, to the Worſhip of our LORD *Jeſus Chriſt*, ad-" viſing him to hearken to, and perform the good Advice, which ſhould " be given him by *Auguſtine* the Biſhop, and that he ſhould not be " troubled in Mind, if he ſhould ſee any Terrours, or Prodigies from " Heaven, contrary to the ordinary courſe of the Seaſons, as Tempeſts, " Famine, and the like; ſince the Lord had already foretold that ſuch " things ſhould happen before the end of the World; then concludes " with wiſhing a more perfect Converſion of the whole Nation, and that " God would preſerve and perfect him in the Grace he had begun, and " after a courſe of many Years would receive him into the fellowſhip of " the Saints above. Theſe Letters bear the ſame date with the former, and ſo muſt be wrote in the ſame Year.

I have dwelt the longer on theſe things, to let you ſee that the primitive Chriſtian Temper, had not yet left the Biſhops of the *Roman* Church, thô infected with ſome Superſtitions.

Anno Dom. DCIII.

Bede *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 34.

Let us now return to our Civil Hiſtory, from which we have ſo long digreſſed: About this time, when *Ethelbert* and his People were wholly taken up in Acts of Piety, *Ethelfrid* ſtill govern'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; who being a Warlike Prince, and moſt ambitious of Glory, had waſted the *Britains* more than any other *Saxon* King of his time; winning from them divers large Territories, which he either made Tributary, or planted with his own Subjects: whence *Adian* (as *Bede* or *Ædan*, or *Ægthan*, as the *Saxon* Chronicle calls him) growing Jealous of *Ethelfred*'s great Succeſs, came againſt him with a great and powerful Army, to a place called *Degſa-ſtan* (or *Degſtan*) and was there routed, loſing moſt of his Men; but in this Battel *Theobald* the Brother of *Ethelfrid* was ſlain, that part or wing of the Army which he commanded, being unfortunately cut off; yet nevertheleſs the loſs was ſo great on the *Scotiſh* ſide; that no King of the *Scots* durſt any more in hoſtile manner march into *Britain*, to the time that *Bede* wrote his Hiſtory, which was above a Hundred Years after: He alſo tells us, That this happned in the firſt Year of the Reign of the Emperour *Phocas*. *Buchanan* in his *Scotch* Hiſtory writes, that this *Ethelfrid* aſſiſted by *Keawlin* (whom he miſtiles King of the *Eaſt*, inſtead of the *Weſt-Saxons*) had before this time fought a Battel with this *Adtan*, wherein *Cutha*, *Keawlin*'s Son was ſlain; but neither the *Saxon* Chronicle, nor any of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians mention any ſuch thing; for this *Cutha* (as appears by the ſaid Chronicle) was ſlain in the Year 584. fighting againſt the *Welſh*. *

k King of [illegible] Scots

* of whose King [illegible]
[illegible] certain account [illegible]
[illegible] Brockmail
[illegible] King or General
of the Britains [illegible]
Saxons [illegible]
[illegible] fight [illegible]
[illegible] victory [illegible]
west [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] after [illegible]
one Cadwan [illegible]
made King of the
Welsh, or Britains
[illegible]

Anno Dom. DCIV.

Id. Lib. 11. *c.* 3.

Sax. Ann.

The number of Chriſtians beginning now to multiply, not only in *Kent*, but other Countries; *Auguſtine* found it neceſſary to ordain two other Biſhops; *Mellitus* and *Juſtus*, ſending *Mellitus* to Preach the Goſpel to the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Saxons*, which was divided from that of *Kent* by the River *Thameſis*, (over which Nation, *Sebert*, the Son of *Richala*, the Siſter of K. *Ethelbert* then Reigned) thô under his Authority, for he had then the ſupreme command over all the Nations of the *Engliſh Saxons*, as far as the Banks of *Humber*; but when this Province had by the preaching of *Mellitus* received the Goſpel of Chriſt, K. *Sebert* (~~alſo baptized *Ethelbert*~~) cauſed the Church of St. *Paul* to be built at *London*, where *Mellitus* and his Succeſſours, ſhould fix their Epiſcopal See.

[illegible] baptized by the name of Ethelbert

But as for the other Biſhop *Juſtus*, *Auguſtine* ordained him Biſhop in the Kingdom of *Kent*, of a certain little City, then called *Roſcaeſter* (now

Rocheſter)

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Rocheſter) being about Twenty Miles from *Canterbury*, in which King *Ethelbert* built the Church of St. *Andrew*, and beſtowed good endowments on it.

Bede *Ib. c.* 2.

Hitherto *Auguſtine* had laboured only to convert Infidels; but now he took upon him, by vertue of his Archiepiſcopal, or rather Legatine Authority, which the Pope had conferr'd upon him, over all the Biſhops of *Britain*, (properly ſo called) to make a general Viſitation of his Province, and coming as far as the borders of *Wales*, (being aſſiſted by the power of King *Ethelbert*,) he ſummoned all the *Britiſh* Biſhops of the adjoyning Provinces, to a Synod, at a place called in *Bede*'s time, *Auguſtines Ake*, (or Oak) then Scituate on the confines of the *Wectii*, now the Dioceſs of *Worceſter*, and the *Weſt*; *Saxons* (ſuppoſed to be ſomewhere on the edge of *Worceſter-ſhire*,) and began to perſwade them by brotherly Admonitions, that they would maintain the Catholick Unity, and alſo joyn in the work of Preaching the Goſpel to the Infidel Nations.

Page 67.
* *Bucher de Canone Paſch.* 138, and 139. *Uſher*'s Religion of *Ireland*, c. 9. p. 93. Vi. *Dr. Stillingfleets anſwer to* S. C. p. 319, *&c.*

For there was then a great difference between them about the Rule of keeping *Eaſter*, which *Bede* tells us, The *Britains* did not keep at a right time; but obſerved it from the *Fourteenth* to the *Twentieth* Day of the Moon, which Computation is continued in a *Cycle* of Eighty Four Years; which account being ſomewhat obſcure, I ſhall, for the clearing of it, ſet down what the learned Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* hath given us upon this ſubject, in his *Hiſtorical Account of Church Government* (already cited in the laſt Book) where he takes notice, that this *Cycle* of Eighty Four Years, which was alſo called the *Roman Account*, * ſo lately as in Pope *Leo*'s Time, the *Scots* and *South Picts* uſed the ſame *Cycle*, from the time of their Converſion, and ſo did the *Britains*, without any manner of alteration; but about Eighty Years after the rending in pieces of the *Roman* Empire, the *Romans* having left off the uſe of that *Cycle*, took up another of Nineteen Years: which, though it was better in many reſpects, yet was new in theſe Parts, and made a great difference from the former; and when the *Romans* had uſed this new *Cycle* another Eighty Years, coming then to have to do with theſe *Northern* Nations, (who were yet ignorant of it) they would needs impoſe the uſe of it upon them, as a neceſſary condition of their Communion, and ſo bore them down with two things which were really falſe; one, that the *Romans* had received their *Cycle* by Tradition from St. *Peter*; the other, that it was made uſe of every where, except in theſe Iſlands; to the firſt of theſe Aſſertions, the *Scots*, for want of knowing better, oppoſed only the Authority of St. *John* for their *Cycle*; as to the other, they could not tell what to ſay; whereas in truth (though they did not know it) the *Roman* account came but an Age or two before from *Alexandria*, and was not yet received in all the *Weſtern Church*, no not in ſome Parts of *France* it ſelf; but that in uſe among the *Scots* was the ſame *Cycle* that they and the *Britains* had ever uſed ſince their Converſion; and was the ſame that was anciently uſed in the *Roman* Church.

Bede *Lib.* 3. 25. p. 235, 236.

Bucher Ibid.

any

But to return to *Bede*'s Relation of this Synod, where, when after a long Diſpute, the *Britiſh* Clergy could neither by Intreaties, nor Reproofs of *Auguſtine*, be brought to a Compliance, but that they would prefer their own old Traditions before the Conſent of the Chriſtian (*i. e.* the *Roman*) Church; the Arch-Biſhop (as *Bede* relates) offered to decide this Controverſie by a Miracle, deſiring that ſome ſick or impotent Perſon being brought before them, his Doctrine by whom the Man ſhould be

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be cured was to be followed, and believed to be from GOD; which when the other Party had at laſt, (thô unwillingly) conſented to, there was then found out a certain *Engliſh-man* who was quite blind, and being offered to the *Britiſh* Biſhops, could receive no Cure from them; when *Auguſtine*, moved by a juſt Neceſſity, prayed to GOD, That he would reſtore this blind Man to his Sight; whereupon he was immediately cured, and *Auguſtine* was cried up by all, as the only Diſpenſer of God's Word. Then the *Britains* confeſſed indeed, That they believed that the Doctrine which *Auguſtine* preached was the Truth; but that they could not, without the general Conſent of their own Nation, quit the ancient Rites and Cuſtoms of their Country; wherefore they deſired, that more of their Clergy being aſſembled, there ſhould be a General Synod held about it; which when it was agreed to, there came (~~as they relate~~) ſeveral *Britiſh* Biſhops, (their Annals relate them to have been Seven in all,) together with ſeveral Learned Men, eſpecially from the Monaſtery of *Bangor*, over which one *Dinoth* is ſaid to have been then Abbot, and in which there was ſo many Monks, all living by their own Labour, that being divided into ſeven Diviſions under as many Rectors, each of theſe Diviſions had not leſs than 300 Men.

But their Abbot *Dinoth*, and his Clergy, a little before their going to the aforeſaid Synod, went firſt to a certain Man both Holy and Wiſe, who led an Anchorite's Life among them, whom they asked, 'Whether 'they ſhould lay aſide their ancient Traditions at the Preaching of *Au*'*guſtine*,or no? Who made this Anſwer, *If he is a Man of God, follow him.* They ſaid, 'How ſhall we know this? He replied, *The Lord ſays,*" *Take* "*my Yoak upon you, for I am meek and humble in Heart: Perhaps that he himſelf beareth the Yoak of Chriſt, and offereth the ſame to be born of you; but if he be cruel and proud, it is apparent that he is not of God, neither need you to regard what he ſaith.* They ſaid again, 'But how ſhall we make a Diſco'very of that? He replied, *Contrive it ſo, that he and his Company may come firſt into the place of the Synod, and if he ſhall riſe up to you when you approach, know then that he is the Servant of Chriſt, and obediently hear him; but if he ſhall deſpiſe you, nor will riſe up to you, when you are more in number, let him be ſlighted by you alſo.* They did as he directed them; and it fell out that *Auguſtine* bearing himſelf as the Pope's Legate, and their *Metropolitan*, as they drew near ſate ſtill in his Chair; which when they ſaw, they grew preſently angry, accuſing him of Pride, and endeavouring in all Things he ſaid to contradict him. But

He began thus to diſcourſe to them: *Whereas ye do many Things contrary to our received Cuſtoms, and the Conſent of the Catholick Church; nevertheleſs, if ye will obey me in theſe few Things, to wit, That ye celebrate* Eaſter *in its proper Time; That ye perform the Miniſtery of Baptiſm according to the Cuſtom of the Holy* Roman *Apoſtolick Church; That ye preach the Word of GOD together with us to the* Engliſh *Nation: Then, as for all other Things which ye practiſe, although contrary to our Cuſtoms, we will quickly tolerate them.* But they made anſwer, 'That they would do none of thoſe Things, 'neither would they acknowledge him for their Arch-Biſhop. And diſcourſing further among themſelves, they ſaid, 'If he would not juſt 'now riſe up unto us, how much more, when we ſhall be ſubject to 'him, will he then look upon us as nothing? To whom *Auguſtine* is reported thus threatningly to have denounced againſt them: *If ye will not now accept of Peace with your Brethren, ye are like to find War from your Ene-*

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Enemies; and ſince ye would not preach the Way of Life to the Engliſh *Nation, ye ſhall ſuffer by their hands the Puniſhment of Death.* Which in every Thing (the Divine Judgment concurring) was fulfilled as he had foretold; thô *Bede* here further tells us, that *Auguſtine* lived not to ſee the Iſſue of this Prediction, for he died a good while before; but of this, we ſhall ſpeak in its due time: And though *Bede* places the fulfilling of this Prediction immediately after its Relation, yet ſince I intend to refer every thing to its proper Time wherein it happened, I ſhall defer the ſpeaking of this for ſome Years.

Vi. Spelman's *Concil. p.* 108.

But Sir *Henry Spelman*, out of an ancient *Britiſh* Manuſcript of Mr. *Peter Moſtyn*'s, a *Welſh* Gentleman, gives us a much more particular Account of the Anſwer which the Abbot of *Bangor* then made to Arch-Biſhop *Auguſtine*, which being Tranſlated out of the *Welſh* Original, is to this effect. *Be it known, and without doubt, unto you, that we all are, and every one of us, obedient and ſubject to the Church of GOD, and the Pope of* Rome, *and to every godly Chriſtian, to love every one in his Degree in perfect Charity, and to help them by Word and Deed to be the Children of GOD: And other Obedience than this I do not know due to him, whom you name to be* Pope, *nor as the Father of Fathers, to be claim'd, and to be demanded. And this Obedience we are ready to give, and to pay to him, and to every Chriſtian continually: Beſides, we are under the Government of the Biſhop of* Caerleon *upon* Uske, *who is to overſee under GOD over us, to cauſe us to keep the way Spiritual.*

From whence we may obſerve, that the Chriſtian Religion came not firſt into *Britain* by the Preaching of any Perſons ſent from *Rome*, for then they would ſtill have owned Canonical Obedience to the Pope, as well as the *Engliſh* did afterwards; therefore it is moſt likely, according to the Traditions given you in the Second Book, that it was firſt preached and propagated here by ſome Apoſtle or Diſciple of the *Eaſtern* or *Aſiatick* Church: And thô a late *Romiſh* Writer very much arraigns the Credit of this Manuſcript, as made ſince the Days of King *Henry* the Eighth, and cavils at the *Welſh* thereof, as Modern, and full of falſe Spelling, yet is not this any material Exception againſt it; ſince the *Welſh* uſed in it is not ſo Modern as he would make it, as I am credibly informed by thoſe who are Criticks in that Language; and as for the Spelling, that may be the fault of the Tranſcribers: And thô the Archiepiſcopal See was then removed from *Caer-Leon* to St. *David*'s, yet it might ſtill retain the former Title, as of the firſt and moſt famous Place.

Anno Dom. DCV.

About which time Arch-Biſhop *Auguſtine* is ſuppoſed by the beſt * Chronologers to have departed this Life; thô the certain Year of his Death is not to be found, either in *Bede*, or the *Saxon* Chronicle. His Body was buried abroad near the Church of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, till that could be finiſhed and dedicated; which, as ſoon as that was done, was decently buried in the Porch on the North-ſide of the Church, in which were alſo buried all the ſucceeding Arch-Biſhops, except two, *viz. Theodore* and *Birthwald*, who were buried in the Church, becauſe the Porch would contain no more; but his Epitaph, thô it mentions his being ſent by the Pope to convert the *Engliſh* Nation, and his being the firſt Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; and that he died in the 7th of the Kalends of *June*, in the Reign of King *Ethelbert*; yet omits the Year of that King's Reign, as well as that of our Lord, in which he died; (I ſuppoſe, becauſe the Year of Chriſt was not then commonly made uſe

* *Vi.* Annales Baron. Florence *of* Worceſter.

of, either in the Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Accounts of that Time;) but of this, we ſhall treat further hereafter. *Anno Dom.* DCV.

Under this Year *Bede* alſo places the Death of Pope *Gregory* the Great, of whoſe Life and Actions he gives us a long Account, to which I refer you; but the *Saxon* Chronicle puts off the Death of this Pope to the next Year; but I rather follow *Bede* as the ancienter and more authentick Author.

Vi. Spelman's *Council*, 1 *Vol.* *p.* 118, 119, 120.

The ſame Year is alſo very remarkable for Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in this Iſland; for now King *Ethelbert* ſummoned a *Mycel Synod*, or Great Council, as well of the Clergy as Laity, wherein by their common Conſent and Approbation all the Grants and Charters of this King, whereby he had ſettled great Endowments on *Chriſt-Church*, and that of St. *Pancrace* in *Canterbury*, were confirmed, which last had been before the old ruinous Church of St. *Martin* without the City already mentioned; but the Charters now made and confirmed by King *Ethelbert* in this Council are almoſt word for word the ſame with thoſe he had made by himſelf before, with heavy Imprecations againſt any, who ſhould dare to infringe them, as you may ſee in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Firſt Volume of *Britiſh Councils*; where this Learned Author in his Notes farther ſhews us, that theſe Charters above-mentioned are very ſuſpicious of being forged in many reſpects; as Firſt, That this King there ſtiles himſelf King of the *Engliſh* in general, whereas indeed he was no more than King of *Kent*: Secondly, Becauſe the Year of our Lord is expreſſed at their Concluſion, which was not in uſe till long after: Beſides, an old Manuſcript of the Church of *Canterbury* ſays expreſly, That the Monks of that Monaſtery had their Lands and Priviledges by a long and peaceable Poſſeſſion according to Cuſtom, until King *Wightred*, *Anno Dom.* 693, made them a confirmation of all their Priviledges by a Charter ~~under his Seal~~ [illegible]. There are alſo other Exceptions againſt the Bull that is there recited ~~to be~~ as Arch-Biſhop *Auguſtine*'s, which you may ſee at large in thoſe Learned Notes above-mentioned.

In this great Council or Synod, among many other Secular Laws and Decrees, theſe deſerve particularly to be taken notice of; the firſt Law aſſigns the Penalty of Sacriledge, appointing what Amends is to be made for Things taken from a Biſhop, by a Reſtitution of nine times the value; from a Prieſt by a Ninth, and from a Deacon by a Threefold Reſtitution.

The Second Law is, That if the King ſummon'd his People, and any Man ſhould preſume then to do them Injury, he ſhall make double Amends to the Party, and beſides ſhall pay Fifty Shillings to the King.

The Third Law is, That if the King ſhall drink in a Man's Houſe, and there be any Injury done in his Preſence, the Party ſo doing it ſhall make double Satisfaction; the reſt that follow, ſince they belong only to the Correction of Manners, are omitted.

To theſe Laws *Bede* relates, when he ſays, That King *Ethelbert*, amongſt other good Things which he conferr'd upon his Nation, appointed certain Laws concerning Judgments, by the Councel of his wiſe Men, according to the Example of the *Romans*, which being written in the *Engliſh* Tongue, were yet kept and obſerved by them to this time; and then mentions ſome of thoſe Laws to the ſame effect as they are already expreſſed.

Anno Dom. DCVII. Ibid. cap. This Year was fulfilled Arch-Biſhop *Auguſtine*'s Prediction upon the *Britains*; for (as *Bede* and the *Saxon Annals* relate) *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland* now led his Army to *Leger-Ceaſter*, and there killed a great multitude of *Britains*, and ſo was fulfilled the Prophecy of *Auguſtine* above-mentioned; and there were then killed 200 Prieſts or Monks, who came thither to prey for the *Britiſh* Army; (but in *Florence* of *Worceſter*'s Copy it was 2200;) but *Brockmaile*, who was to be their Protector, eſcaped with about 50 Men.

Lib. 11. *H. Huntington* gives a more particular account of this Action, and ſays; That King *Ethelfrid*, having gathered together a powerful Army, made a great Slaughter of the *Britains* near the City of *Legions*, which is called by the Engliſh *Lege Ceſtre*, but more rightly by the Britains *Caerlegion*; ſo that it is evident it cannot be *Leiceſter*, as our common Hiſtorians write, but *Weſt-Cheſter*, which lay near the Borders of King *Ethelfrid*'s Kingdom, where this Battle was fought: This Author further adds, That when the King ſaw thoſe Prieſts or Monks of the Abby of *Bangor*, who came out to pray for the Army, ranged by themſelves in a place of Safety, having one *Brockmaile* for their Defender, and that the King knew for what end they came thither; he preſently ſaid, *If theſe Men pray to their GOD againſt us, though they do not make uſe of Arms, yet do they as really fight againſt us as, if they did:* And ſo he commanded his Forces to be firſt turned upon them, who being all cut off, he preſently defeated the reſt of the Army without any great difficulty; and he alſo agrees with *Florence* of *Worceſter*'s Relation of the number of the Monks there ſlain, and accuſes their Defender *Brockmaile* of Cowardice, who left the poor Monks, whom he was to defend, to be cut to pieces. But *William* of *Malmesbury* relates this Matter ſomewhat otherwiſe, thô he ſays expreſly, that this Fight was at *Cheſter*, (then in the hands of the *Britains*;) which when King *Ethelfrid* went about to beſiege, the Townſmen reſolving to ſuffer any thing rather than a Siege, truſting in their Numbers, ſallied out to fight, whom when by an Ambuſh laid near the City, he had eaſily overcome; he then falling upon the Monks, who were come in great Numbers to pray for the Succeſs of the *Britiſh* Army, of which (ſays this Author) there muſt certainly have been an incredible Number, ſince even in his time there were left ſuch vaſt Remains of Churches and Cloyſters, and ſo great a heap of Ruines, as you can ſcarce (ſays he) find any where elſe: The Place is called *Bangor*, which was then an Abby of Monks, but is now turned into a Biſhoprick; yet here our Author was miſtaken, for this *Bangor*, where the Monaſtery was, is in *Flintſhire*, not far from the River *Dee*; whereas that which is the Seat of the Biſhoprick is in *Caernarvanſhire*, not far from the River or Streight of *Menai*, which parts that Country from the Iſle of *Angleſey*. But of all theſe great Ruines mentioned by *Malmesbury*, there is now nothing left, ſave thoſe of the two principal Gates of this old City, the one of which is on that ſide towards *England*, and the other towards *Wales*, being about a Mile aſunder, the River *Dee* running betwixt them.

Lib. 1. cap.

But before we proceed further, it is fit we enquire into the Truth of that Story of *Geffery* of *Monmouth*, who will needs have Arch-Biſhop *Auguſtine* to have perſwaded King *Ethelbert* to incite *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland* thus to make War upon the *Britains*, and to deſtroy theſe Monks, as you have heard, in which he is alſo followed by other

later

Anno Dom. DCVII.

later Writers, and particularly by *Nicholas Trivet*, an ~~ancient Author~~, in his Hiſtory, (lately printed at *Paris* among the Collections of Monſieur *Dachery*;) as alſo by Arch-Biſhop *Parker*, Author of the *Latin* Hiſtory *De Antiquitate Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*; and likewiſe in Biſhop *Jewel*'s Apology; the former of which, thô *Bede* hath expreſly told us, that *Auguſtine* was dead long before this happened, yet will have theſe Words of *Bede* to have been foiſted in, contrary to the old *Saxon* Manuſcripts which is not ſo; for it is found in them all, thô not in the *Saxon* Verſion; but beſides the Reſpect which we ought to have for ſo good a Man as *Auguſtine* is ſuppoſed to have been, and which inclines us to believe, that it was not likely he ſhould have a Hand in ſo cruel an Action; I doubt not but to prove from other Arguments, (ſuppoſing this Paſſage of *Bede* not to be his,) that *Auguſtine* died about the Year 605, where I have already placed it. In the firſt place therefore, I ſhall not deny, that *William* of *Malmeſbury*, in his Firſt Book *De Geſt. Pontif. Anglor.* as well as divers other Hiſtorians of later Times, ſuppoſe *Auguſtine* to have ſate Arch-Biſhop 15 (and in ſome Copies 16) Years, and then he muſt certainly have ſurvived this Maſſacre of the Monks of *Bangor*; but if I can prove they were miſtaken in this Account, all that had been ſaid to prove *Auguſtine* guilty of it, will ſignifie nothing: For Firſt, *Bede* relates, that *Auguſtine*, being yet alive, ordained *Laurence* for his Succeſſor, leſt himſelf being dead, the yet weak State of that Church, if vacant, (thô for never ſo ſmall a time) might happen to ſuffer, which it muſt be ſuppoſed he did, when he found himſelf in a declining condition, and not like long to ſurvive. Now that this happened in the Year 605, may be alſo proved by theſe Circumſtances: *Bede* hath already told us, that *Auguſtine*, in the Year 604, had ordained *Mellitus* and *Juſtus* Biſhops; immediately after which Relation, follows that, concerning *Auguſtine*'s Death, which he would ſcarce have mentioned there, had not one followed the other within a ſhort time; and that it was ſo, appears in the Manuſcript Text of *Adrian*, the Abbot of *Canterbury*, who lived within leſs than 60 Years after, and who obtained a Priviledge from Pope *Deuſdedit*, concerning the Free Election of the Abbot of that Monaſtery, at the end of which there is this Paſſage: *Anno Dom.* 605. died the holy Biſhop *Gregory IV*^{o} *Idus Martii*, and in the ſame Year alſo Biſhop *Auguſtine VII*^{o} *Kal. Junii*; with whom alſo agree *Marianus*, *Scotus*, and *Florence* of *Worceſter*, in their Chronicles; the former of whom, under *Anno Dom.* 605, hath theſe Words: *Auguſtine* having ordained *Laurence* the Presbyter *Arch-Biſhop* in his ſtead, after a ſhort time departed to the Heavenly Kingdom; thô in *Florence*'s Copy it is placed under the Year 604, which Difference might eaſily happen by the careleſneſs of Tranſcribers. This is alſo obſerved by *Will. Thorne*, the Hiſtorian and Monk of *Canterbury*, (from an old Book of the *Life* and *Miracles* of this St. *Auguſtine*, that now is loſt,) who in his Chronicle ſays expreſly, That many have erred concerning the Death of St. *Auguſtine*, thinking him to have died *Anno Dom.* 613, The cauſe of which Errour is owing to the falſe Dates of ſome Chronicles, who make him to have ſate Arch-Biſhop Sixteen Years; whereas *Bede* in his ſecond Book ſays, That he ordained *Mellitus* and *Juſtus* to be Biſhops a little before his Death, and there gives us the ſame reaſon as I have already done; with whom alſo agrees an ancient Anonymous Chronicle in the Library at *Lambeth*; as alſo the ſhort Annals of the Church of *Rocheſter*, which contain the Succeſſions of the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury*, both

Lib. 2. *c.* 4.

Vi. *X. Script col.*

both which place the Death of Arch-Biſhop *Auguſtine*, and the Succeſſion of *Laurentius*, in *Anno Dom.* 604; but of this you may ſee more in the Firſt Volume of *Anglia Sacra*, publiſhed by the learned Mr. *Wharton* deceaſed; wherein you may alſo find a ſhort diſſertation on this Subject, and to whom I own my ſelf obliged for the light, I have had towards ſettling this obſcure Queſtion. Now having cleared Arch-Biſhop *Aguſtine*'s Memory of that Crime, which is laid to his Charge; I ſhall proceed to the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of this time.

Anno Dom. DCVIII.

Bede *Lib.* 2.

Laurentius, who ſucceeded *Auguſtine* in the See of *Canterbury*, having ſeen the *Engliſh* Church not only founded, but much encreaſed, began about this time to beſtow his Paſtoral care, not only upon the *Engliſh* and *Britiſh* Inhabitants of this Iſland, but alſo upon the *Scots* who inhabited *Ireland*; becauſe he knew that at that time they, as well as the *Britains*, did not obſerve *Eaſter* according to the *Nicene* Canon (the occaſion of which Controverſie I have already given you), Therefore the new Arch-Biſhop thought it fit to write an Epiſtle on purpoſe to the *Iriſh* Biſhops, wherein he exhorted them to maintain the Catholick Unity, in the obſervation of *Eaſter*; in which Letters this is remarkable, That they are directed to all the Biſhops, *per Univerſam Scotiam*, That is, through out all *Ireland* (for ſo it was then commonly called for near Four Hundred Years after this) and he therein complains of *Draganus* an *Iriſh* Biſhop, who coming over hither would not ſo much as Eat in the ſame Houſe with him; at which time alſo *Laurentius* wrote Letters, not only to his fellow Biſhops in *Ireland*, but alſo to the *Britiſh* Clergy in *Wales*, to the ſame purpoſe as the former; but how well he ſucceeded therein, the preſent time (ſays *Bede*) declares; about which Year alſo *Mellitus* Biſhop of *London* was ſent to *Rome* to confer with Pope *Boniface*, concerning the neceſſary Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church, when the Pope held a Synod at *Rome* with the Biſhops of *Italy*, concerning the Life and Converſation of the Monks, where he ſate with them: This Synod was held in the Eighth Year of Emperour *Phocas*, and the Biſhop at his return, brought back the Decrees of that Council, together with the Pope's Letters to Arch-Biſhop *Laurence*, and all the Clergy, as alſo to King *Ethelbert*, and the whole *Engliſh* Nation.

Anno Dom. DCXI.

Vi. *Monaſt. Ang.* *T.* 1. *p* 5.

This Year alſo, *Sebert* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, Founded the Church and Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, and *Mellitus* the Biſhop Dedicated it to St. *Peter*, thô for what Order of Monks is uncertain, ſince they were driven out aftet the Death of *Sebert*, by his Succeſſours, who continued Pagans for many Years after.

This Year (according to *Florence*) *Ceolwulf* dying, *Cynegils* began to Reign over the *Weſt Saxons*, (for Thirty One Years) being the Son of *Ceolric*, who was the Son of *Cutha*, who (as we have heard) was ſlain fighting againſt the *Britains* ſome Years before.

Anno Dom. DCXIV.

Cynegils and *Cwichelme*, fought againſt the *Britains* at *Beamdune* (now *Bindon* in *Dorſetſhire*;) and there ſlew Two Thouſand and Forty Six Men; which Battel *H. Huntington* thus deſcribes; The *Saxon* and *Britiſh* Troops being drawn up in Battel Array, the Fight immediately began, when the *Britains* fearing the weight of the *Saxon* Battel Axes, and long Launces, turn'd their backs, and fled; ſo that the *Saxons* obtain'd the Victory, without any great loſs on rheir ſide; and he alſo agrees pretty near in the number of the ſlain, with our *Saxon* Annals; This *Cwichelme* here mentioned is by *Will.* of *Malmeſbury* ſaid to be Brother of *Cynegils*, and to be by him taken as his Partner in the Royal Power. But *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Mat. Weſtminſter* do make *Cwichelme* to have been the Son of *Cinegils*, thô the former Opinion be the more likely; but let it be either of them, it is certain that they were both of them Stout and good natured Perſons, who governed with that mutual Love and Concord, as it was a wonder to the Age in which they liv'd, ſo ought it to be an example to all future times.

Anno Dom. DCXIV.

Thô the Cathedral of *Chriſt Church* in *Canterbury*, had been already built about Twenty Years; yet it ſeems the Monaſtery adjoyning to it was not founded till this Year, as appears not only from the Manuſcript above mentioned (once belonging to the Monaſtery of St. *Auguſtine*) but alſo from *Will.* of *Malmesbury*; that in the time of Arch-Biſhop *Laurence*, and about this very Year that it was firſt repleniſhed with Monks, as appears by a Letter of Pope *Boniface* to King *Ethelbert*; whereby he approves of, and confirms the Foundation of the ſaid Abby, by the ſaid Arch-Biſhop; which Letter, though *Will.* of *Malmesbury* had promiſed to recite, yet being by him forgot, or elſe ommitted in our Printed Copies, is to be found at large in the ſaid Manuſcript; concerning which Monaſtery the aforecited Author farther adds, "That though ſome had ſaid that Arch-Biſhop "*Ælfric* had thruſt out the Clerks (*i. e.* ſecular *Chanons*) out of that "Church, and had placed Monks in their rooms, yet was it not at all "probable, ſince it appeared by the ſaid Epiſtle of Pope *Boniface*, that "there had been Monks in the Church of St. *Saviour*, from the firſt "foundation of that Monaſtery, in the time of Arch-Biſhop *Laurence*, "who ſucceeded St. *Auguſtine*.

Anno Dom. DCXV.

De Juſt. Pont f. Lib. 1.

But it hath been denyed, by Cardinal *Baronius*, in his Annals, as alſo by ſome later Antiquaries, of what Order theſe Monks were, whom *Auguſtine* and *Laurentius* placed in theſe two Monaſteries above mention'd; and that a late ingenious Authour in his Preface to a Treatiſe, called *Notitia Monaſtica*, hath queſtioned whether they were of the *Benedictine* Order, ſince he rather ſuppoſes, That the *Benedictine* Rule was ſcarce heard of in *England*, till ſome Hundreds of Years after, and never perfectly obſerved, till after the Conqueſt; but he ſhould have done well to have told us, what other Order they were of, ſince the general Tradition in moſt of the Ancient *Engliſh* Monaſteries of the *Benedictine* Order, was, That they had obſerved that Rule from their firſt foundation: And the *Saxon* Annals under the Year 509, do expreſly affirm, *That St.* Benedict, *the Father of all the Monks dyed that Year:* And he had long before his Death founded his Order in *Italy*, and of which *Auguſtine* himſelf is ſuppoſed to have been: and though I alſo acknowledge, that all the ancient Monaſteries of *England* were not at firſt of that Order, ſince thoſe that were founded in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, by the Biſhops *Aidan* and *Coleman* followed the ſame Rule with the Monks of *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, *viz.* That of St. *Baſil*, which all the *Eaſtern* Monks did then, and do to this day obſerve; yet even theſe did about an Hundred Years after quit that Rule, and follow the more Modern one of St. *Benedict*; and therefore **Stephen Heddie**, in his * Life of St. *Wilfred* Biſhop of *York*, (lately publiſhed by the learned Dr. *Gale*,) hath expreſly told us, That the ſaid Biſhop returning home into his own Country (*i. e.* the Kingdom of *Northumberland*) and carrying along with him the Rule of St. *Benedict*, very much improved the Conſtitutions of God's Churches; by which he meant the Monaſteries of thoſe Parts: And therefore the

aneſti ne.

Anno Dom. ~~DCXV.~~

Chronology once belonging to the Abby of St. *Auguſtine*'s in *Canterbury*, (printed in the *Decem ſcriptores* after *Will. Thornes* Chronicle) under *Anno* 666, upon very good grounds thus obſerves, That this Year Biſhop *Wilfred* cauſed the Rule of St. *Benedict* to be obſerved in *England*, That is in the *North* Parts, into which he then went; for if that Rule had not been obſerved in the *Southern* Parts before, How could it be ſaid that he carried it out from thence along with him? but to conclude; there having been a diſpute among the *Roman* Catholicks beyond the Seas, about Seventy Years ago concerning this matter; ſome of them affirming, that all the ancient *Engliſh* Monks, before the Conqueſt were of the Order of St. *Equitius*, or elſe of ſome other Order; whereupon thoſe of the *Benedictine* Order wrote over to our Antiquaries in *England*, (*viz.*) Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *H. Spelman*, Mr. *Camden*, and Mr. *Selden*; appealing to their Judgment herein: From whom they received a Letter under all their Hands, wherein they expreſly certified, that there was never any ſuch Order as that of St. *Equitius*; and further affirm, That there were only Two Orders of Monks in uſe amongſt our Anceſtours of the *Engliſh Saxon* Church; One of thoſe who followed the Rites of the *Ægyptian* Monks, and the other of *Benedictine*'s who came over with *Auguſtine*, and ſo continued from that time to their diſſolution under King *Henry* the Eighth; to which Letter, or Certificate, all the ſaid learned Perſons above mentioned did put their Hands, as appears by the Certificate it ſelf; which you will find Printed in *Clem. Reyner. de Appoſtolatu Benedictini* in *Anglia*. This, though perhaps it may ſeem an impertinent digreſſion to ſome; yet, I hope, will not prove ſo to thoſe, who are lovers of Ecleſiaſtical Antiquities.

Coll. 2229.

P. 220.

An. Dom. DCXVI

I find little ~~[illegible]~~ certain concerning the Princes of the Brittains or welsh during those times. onely that King Cadvan now deceasing Cadwalla his son succeeded him Hist. MS: Rob. Vaughan

This Year *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* dyed, who was the firſt *Engliſh* King that received Baptiſm; *Bede* tells us, That this King dyed above Twenty Years after his Converſion, and was buried in St. *Martin*'s Porch, in the Church of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; after whoſe deceaſe *Eadbald* his Son ſucceeded to him in the Kingdom. The beginning of whoſe Reign I ſhall give you out of *Bede*, being much more particular than that in the Chronicle.

This King did not only refuſe the Faith of *Chriſt*, but alſo polluted himſelf with ſuch Fornication, which the Apoſtle ſays, ought not to be heard of among the Gentiles, in that he Married his Father's Wife; by which wickedneſs he gave occaſion to thoſe to return to their former Heatheniſm, who had embraced Chriſtianity in his Father's Reign, either out of Fear, or hopes of Favour; thô God's Judgments were not wanting to Correct this Infidel King, for he was tormented with frequent fits of Frenſie, and the poſſeſſion of an unclean Spirit; but the Death of *Sebert* King of the *Eaſt Saxons*, happening alſo about this time, extremely encreaſed the preſent Storm of Afflictions; for he left Three Sons Heirs to his Kingdom, who all relapſed to *Paganiſm*, having in their Father's lifetime ſeemed *Chriſtians*, but now permitted all their Subjects the free licence of worſhiping Idols; and when they ſaw the Biſhop Adminiſtring the Euchariſt to the People in the Church, they thus ſpoke to him in their Barbarous folly; "Why doſt thou not give us this White Bread, which "thou wert wont to Miniſter to our Father? To whom the Biſhop re- "plyed, That they muſt firſt be waſhed in that ſaving *Font*, in which "their Father had been Baptiſed, and then they might partake of the "ſame Bread; which though they deny'd to do, yet would they not deſiſt from requiring this Bread at his hands; which he ſtill refuſing them, *Anno Dom.* DCXVII

him

they then plainly told him, That if he would not yield to them in ſo ſmall a matter, he muſt not ſtay any longer in their Dominions; and ſo commanded ~~them~~ to be gone; who being thus expelled, went thence into *Kent* to conſult with the Biſhops *Laurentius* and *Juſtus*, what was beſt to be done on this occaſion; where it was decreed by *common Conſent*, That it was better that all of them ſhould return into their own Countrey, there to ſerve God with freedom of Conſcience, than to live without any Fruit of their Labours amongſt ſuch Barbarous Rebels to the Chriſtian Faith; thereupon *Mellitus* and *Juſtus* departed firſt, and went into *France*, there reſolving to expect the iſſue of theſe things; but not long after, theſe Three Princes, who had driven out a Preacher of the Truth, and relapſed to the Worſhip of Idols, marching out to Battel againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*, were all cut off, together with their Army: However, though the Authors of this Apoſtacy were deſtroyed, yet the common people being once inured to wickedneſs, could not eaſily be brought back to the Faith of Chriſt.

Bede, *Ibid.*

But when *Laurentius* was about to leave *Britain*, to follow *Mellitus* and *Juſtus*, he ordered a Pallet to be laid for him in the Church of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, on which (after many Prayers and Tears poured forth to God, he laid down to take his reſt; where, (if credit may be given to *Bede's* relation) St. *Peter*, in whoſe Church he had ſpent great part of the Night in watching and Prayer, appeared to him, and to make the Viſion more ſenſible, gave him many ſtripes for thus offering to deſert his Flock; at ſight whereof the King (to whom next morning he ſhewed the marks of what he had ſuffered, and by whom, and for what cauſe) relenting, in great fear renounced his Inceſtuous Marriage, and applied himſelf to the Chriſtian Faith more ſincerely than before, together with all his People; but the *Londoners* refuſing again to receive their Biſhop *Mellitus*, this King had not ſo much power as his Father to force them to it, whether they would or not; yet nevertheleſs, he with all his Nation, from the time that he was thus re-converted to Chriſt, endeavoured wholly to ſubmit himſelf to the Divine Precepts, and then near the Monaſtery of the Apoſtles built a Church, in honour of the bleſſed Virgin, which was conſecrated by Archbiſhop *Mellitus*: But to return again to Civil Affairs.

Id. Ibid.

This Year alſo *Edwin*, of the Blood-Royal of *Northumberland*, having been forced to fly from *Ethelfrid*, then King of that Countrey, had wander'd for ſome Years as a baniſhed Man, through divers Kingdoms, till at laſt he took refuge with *Redwald*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, beſeeching him to ſave his Life from ſo cruel and unjuſt a Perſecution; who thereupon receiving him into his protection, granted his Requeſt; but whilſt he thus ſojourned with King *Redwald*, he had a Viſion or Apparition, which was the cauſe of his future Converſion, and which though it looks very much like a Monkiſh Legend, yet ſince it is related by ſo grave an Author as *Bede*, I ſhall here from him ſet down.

So ſoon as *Ethelfrid* heard where *Edwin* was, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Redwald*, offering him a great Sum of Money to put him to death; which being refuſed, he ſtill repeated, and increaſed his offers, twice or thrice threatning War, if he were refuſed; till at laſt the King being either prevailed upon by his great proffers, or terrified by his threatnings, yielded, promiſing either to kill *Edwin*, or to deliver him to his Ambaſſadors; which when a certain Friend of *Edwin's*, then near the King, *Anno Dom.* DCXVI.

came to know, the firſt hour of the Night he went in haſte to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better ſecreſy, revealed to him his Danger, and offer'd him his Aid to make his Eſcape, where neither *Redwald* nor *Ethelfrid* ſhould ever find him: But he not approving of that courſe, as ſeeming diſhonourable, without more manifeſt cauſe to begin firſt to diſtruſt one who ſo long had been his only Refuge, choſe rather to dye by his Hand, than by any other more Ignoble: Whereupon his Friend departing, *Edwin* being thus left alone without the Palace-Gate, full of ſad and perplexed Thoughts, diſcerns about the dead of Night a man approaching towards him, neither by Countenance nor Habit to him known, who after a ſhort Salutation asked him, 'Why at this Hour, when all others were at Reſt, he alone ſate ſo ſadly waking on a cold ſtone? *Edwin* wondering not a little who he might be, asked him again, *What his ſitting within doors or without, concerned him?* To whom he again replied, 'Think not that who thou art, or why ſitting here, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown. But what would you promiſe to that man who would free you out of all theſe Troubles, and perſuade *Redwald* not to moleſt you, nor give you up to your Enemies? *All that I am able*, anſwered *Edwin* to the Unknown: Then he proceeds thus; 'What if the ſame Perſon ſhould promiſe to make you greater than any *Engliſh* King hath been before you? *I ſhould not doubt*, replied *Edwin*, *to be anſwerably Grateful.* 'But what if to all this he would inform you (ſaith the other) of a way to Happineſs beyond what any of your Anceſtors had known? Would you hearken to his Counſel? *Edwin*, without any Heſitancy, promiſed he would. Then the other, laying his right Hand on his Head, ſaid, 'When this Sign ſhall next befall you, remember this Night, and this Diſcourſe; nor defer to perform what thou haſt now promiſed. And with theſe words diſappearing, he was not only convinced that it was not a Man, but a Spirit that had thus talked with him: But the Royal Youth was alſo much revived, when on the ſudden his Friend, who had been gone all this while to liſten farther what was like to be reſolved concerning him, comes back, and joyfully bids him go to his Repoſe, for that the King's Mind, tho for a while drawn aſide, was now fully reſolved, not only never to betray him, but to defend him againſt all his Enemies, as he had promiſed: In ſhort, the King was as good as his word, and not only refuſed to deliver him up, but alſo raiſing Forces, thereby helped him to regain his Kingdom: For the next Year, as the *Saxon* Annals relate,

C.5 *Anno Dom.* DCXVII.

> '*Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, was ſlain by *Redwald* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*; and *Eadwin* the Son of *Ælla* ſucceeded him (in that Kingdom), who ſubjected all *Britain* to him, (except only *Kent*): He alſo baniſhed the Royal Youths, the Sons of *Ethelfrid*, (*viz.*) *Ealfrid* the eldeſt Son, as alſo *Oſwald* and *Oſwin*; with many other Princes, whoſe Names would be tedious here to be repeated.

But *Will.* of *Malmesbury* gives us a more particular Account of this Fight; and that ſince War had been denounced by *Ethelfrid*, upon his refuſing to deliver *Edwin*, that thereupon *Redwald* determin'd to be beforehand with the Danger, and with an Army raiſed on the ſudden, ſurprize *Ethelfrid* (being not aware of an Invaſion), and in a Fight near to the Eaſt ſide of the River *Idel*, on the *Mercian* Border (now in *Nottinghamſhire*) ſlew him, diſpatching eaſily thoſe few Forces which he had got to march out over-haſtily with him; who yet (as a Teſtimony that his

Anno Dom. DCXVII.

Fortune, and not his Valour, was to be blamed) ſlew with his own Hands *Reiner* the King's Son. And *H. Huntington* adds, That this Battle was ſo great and bloody, that the River *Idel* was ſtained with the Blood: And that the Forces of King *Redwald* being very well drawn up, the King of the *Northumbers*, as if he had been ſure of the Victory, ruſhing in among the thickeſt Ranks, ſlew *Reiner* (above-mentioned,) and wholly routed that Wing of the Army: But *Redwald* not terrified with ſo great a Blow, but rather more incenſed, renewed the Fight with the two remaining Bodies, which being not to be broken by the *Northumbers*, *Ethelfrid* having got among the thickeſt of his Enemies, further than he ought in Prudence to have done, was after a great Slaughter there ſlain, upon which his whole Army fled; but his two Sons, (by *Acca*, King *Edwin*'s Siſter,) *Oſwald*, and *Oſwi*, eſcaped into *Scotland*. This End had King *Ethelfrid*, a Prince moſt skilful in War, thô utterly ignorant of the Chriſtian Religion. By this Victory *Redwald* became ſo far Superiour to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Bede* reckons him as the next after *Ælla*, and *Ethelbert*, who had all *England* on this ſide *Humber* under his Obedience.

But to look back a little to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; about this time *Laurentius* the Archbiſhop died, and was buried near *Auguſtine* his Predeceſſor; to whom ſucceeded *Mellitus*, who was Biſhop of *London*; this *Mellitus* is related by *Bede*, to have by his Prayers ſtopp'd a great Fire in *Canterbury*, by cauſing the Wind to blow the quite contrary way to what it did before; which at laſt quite falling, the Fire ceaſed with it. He ſat Archbiſhop only five Years.

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This Year *Cadwallo* is ſuppoſed by *Radulphus de Diceto* to have ſucceeded his Father *Cadwan* in the Kingdom of *Britain*; though ſome of the *Welſh* Chronicles make him to have began to reign four Years before. But as for *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, who gives a large and very improbable Account of this King's Martial Actions, (and therefore needleſs to be here repeated,) it is not his Cuſtom to cite any Authors, nor give any Year or Account when his Kings began to reign, or when they died.

Anno Dom. DCXXIV.

Bede, *l.* II. *c* 8.

An. DCXXV.

Ib. chap. 9.

This Year *Mellitus* deceaſed, and was buried with his Predeceſſors; to whom immediately ſucceeded *Juſtus*, who had been hitherto Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, but the Year following *Paulinus*, a *Roman*, was conſecrated by *Juſtus* to be Biſhop of the *Northumbers*; for *Bede* tells us, he had before received Authority from Pope *Boniface* to ordain what Biſhops he pleaſed, and as the preſent occaſion ſhould require; the Pope ſending alſo a Pall to beſtow upon him at the ſame time. To this Year *Bede* alſo refers the Converſion of the *Northumbers*, (that is, all thoſe *Engliſh-Saxons* who lived North of the River *Humber*,) together with *Edwin* their King, to the Chriſtian Faith; who, as an earneſt of his future Faith, had the Power of his Empire already ſo encreaſed, that he took the utmoſt Borders of *Britain* under his Protection; but the occaſion of his Converſion was through his Alliance with the King of *Kent*, by his marrying *Ethelburga* the Daughter of King *Ethelbert*; whom, when he ſent to deſire of her Brother *Eadbald*, for his Wife, it was anſwered, That it was not Lawful to beſtow a Chriſtian Virgin in Marriage with a Heathen: Which, when the Meſſengers related [illegible] to King *Edwin*, he promiſed he would act nothing contrary to that Faith which the Virgin profeſſed, but would rather permit a free exerciſe of her Religion to all thoſe Prieſts and others, who ſhould attend her: Neither did he deny to receive the ſame Religion himſelf, provided, (upon a juſt Examination,) it ſhould appear more Holy, *Anno Dom.* DCXXV. and worthy of GOD. Upon theſe Terms the Lady was ſent to *Edwin*, and *Paulinus* being ordained Biſhop, (as was before reſolved on,) was ſent as a Spiritual Guardian to the Virgin; who, when he came to King *Edwin's* Court, uſed his utmoſt Endeavour to convert the Pagans to the Chriſtian Faith, but to little purpoſe for a long time, tho' at laſt he prevailed by this occaſion. For the year following,

Anno Dom. DCXXVI. When *Cuichelme*, (at that time one of the two *Weſt-Saxon* Kings,) envious of the growing Greatneſs of King *Edwin*, ſent privily one *Eomer*, an hired Cut-Throat, to aſſaſſinate him; He, under pretence of delivering a Meſſage from his Maſter, with a poyſon'd Weapon ſtabs at *Edwin* whil'ſt he was diſcourſing with him in his Houſe, (by the River *Derwent* in *Yorkſhire*,) on an Eaſter-day; which *Lilla*, one of the King's Attendants, at the lucky inſtant perceiving, having no other Means to defend him, interpoſed his own Body to receive the Blow, thrô which, notwithſtanding, it reached the King's Perſon, with a dangerous Wound; the Murtherer being now encompaſſed with many Swords, and made more deſperate by his own Danger, ſlew another of the King's Servants in the ſame manner.

That Night the Queen brought forth a Daughter, who was called *Eanfled*; and when the King, in the preſence of *Paulinus*, gave Thanks to his Gods for the Birth of his Daughter, the Biſhop, on the contrary, gave Thanks to our Lord *Chriſt*, that the Queen was ſafely delivered by his Prayers: At which, the King, being well pleaſed, promiſed the Biſhop to renounce his Idols, and become the Servant of *Chriſt*, if he would grant him Life, and Victory againſt that King who had thus ſent a Murtherer to kill him; and as an earneſt thereof, he gave his new-born Daughter to be bred up in that Religion; who, with 12 other of his Family, on the day of *Pentecoſt*, was baptiſed; and by that time, being well recovered of his Wound, to puniſh the Authors of ſo foul a Fact, he march'd with an Army againſt the *Weſt Saxons*; whom having ſubdued, and put ſome of thoſe to Death who had conſpired againſt him, and received others to Mercy, he return'd home victorious.

But I cannot omit here taking notice of a great Miſtake in *Mat. Weſtminſter's Flores Hiſtoriarum*, who, under this Year, makes K. *Cuichelme*, abovementioned, to have been kill'd in this Battle, though from what Authority I know not; whereas it will appear by our Annals, that he was alive, and Chriſtned near ten Years after.

But thô after this Victory K. *Edwin* forbore to worſhip Idols, yet ventured he not preſently to receive Baptiſm, but firſt took care to be inſtructed aright by the Biſhop *Paulinus* in the Principles of the Chriſtian Faith; ſtill conferring with himſelf, and others of his chief Men whom he thought moſt wiſe, what was beſt to be done in ſo weighty an Affair; and he himſelf, being a Man of a piercing Underſtanding, when he was alone often conſidered with himſelf which Religion was beſt to be followed.

Ib. m, c. 10. About this time alſo he received Letters from the Pope, wherein 'having briefly ſet forth the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, as the Foundation 'of the Chriſtian Faith, and having extolled the Converſion of King *Eadbald*, and Piety of the Queen his own Wife, he exhorts him to imitate 'their Examples, and caſting away his Idols to receive Chriſt. The Pope writ alſo Letters at the ſame time to Queen *Ethelburga* his Wife,' wherein 'he congratulated her Converſion, and praiſed her Piety, exhorting her

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'to perſiſt in the Courſe ſhe had begun, and to do her Endeavour to re-'claim her Husband from his Infidelity. But thô the King joyfully received theſe Letters, yet did they not ſo much prevail with him, as the wonderful fulfilling of the Prediction of the Viſion above-mentioned; for when the King ſtill deferred the declaring himſelf a Chriſtian, Biſhop *Aidan* (as it is ſuppoſed) had that Tranſaction revealed to him; for one day coming in to the King, on a ſudden he laid his Hand upon his Head, and deſired him to *remember that Sign*; whereupon the King being much ſurpriſed, fell down at his Feet, but the Biſhop raiſing him up, ſaid thus: *GOD hath delivered you from your Enemies, and given you the Kingdom as you deſired; perform now what ſo long ſince you promiſed him, and receive his Doctrine, which I now bring you, and that Faith which will not only ſave your Soul from perpetual Torments, but alſo make you a Partaker of* **Eternal Happineſs.* Which, when the King heard, he confeſſed, 'That he would, nay, 'ought to receive this Faith; but (*ſaid he*) I muſt firſt conſult further 'with my chief Friends, and Councellors, concerning this Matter, that if 'they ſhould likewiſe receive it, we might all be Converted, and Bapti-'zed together. Which *Paulinus* agreeing to, and the King there holding a Council with his wiſe Men, asked them ſeverally, 'What they thought 'of this new Doctrine and Worſhip, which had been as yet unknown 'among them? To whom *Coifi*, chief of the Idol-Prieſts, preſently anſwered; *You may, Sir, conſider what is now preached to you, but to tell you freely my Opinion, the Religion we profeſs is good for nothing; for although no Man hath more ſtudiouſly obſerved the Worſhip of our Gods than my ſelf, yet nevertheleſs there are many who have received greater Benefits and Dignities from you than I have done, and have been more Happy and Proſperous in all their Undertakings; whereas, if theſe Gods had any Power, they would rather have aſſiſted me, who took ſuch care to ſerve them: Wherefore if, upon a good Examination, you find, that the New Doctrine now preached is far better than the Old, let us then receive it without delay.* To which Opinion, another of the great Men alſo yielding his Aſſent, further ſaid; *It ſeems, Sir, to me, that the preſent Life of Man upon Earth, in compariſon of that Time which to us is unknown, is like unto a little Sparrow, which, whilſt you feaſted in your Preſence-Chamber, flew in at one Window, and out at another; we ſaw it that ſhort time it remained in the Houſe, and it was then well ſhelter'd from Wind and Weather; but as ſoon as it got out into the cold Air, whither it went, we were altogether as ignorant, as from whence it came: Thus we can give ſome Account of our Souls, during its abode in the Body, whilſt houſed and harboured therein; but where it was before, or how it fareth afterwards, is to us altogether unknown. If therefore* Paulinus *his Preaching can certainly inform us herein, it deſerveth, in my Opinion, to be well received.* To which Diſcourſes, *Coifi* alſo further added, *That he deſired to hear* Paulinus *himſelf preach concerning his God:* Which, when he had performed, (as the King had commanded him,) *Coifi* cried out, *I have long ſince underſtood, that what we worſhipped was nothing, for the more I ſought to underſtand the Truth in that Religion, the leſs ſtill I found of it.* So that it is in this Doctrine alone, that Truth clearly ſhines, and which is able to confer upon us Eternal Happineſs. In ſhort, the King not only gave *Paulinus* his Conſent to preach publickly, but alſo, renouncing his Idolatry, received the Chriſtian Faith. But *Coifi* the Chief Prieſt did not only declare, That the Temples and Altars of their falſe Gods ſhould be pulled down, and deſtroyed; but when the King asked him who ſhould undertake it, he freely offered himſelf to do it; and ſo deſiring of him a

Id. c. 13

Horſe

Anno Dom. DCXXVI. Horſe and Arms, taking a Lance in his Hand, he went to deſtroy the Idol Temples; the People at firſt thought him mad, becauſe it was not lawful for their Prieſts, either to bear Arms, or ride on Horſe-back: But as ſoon as *Coiſi* came to the Idol Temple, he commanded thoſe that came with him to burn and utterly deſtroy it; and the place where it ſtood was ſhewn in *Bede*'s time, lying not far from *York*, Eaſtward near the River *Darwent*, being then called *Godmundingham*, where this Prieſt, by thus demoliſhing the Altars of his former Gods, made ſome Amends for his teaching Men to adore them. But the Year following,

Anno Dom. DCXXVII. King *Edwin*, with all his Noblemen, and a great many common People of his Kingdom, received Baptiſm; the King himſelf being baptized at *York* on *Eaſter* Day in the Church of St. *Peter*, which he had

Ibid. c. 14. commanded with all ſpeed to be built of Wood for that purpoſe, in which City he alſo ſettled the Epiſcopal See, *Paulinus* being the firſt Biſhop; ~~there~~; but not long after the King had received Baptiſm, he himſelf took care to build a large and noble Church of Stone round about the former, which was ſtill left ſtanding till the other was finiſhed; but before the Walls of it could be raiſed, the King being killed, left the Work to be perfected by *Oſwald* his Succeſſor: So *Paulinus* continued, during all the reſt of this King's Reign, (which was about the ſpace of 6 Years,) to preach the Word of GOD in that Kingdom; in which Church there were alſo baptized divers others of Note, as *Oſfrid* and *Eadfrid*, the Sons of King *Edwin*, both which his former Wife *Quenburga*, the Daughter of *Ceorle* King of *Mercia*, had brought forth in their Baniſhment. There were likewiſe afterwards baptized divers others of the King's Children by his laſt Queen, who not long after dying, were buried in *York* Minſter. Beſides theſe, there were baptized *Iſſi* the Son of Prince *Oſrid*, and ſeveral other Noblemen; and it is reported, that the People's Deſires to receive Baptiſm were then ſo fervent, that when on a time *Paulinus* came with the King and Queen to a certain Town of the King's, called *Adefrin*, he there ſpent a Month in doing nothing elſe but Catechiſing, and Baptizing thoſe that came to him from far and near to that end; for after his Inſtructing them, they were ſtrait baptized in the River *Gleni*, which he made uſe of as being convenient for that purpoſe.

Theſe Things were tranſacted in the Province of *Bernicia*; but in that of *Deira*, where he uſed to remain moſt commonly with the King, he baptized in the River of *Swale*, for in that preſent Infancy of the Church, Oratories and Fonts were not yet erected: But in the Country of *Done* he built a Church, which was burnt not long after by the Pagans when they killed King *Edwin*. Theſe Things, thô happening in ſeveral Years, *Bede* here relates all at once. But to return to Civil Affairs.

This Year *Cynegils* and *Cwichelm*, Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*, fought with *Penda* King of *Mercia* at *Cirenceſter*, where alſo a League was made between them.

H. Huntington is larger in the Relation of this Fight, and tells us, that when both Armies had fought from Morning till Sun-ſet, neither of them giving Ground; the next Morning perceiving they ſhould be both ruined if they ſtood another Fight, they treated of a Peace, and ſo parted Friends.

It were to be wiſhed, that the Monkiſh Writers, who have left us the only Relations of theſe Wars, would alſo have told us the particular Cauſes and Grounds on which they were made; for want of which, we are

Anno Dom. DCXXVIII.

are left to gueſs in general, that Revenge or Ambition (the common Incentives to War among Princes) did alſo produce theſe we now treat of; but within two Years after (as the *Saxon Annals* relate) *Eorpwald* [King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*] was baptized.

This *Bede* relates to have been done by the Perſuaſion of King *Edwin*, who after the Death of *Redwald*, had the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles* voluntarily delivered up to him by the People of that Province; but he out of Gratitude to his old Benefactor, permitted his Son *Eorpwald* quietly to hold that Kingdom, tho as his Tributary; who now caſting away his Idols, was baptized, together with many of his Subjects: His Father King *Redwald* had been alſo baptized in *Kent* by the means of King *Eadbald*, tho in returning home he was again perverted by his Wife and ſome others of her Superſtition, from the true Faith; ſo that he had at once in the ſame Temple one Altar for Chriſt, and another for Devils: But King *Eorpwald*, not long after his receiving the Faith, was ſlain by one *Richbert* a Heathen, but who he was, or why he did it, is not told us; ſo that the Kingdom for three years returned to Paganiſm, until *Sebert*, Brother to the laſt King, a moſt Learned and Chriſtian Prince, obtained the Crown; who whilſt his Brother lived being baniſhed into *France*, did there receive Baptiſm, of which as ſoon as he began his Reign he made his Subjects alſo Partakers: But to this Prince we ſhall ſpeak more largely anon. *Ibid. c. 15.*

About this time *Paulinus* alſo preached the Word to the Province of *Lindiſſi*, (now *Lincolnſhire*) and converted the Governor of *Lincoln*, whoſe Name was *Blecca*, with all his Family, to the Chriſtian Faith: In which City he built a Church of Stone of curious Workmanſhip, whoſe Roof being fallen down, either by length of Time, or Hoſtile Incurſions, the Walls were only ſtanding in *Bede*'s time: And concerning the Propagation of the Chriſtian Faith in this Province, a certain Prieſt and Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Barteneu* told *Bede*, That he himſelf was baptized by the Biſhop *Paulinus*, together with a great Multitude of people in the River *Trent*, near a City then called *Tiowulfingceaſter* (where it was, we know not) King *Edwin* being preſent; of whom *Bede* alſo tells us, That in his time a Woman with a Child in her hand might have gone from Sea to Sea; and that the King at certain Fountains near the Highways, cauſed Drinking-Pots of Braſs to be ſet upon Poſts, for the refreſhment of Travellers, which none either out of Love or Fear would preſume to meddle with; he alſo cauſed to be carried before him when he went through the ſtreets, a ſort of Banner which the *Romans* called *Tufa*, and which the *Engliſh* then called a *Tuff*. *Idem Ibid.*

About this time too Pope *Honorius* ſucceeded *Boniface* in the *Roman* See; and as ſoon as he heard that the Nation of *Northumbers* had received the Chriſtian Faith by the Preaching of *Paulinus*, he ſent him an Archiepiſcopal Pall, together with Exhortatory Letters to King *Edwin*, perſuading him to perſevere in the Faith which he had received; which Letter you may find at large in *Bede*; wherein it alſo appears, that *Honorius* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Paulinus* of *York*, had this Truſt lodged jointly in them, That whenſoever one of them died, the Survivor ſhould immediately conſecrate another Archbiſhop in his ſtead; for not long before, Archbiſhop *Juſtus* deceaſing, *Honorius* had been elected in his room; who coming to *Paulinus* as far as *Lincolne*, was there by him ordained Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Id c. 17.* *Id. c. 18.*

Cadwallo

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Cadwallo, King of the *Britains*, having been (as *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* relates) conquered by King *Edwin*, loſt ſo great a part of his Kingdom, that he was forced to fly into *Ireland*, from whence ſoon after returning with a great Army of *Iriſh*, he overcame *Penda* King of the *Mercians* in fight, and then made him join his Forces againſt King *Edwin:* All which is probable enough; for * *Bede* alſo tells us, That *Cadwallo* this year rebelling againſt King *Edwin*, together with *Penda*,^ invaded the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, when King *Edwin* raiſing an Army met them at a place called *Hethfield* (now *Hatfield* in *Yorkſhire*) and there fought a bloody Battel, wherein King *Edwin* himſelf was ſlain, and his whole Army quite routed; in which Fight *Oſfrid* his Son, a Warlike Young Prince alſo fell; but *Edfrid* the Younger being compelled by neceſſity to ſurrender himſelf to *Penda*, was afterwards by him murthered, contrary to his Oath. This happen'd in the 17*th*. year of King *Edwin*'s Reign, having till now been ſucceſsful in all his Undertakings.

* *Ibid. cap.* 20.

^ the British King

But there now enſued a very ſad Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Nation of the *Northumbers*, ſince of theſe two Generals, the one was a profeſſed *Pagan*, and the other, though a Chriſtian in Name, yet ſhewed himſelf worſe than a *Pagan*; for *Cadwallo*, altho he profeſſed Chriſtianity, yet was ſo barbarous, that he ſpared neither Age not Sex, but put all to death with great Cruelty; tyranizing for a long while over all thoſe Provinces, and ſeeming reſolved quite to extirpate the *Engliſh* Nation; nor did he ſhew any reſpect to Churches or other Sacred Places; it being then the cuſtom of the *Britains* (in *Bede*'s time) to ſet at nought the Faith and Religion of the *Engliſh-Saxons*; neither would they have any thing to do with them, more than with *Pagans:* But the Head of the ſlain King was brought to *York*, and there depoſited in the Church of St. *Peter*, which he himſelf had begun, and *Oſwald* his Succeſſor finiſhed. All things being thus in confuſion in thoſe parts, and no Refuge or Safety any where to be expected, Queen *Æthelburga* returned by Sea into *Kent*, together with *Paulinus* the Archbiſhop, and was there received with great Honour by King *Eadbald* and Archbiſhop *Honorius*; ſhe was conducted thither by *Baſſe*, a Valiant Captain of King *Edwin*'s, who alſo brought with him *Eanfrede* the King's Daughter, as alſo *Vſcfrea* his Son, and *Iſſi* his Grandſon by *Oſfrid*; whom their Mother afterward, for fear of the Kings *Eadbald* and *Oſwald*, ſent into *France* to King *Dagobert* to be brought up, where they both died in their Infancy.

At which time alſo the Church of *Rocheſter* wanting a Paſtor, (*Romanus* the Biſhop having been drowned in going on a Meſſage to *Rome*) *Paulinus* at the requeſt of King *Eadbald* and Archbiſhop *Honorius*, took upon him the care of that Church, which he held as long as he lived.

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Ibid. Lib. 3. *Cap.* 1.

After the Death of King *Edwin*, *Oſric* the Son of *Elfric*, his Uncle by the Father's ſide, obtained the Kingdom of *Deira*, who had been before received by *Paulinus*; whilſt *Eanfrid*, of the ſame Blood-Royal, as being the Son of *Ethelfrid* the laſt King before *Edwin*, ruled the Kingdom of *Bernicia*; ſo that during the Reign of *Edwin*, all the Sons of *Ethelfrid*, with many more of the Young Nobility of that Country, lived in Exile either with the *Scots* or *Picts*, by whom they were inſtructed in their Religious Rites, whilſt both theſe Kings laſt mentioned abjured the Chriſtian Religion, which they had before learnt and profeſſed; and relapſing to their old Idolatry, were ſhortly after cut off by *Cadwallo*, King of

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of the *Britains*; for the next Summer *Oſric* having beſieged him in a certain Town, *Cadwallo* ſallying out with his Men, cut him off on a ſudden with all his Army; and then when he had ravaged the *Northumbrian* Provinces, not as a King, but a cruel Tyrant; and that at length *Eanfrid* came to him imprudently, with only Twelve Select Knights in his Company to treat of Peace, he put him to Death as he had done his Couſin before.

Ibid cap. 3.

That Year, ſaith *Bede*, Is ſtill at this day accounted unlucky, and hateful to all good Men, both in reſpect of the Apoſtacy of theſe Princes who renounced their Baptiſm; as alſo for the Tyranny of this *Britiſh* King: Whereupon it was agreed by thoſe who computed the Reigns of the *Northumbrian* Kings, to aboliſh the Memory of theſe Infidels, and to caſt this Year into the Reign of the Pious King *Oſwald*, who ſucceeding after the Death of his Brother *Eanfrid*, and marching with a ſmall Force, (but fortified by Faith in Chriſt) routed *Cadwalla*, that Prince of the *Britains*, with his vaſt Army, which nothing could reſiſt, as he boaſted; and, who was ſlain in a place, which in the *Engliſh* Tongue is called *Deniſesbourn*, or *Brook*, the place (ſaith our Authour) is ſhewn at this day, and had in great Veneration; where *Oſwald* being to give Battle erected a large Wooden-Croſs, and he himſelf laboured in ſetting of it up; which when he had finiſhed, he thus ſpoke to his Army; *Let us now kneel down, and joyntly pray unto the Omnipotent, and only true God, that he would mercifully defend us from this proud Enemy; for he knows that we undertake a juſt War for defence of our Nation and Religion:* The place is in the *Engliſh* Tongue called *Heofenfield* (or *Heavenfield*), lying near to the Wall which the *Romans* built from Sea to Sea, (which we now call the *Pict*'s Wall:) The reſt of *Bede*'s Miracles concerning this place, and Croſs, I omit, as very incredible and Superſtitious.

Id. cap. 1.

insolence

But before we leave this great Action of the Death of *Cadwallo*, I cannot omit taking notice of the Confidence of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, who (notwithſtanding this expreſs Teſtimony of *Bede* to the contrary,) will make this *Cadwallo* not only to have overcome *Edwin*, and other *Saxon* Kings in divers Battles, and to have forced them to ſubmit themſelves to him, and do him Homage at *London*, and that living and dying Victorious, he was there buried, and his Body being put into a Braſen Statue of a Man on Horſe-back, was ſet over *Ludgate* for a terror to the *Saxons*, having Reigned Forty Eight Years; all which is notoriouſly falſe, for *London* had been part of the *Eaſt-Saxon* Kingdom, for above One Hundred Years, when this King was kill'd, who did not Reign Twenty Years in all.

Id. cap. 3

But the ſame King *Oſwald*, as ſoon as ever he came to the Kingdom, deſiring that all his Subjects might profeſs the Chriſtian Faith, ſent to the *Scotch* Biſhops (for ſo I ſuppoſe the Words *Majores natu*, in *Bede* are to be rendered) among whom, whilſt he was in Baniſhment, he had together with his followers received Baptiſm, deſiring them that a Biſhop might be ſent him; by whoſe Preaching the People whom he Govern'd might be grounded in the Chriſtian Religion, and receive Baptiſm; nor was he long without an anſwer to his requeſt, for they ſoon ſent him *Aidan*, a Man of great Meekneſs, Piety and Moderation; only *Bede* finds fault with him, That he had Zeal, but not according to Knowledge, in that he obſerved *Eaſter* day according to the cuſtom of his own Nation, and that of the *Picts*, of which I have ſufficiently ſpoken already: But ſo

Bishop

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ſoon as this Biſhop came to him, he gave him a place for his Epiſcopal See, in the Iſle of *Lindisfarn*, where he himſelf deſired it, which place is *Pena-Inſula*, except when the Sea quite overflows that neck of Land which joyns it to *England*: But this King took care, by hearkening to the Inſtructions of this good Biſhop, to propagate Chriſt's Church in his Kingdom, which during his Reign, extended over both *Deira*, and *Bernicia*, being then both united into one; and it was often obſerved as an unuſual ſpectacle, that whil'ſt the Biſhop Preacht (who being a *Scot* did not ſpeak *Engliſh*, ſo as to be well underſtood,) the King being preſent, and with his Courtiers and Officers, having learn't the *Scotiſh* Tongue, during the time of his baniſhment, would himſelf interpret the Biſhops Sermon to them, and many *Scotiſh* Prieſts coming into thoſe Provinces of *Britain* where King *Oſwald* Reigned, began to Preach, and Baptize thoſe that believed; ſo that now Churches were built in divers places, to which the People aſſembling rejoyced to hear the Word of God; there were alſo given by the King ſeveral Lands and Poſſeſſions to build Monaſteries, for they were chiefly Monks, who now came hither to Preach; for Biſhop *Aidan* was himſelf a Monk ſent from the Monaſtery of the Iſle of *Hye*, of which we have ſaid enough in the laſt Book.

Id. Cap. 5. But of the Humility and Piety of this Biſhop *Aidan*, *Bede* gives us a very large account, in ſeveral inſtances of it; for he ſeems to have been an excellent pattern for ſucceeding Biſhops and Clergy Men to follow: For he tells us, That all who travelled with him (I ſuppoſe in his Viſitation or Converſions) were they profeſſed Monks or only Lay-Bretheren, were obliged to beſtow their time either in reading the Scriptures, or elſe in learning the Pſalms by heart: but to let you ſee how much more Humility and Condeſcention are able to prevail than Pride and Auſterity, *Bede* tells us, That the King of the *Scots* firſt ſent another Biſhop to King *Oſwald*, who being of a very rough Auſtere Temper, could therefore do but little good among the *Engliſh*; ſo that being forced to return home again, he laid the fault upon their Rude, Irreclameable Diſpoſitions; whereupon the *Scotch* Clergy being grieved at his return, called a Synod to conſider what was beſt to be done in this caſe; when *Aidan*, who was then preſent, told this Biſhop, That he thought he had been too harſh and ſevere to his Ignorant Auditors, and had not, according to the Apoſtle's Rule, firſt given them the Milk of milder Doctrine, till by degrees they ſhould be able to receive, and digeſt the more perfect and harder precepts of God's Word; which as ſoon as they heard, they all turn'd their Eyes upon him, and reſolved he ſhould be ſent to Convert the Ignorant, unbelieving *Engliſh*, becauſe he was endued with Prudence, the Mother of all other Vertues, thô he was not wanting in thoſe alſo.

Id. Cap. 6. The ſame Authour, alſo gives us as high a Character, with many Examples of the great Humility, Affability and Charity of King *Oſwald*; as that being once at Dinner, it was told him, There were a great multitude of Poor People at his Gate, deſiring Alms; whereupon he immediately ſent them a large Silver Diſh full of Meat from his own Table, and order'ed the Diſh afterwards to be broken into ſmall pieces and diſtributed among them; upon this Biſhop *Aidan* taking him by the Right Hand, ſaid thus; *Let this Hand never corrupt*, which ſaying gave occaſion to the Miracle, (whether falſe or real I ſhall not now diſpute) concerning the incorruptibility of King *Oſwald*'s Right Arm, which *Bede* hath

~~Anno Dom.~~
~~DCXXXIV.~~

hath given us ſo many ſtrange Relations of, and that it was preſerved uncorrupt in the Church of *Peterburgh* in his time: Of this King he alſo tells us, That by his Induſtry the Provinces of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, which had been almoſt in perpetual Diſcord, were now (as I may ſay) united into one People, ſo that he received all the Nations and Kingdoms of *Britain* under his Protection: He was Nephew to King *Edwin* by his Siſter *Acca*, and it was fit that ſo great a Predeceſſour ſhould have one of his own Blood to ſucceed him. * This year (according to Bede) Oswald King of the [illegible] being deceasing [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] he [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Anno Dom.
DCXXXV.
Id. c. 7.

~~But~~ we ſhall proceed now to the Converſion of the *Weſt-Saxons*, which the ſame Author thus relates: At this time the Nation of the *Weſt-Saxons* (which were anciently called *Gewiſſes*) received the Chriſtian Faith in the Reign of *Cynegils*, by the preaching of *Byrinus* an *Italian*, who being ordained Biſhop by *Aſterius* Biſhop of *Genoua*, by the Order of Pope *Honorius*, came into *Britain*; and thô he had promiſed the Pope to preach the Goſpel in the moſt inland parts of the Iſland, where it never had been heard of before, yet landing in the Country of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and finding them to be altogether Heathens, he thought it better to preach the Goſpel there, than to ſeek further; which, when he had done for ſome time, and that the King (being ſufficiently inſtructed) was to be Baptized, with his People, it happened that *Oſwald*, the Victorious King of the *Northumbers*, was there preſent, and received him coming out of the Font as his Godfather, intending alſo to make him his Son-in-Law, and then both Kings joyned in conferring on the ſaid Biſhop a City, which was called in Latin *Dorinca* (now *Dorcheſter*) in *Oxfordſhire*, there to fix his Epiſcopal See; but divers Years after, when many Churches had been built, and much People converted to Chriſt by his means, he at laſt deceaſed, and was buried in that City, (for ſo *Bede* ſtiles it,) thô it be now but a poor Country Town.

Will. of *Malmesbury* adds to this Relation of *Bede*, That King *Cynegils* was quickly perſwaded to ſubmit to the preaching of the Biſhop, but that *Cwichelme* his Brother, (and Partner in the Kingdom,) did for ſome time refuſe it; till being admoniſhed by Sickneſs, that he ſhould not neglect the Salvation of his Soul, he was at laſt baptized, and the ſame Year died, which is confirmed by the *Saxon* Chronicle under the Year following; thô omitting the Baptiſm of *Cynegils*, it only mentions that of *Cwichelme*, adding, *That the ſame Year he departed this Life*, ~~and that~~ & *Biſhop* Felix *preached the Faith of Chriſt to the* Eaſt-Angles: This *Felix* was a *Burgundian*, the firſt Biſhop ~~in~~ of *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*, where he founded his Epiſcopal See; him whom Pope Honorius sent ~~over~~ into England and so preach the Gospel to the East-Angles.

Anno Dom.
DCXXXVI.
Bede, *Id. c.* 18.

~~His Converſion was thus:~~ *Sigebert* ~~having~~ ſucceeded his Brother *Eorpwald* in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, ~~and~~ having, whilſt he was baniſhed into *France* ~~by~~ his Brother's Jealouſie, there received Baptiſm, did now, by the Aſſiſtance of Biſhop *Felix*, erect a School, (like thoſe he had ſeen in *France*,) where Youths might be taught Letters, having received *Schoolmaſters* out of *Kent*; but two Years after, this King being weary of Worldly Affairs, reſigned the Kingdom to his Couſin *Egric*, and became a Monk in a Monaſtery of his own founding: Nor can I here omit taking notice, that from *Bede*'s thus mentioning King *Sigebert*'s founding this School, *Polidore Virgil* and *Leland* conclude, that this School was in *Cambridge*, and that it gave Being to that Univerſity; and all the reaſon they have for it, is, only becauſe *Cambridge* was in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*; whereas neither *Bede*, nor any other ancient Au-

* Hist. Lib. v. p. 104
× in commendat. in 99 [illegible]

Anno Dom. DCXXXVI.

Kingdom.

Author, ſpecifies the Place where it was erected: And ſo it might be any where elſe, as well as in *Cambridge*; or if there, it was no better than a School to teach Boys the *Latin* Tongue: And it is certain, that in the time of King *Alfred* there was no School, much leſs an Univerſity there. Since Bede himſelf relates that [illegible]

Ibid.

But before I leave this King's Reign, I cannot forbear mentioning what *Bede* there tells us, That in his Reign one *Furſeus* (or *Furſee*) came out of *Ireland*, and preached the Goſpel to the *Eaſt-Angles*, converting many, and confirming divers others in the Faith; and having had a terrible Viſion of the Pains of Hell, did, by the Aſſiſtance of King *Sigebert*, erect a Monaſtery in a Town called *Cnobsbury*; which afterward *Anna*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, enriched with noble Buildings and Revenues.

Anno Dom. DCXXXIX.

This Year is remarkable, for *Byrinus* baptized King *Cuthred* at *Dorceaſter*, and at the Font received him for his Godſon. This *Cuthred*, thô here called *King*, yet was only a Prince of the Blood Royal, the Title of *Cyning* being often given to thoſe Princes in our *Saxon Annals*.

Anno Dom. DCXL.

Id. c. 8.

This Year *Eadbald*, King of *Kent*, departing this Life, having reigned 25 Years, left the Kingdom to *Earcombert* his Son, who held it 24 Years and ſome Months. ~~The *Saxon* Annals ſay~~, This King *Eadbald* had two Sons, *Ermenred*, and *Earcombert*; but *Mat. Weſtminſter* (I know not from what Author) adds, That the Younger craftily ſupplanted the Elder, and got the Kingdom from him. This *Earcombert* was the firſt *Engliſh* King, who commanded Idols to be deſtroyed throughout his whole Kingdom; and who alſo by his Authority ordained, That the Forty Days before *Eaſter* (now called *Lent*) ſhould be obſerved; and that it ſhould not be contemned, appointed competent Puniſhments for thoſe that ſhould dare to tranſgreſs it.

Ibid.

This ſeems to have been the *Firſt Lent* that was obſerved in *England* by a Law; this King's Daughter, called *Earcongath*, or *Earcongota*, being a Virgin of great Piety, conſtantly ſerved God in a Monaſtery in the Kingdom of the *Franks*, founded by a noble Abbeſs in the Town called *Brige* (now *Bruges*) in *Flanders*, for there being at that time not many Monaſteries in *Britain*, many who deſired to undertake thoſe Vows, uſed to go over to the *French* Monaſteries, or elſe ſent their Daughters to be taught and profeſſed there, chiefly in the Monaſteries of *Brige*, *Cale*, and *Andelegium*.

this

The *Saxon Annals* here alſo mention, '~~one~~ his [illegible] *Ermenred* ~~to have been~~ Brother to King *Earcombert*, ~~and~~ to have begot two Sons, (*Ethelbert*, and *Ethelred*,) who afterwards ſuffered Death by the Hands of *Thunore*, one of his *Thanes*, whom the King employed in this cruel Execution.

Anno Dom. DCXLII.

Bede, *Id. c.* 9.

When *Oſwald*, the Moſt Chriſtian King of *Northumberland*, had now reigned 9 Years, (taking in that Year in which the two Apoſtate Kings were killed,) who were left out of the Catalogue, (as has been already ſaid,) he fought a great Battle with *Penda*, the *Pagan* King of the *Mercians*, in a place called *Maſer-Field* (now *Oſweſtre*) in *Shropſhire*,) and was there unfortunately ſlain in the 38th Year of his Age; the Greatneſs of whoſe Faith and Devotion towards GOD, appeared (ſaith *Bede*) by the many Miracles there wrought after his Death; which being both tedious and improbable, I omit, and refer thoſe that are Curious in ſuch Matters to the Author himſelf; but that they were long after generally believed, appears by theſe Paſſages in the *Saxon* Chronicle, (*viz.*) 'That 'his Holineſs and Miracles were afterwards highly celebrated through 'the

Anno Dom. DCXLII.

‘the whole Iſland, and that his Hand was ſtill preſerved at *Bebban-burg* ‘uncorrupt. For *Penda* had moſt inhumanly cauſed his Body to be diſmembred, and his Head and Arms being cut off, to be ſet upon a Pole for a Trophie of his Victory.

[illegible] afterwards [illegible] O. Swin his brother ſucce[illegible] [illegible] year. acco[illegible] to the Saxon [illegible]

Bede, *l.* 3. *c.* 18.

The ſame Year alſo *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, making War againſt the *Eaſt-Angles*, and ſtill getting the better of them; they urged *Sigebert*, who had been formerly their King, (but was now retired into a Monaſtery,) to come out to Battle, to encourage the Souldiers; and ſo fetching him out whether he would or no, as hoping that the Souldiers would be leſs apt to fly, having with them one who had been ſo ſtout a Commander: But he being mindful of his Vow, carrying nothing but a Staff in his Hand, was there ſlain, together with *Egric* the preſent King, and all the whole Army was routed, and diſperſed: But *Anna*, the Son of *Eni*, of the Royal Stock, ſucceeded them, being an excellent Man, but who alſo underwent the ſame Fate from this *Pagan* King, as ſhall be ſhewn in due time.

Anno Dom. DCXLIII.

‘This Year *Cenwall*, or *Cenwalc*, ſucceeded *Cynegils* his Father in the ‘Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and reigned 31 Years.

This King commanded the old Church of * *Wincheſter* to be new built, which had been deſigned by his Father *Cynegils*, thô he never lived to finiſh it; but *Hedda* ſate there as the firſt Biſhop. This King alſo gave to this Church, and Biſhoprick, all the Lands lying about *Wincheſter* for the ſpace of 7 *Leucas*, or Leagues; which Grant was alſo confirmed by King *Kenwalk*.

* Vid. *Monaſt. Ang. T.* 1. *p.* 31. *Angl. Sacra, T.* 1. *Annal. Winton in Bib. Cotton.*

Note, That at the firſt Foundation, this Monaſtery was for Secular Chanons, till the Year 963; that Biſhop *Ethelwold*, by the Command of King *Edgar*, turned out theſe Chanons, and placed *Benedictine* Monks in their rooms.

Anno Dom. DCXLIV.

‘This Year *Paulinus* deceaſed at *Rocheſter*, who had been firſt Arch-‘Biſhop of *York*, and afterwards Biſhop in this City, and was Biſhop ‘21 Years, 2 Months, and 12 Days. *Oſwin*, the Son of *Oſric*, the ‘Couſin of *Edwin*, was made King of *Deira*, and reigned 7 Years. The next Year,

Anno Dom. DCXLV.

In the room of *Paulinus*, Arch-Biſhop *Honorius* conſecrated *Ithamar* a *Kentiſh* Man, who was equal to his Predeceſſors in Learning and Piety. *Cenwalc* was driven out of his Kingdom by *Penda* King of the *Mercians*.

L. 3. *c.* 7.

Of which, *Bede* gives us a more particular Account, That refuſing to receive the Chriſtian Faith, he not long after loſt his Kingdom; for having divorced his Wife, the Siſter of *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, he had therefore not only War made upon him, but was driven out of his Kingdom upon that account; ſo that he was forced to retire to *Anna* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, with whom remaining 3 Years in Baniſhment, he came firſt to the knowledge of, and there received the true Faith, for that King was a good Man, and happy in a pious Iſſue.

Anno Dom. DCXLVI.

‘This Year King *Cenwalc* was baptized: And, as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates, after 3 Years baniſhment, gathering freſh Forces, recovered his Kingdom, and proved the greateſt of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings that had reigned hitherto, as ſhall be in due time related: But *Bede* tells us, That after this King had been ſome time reſtored, there came out of *Ireland* a certain Biſhop called *Agelbert*, a *French* Man, who offered himſelf to the King to preach the Goſpel, whoſe Learning and Induſtry when the King underſtood, he offered him the Biſhoprick of that Province which was then void by the death of Birinus and conſenting

Ibid.

Anno Dom. DCXLVI.

ſenting to the King's Deſires, he remained ~~there~~ Biſhop of Dorcheſter ſeveral Years; till the King finding he could not learn *Engliſh*, and growing weary of his bad Pronunciation, introduced another Biſhop, one *Wini* of his own Nation, over his Head, who had been ordained in *France*, and ſo dividing the Province into two Dioceſſes, ſettled the latter in his Epiſcopal See at *Wincheſter*; at which *Agelbert* being offended, becauſe the King had done it without his Knowledge and Conſent, he returned into *France*, and there accepting of the Biſhoprick of *Paris*, died an old Man; but not many Years after his departure, *Wini* being driven from his ~~Biſhoprick~~, retired to *Wulfer* King of *Mercia*, and buying of him the Epiſcopal See of the City of *London* for a Sum of Money, ſate there Biſhop as long as he lived; thus Simony crept very early into the *Engliſh Saxon* Church: So the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, was no ſmall time without a Biſhop, whereupon King *Cenwalc* being afflicted with great loſſes in his Wars, ſent Meſſengers into *France*, to Biſhop *Agelbert*, deſiring him to return, and reaſſume the Biſhoprick he had left; but he excuſed himſelf, that he could not return, being already engaged in another Charge; yet to comply as far as he could to the King's deſires, he ſent him his Nephew *Elutherius* a Prieſt, to be ordained Biſhop if he pleaſed; who being Honourably received by the King and People, and having been ordained Biſhop by *Theodorus*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, did for many Years Govern alone the Dioceſs of the *Weſt-Saxons*. This, thô happening in a courſe of ſome Years, is by *Bede* related as one continued Story. and it appears by the Saxon Chronicle, that this Bishop

resigning his Bishoprick

Anno Dom. DCXLVIII.

" This Year *Cenwalc* (King of the *Weſt-Saxons*,) gave *Cuthred* his " Couſin Three Thouſand Hides of Land, near *Æſcaſdune*, (now called " *Aſton* near *Wallingford*): This *Cuthred* was the Son of *Cwichelme*, and " he the Son of *Cynegils*: ~~But two years after,~~ ~~according to~~

~~Anno Dom. DCL.~~

" ~~*Æegelbyerth*, a Biſhop, (who came~~ from ~~*France*,)~~ after *Byrinus* ~~un-~~ " ~~dertook the Biſhoprick of the *Weſt-Saxons*, as has been already~~ related at ~~large by *Bede*.~~ ~~[illegible]~~

Anno Dom. DCLI.

Chron. S.

" This Year K. *Oſwin* was ſlain, xii. *Kal.* of *September*: And within " twelve days afterwards died alſo *Aidan* the Biſhop.

Lib. 3. c. 14.

But the manner of this King's Death is by *Bede* thus related, That King *Oſwin* (who ſucceeded K. *Oſwald* his Brother,) had, from the beginning of his Reign, a Conſort, or Sharer of the Royal Dignity of the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, called *Oſwi*, the Son of *Uſric*, of the Poſterity of King *Edwin*; whilſt *Oſwin* govern'd the Province of *Deira* for Seven Years with great Happineſs and Love of his Subjects; But *Oſwy*, who reigned in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, would not long maintain Peace with him; 'till at laſt freſh Diſſentions ſtill ariſing between them, he deſtroyed *Oſwin* by Treachery; for both their Armies now lying near each other, as ready to fight, when *Oſwin* ſaw, that being weaker in Force, he was not able to wage Battle with him who came againſt him with a much greater Army, he judg'd it better to lay aſide all Thoughts of fighting, and to preſerve himſelf and his Men for ſome better Opportunity: So he ſent home his Army from a place called *Wilfers Dun*, and himſelf retired with only one ~~faithful Follo~~wer, to lie concealed in the Houſe of Earl *Hunwald*, whom he ſuppoſed to have been faithful to him; but it proved far otherwiſe, for by him he was betray'd, and there ſlain by the Command of K. *Oſwi*, together with his ~~faithful~~ Servant *Tondhere*, in the ninth year of his Reign, at a place called *Ingerlingum*.

Attendant

trusty

This Fact of King *Oſwy*, as it was deteſtable to all Men, ſo it afterwards proved moſt hateful to himſelf; who, repenting of it, built there a Monaſtery to expiate the Crime, and to pray, as well for his own Soul as for that of the King he had kill'd. This King *Oſwin* was a Man of a beautiful Aſpect, tall of Stature, affable, and very bountiful; all which excellent Endowments, both of Mind and Body, procured him ſuch Reputation, that he was generally beloved; and many Noble Perſons, out of all the *Engliſh* Provinces, thought themſelves happy if they could get into his Service; but above all, his Humility and ſingular Modeſty were moſt remarkable, whereof *Bede* gives us this Inſtance: K. *Oſwin* had beſtowed an excellent Horſe upon *Aidan*, (that charitable Bp of *Lindisfarne*,) but the Biſhop, when a poor Man ask'd an Alms, gave him the Horſe with all the rich Furniture upon him: The King hearing of this, as they were going to Dinner, ſaid to him, *My Lord Biſhop, Why would you give that Noble Horſe, that I beſtowed upon you for your own Saddle, to a poor Man? Have we not many worſe Horſes, and other Things, which would better ſerve the Poor, inſtead of this Horſe I made choice of for your own riding?* The Biſhop inſtantly replied, *Sir, What do you ſay? Is that Son of a Mare more dear to you than the Son of GOD?* With that they went to Dinner, the Biſhop took his Seat, but the King, being newly come in from Hunting, ſate down by the Fire with his Attendants; but remembring what the Biſhop had ſaid, he roſe ſuddenly up, and giving his Sword to his Servant, ran haſtily to the Biſhop, and falling down at his Feet, beſought him not to be angry, affirming, he would never after ſpeak, or concern himſelf, whatever he gave to the Children of GOD. ‸ The Biſhop being wonderfully amazed, and riſing haſtily from his Seat, raiſed him up, telling him, he was very well pleaſed if he would but ſit down to Dinner, and be chearful: The King then, at his Requeſt, began to be merry; but the Biſhop to be ſad, inſomuch that he ſhed Tears; of which his Prieſt taking Notice, and in their own Language (being the Scottiſh, which neither *Oſwin* nor his Servants underſtood,) demanded the Reaſon: *I know* (ſaith he,) *that the King will not live long, for till now I never beheld an humble King; whence I apprehend, that he will ſpeedily be taken away from us; for this Nation is not worthy of ſuch a Governor.* Not long after, this Preſage of the Biſhop was fulfilled in the Murther of *Oſwin* (as you have heard): But *Aidan* lived 'till the twelfth day after his Death, and then died himſelf on the laſt of *Auguſt*: Of the Miracles of which Biſhop, *Bede* gives us ~~too long an~~ an incredible ~~Account either~~ to be believed, or ~~or~~ inſerted here.

‸ meaning the Poor

~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]

"This Year *Cenwal*, (King of the *Weſt-Saxons*,) fought at *Bradenford*, "near the River *Afene* (in *Wiltſhire*); but it is pity that our Annals had not told us againſt whom he fought, which I cannot find in any Author, thô it is moſt likely to have been againſt the *Mercians*; for *Ethelward*, in his Chronicle, ſays, That *Cenwal*, about this time, was engaged in a Civil War, which muſt be underſtood with thoſe of his own Country, and the *Mercians* were his next Neighbours. The next Year

"The Mid-land *Engliſh* (or *Mercians*) under *Peadda* their Eolderman "or Governour, received the Faith of Chriſt: Which Converſion **Bede* relates more at large; when, ſpeaking of this *Peadda*, the Son of *Penda*, as being a young Man, moſt worthy of the Name of a King, was, by his Father, ſet over a Province of that Nation; *Will.* of *Malmeſbury* calls it part of that Kingdom; and that this Prince went to *Oſwy*, deſiring *Alfreda* his Daughter to Wife, but could by no means obtain her, unleſs he, together

Anno Dom. DCLI.

Anno Dom. DCLII.

Anno Dom. DCLIII.

* *Lib.* 3. *c.* 21.

King

Anno Dom. DCLIII.

together with his whole Nation, would receive Baptiſm; but he having heard the Preaching of the Goſpel, through the Hope of a future Immortality, voluntarily profeſſed that he would be a Chriſtian, whether he had married the Virgin or not; being chiefly perſuaded to receive the Faith by *Alcfrid*, the Son of King *Oſwy*, who was his Friend and Relation, having married *Cymburge* his Siſter: So that King was baptiſed by Biſhop *Finan*, together with all his Train, in that famous Town of the King's, which *Bede* calls *Admurum* (that is, *Walltown*, near the *Picts* Wall); and taking with him four Prieſts to teach and baptiſe his Nation, he return'd home with much Joy; theſe Prieſts coming with the King into this Province preach'd GOD's Word, and were as willingly heard and receiv'd; and both, the Noble as well as the inferior ſort, renouncing their Idolatry, were baptiſed; nor did King *Penda* himſelf prohibit them from preaching in his own Kingdom, if they would, but rather hated and deſpiſed thoſe, whom, profeſſing the Faith of Chriſt, he found not to perform Works ſuitable to it; calling them miſerable and contemptible Wretches, who failed to obey that GOD in whom they believed. Theſe Things fell out two Years before the Death of King *Penda*.

Bede *Ib. c.* 22.

About the ſame time the *Eaſt-Saxons*, at the Inſtance of King *Oſwy*, again received the Chriſtian Faith, which they had formerly rejected, having (as you have heard,) driven away *Mellitus* their Biſhop; for *Sigebert*, who was now King of that Nation, having ſucceeded *Sigebert*, Sirnamed *The Little*; This Prince being a Friend to King *Oſwye*, and uſing to come ſometimes to viſit him into the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, he was wont often to tell him, *That thoſe could not be GODS that were the Works of Mens Hands; but that GOD was an Incomprehenſible Being, Inviſible, Omnipotent, and Eternal, who govern'd all Things both in Heaven and Earth, and would judge the World in Equity; and that all thoſe who would learn, and do His Will, ſhould receive Eternal Rewards:* Theſe and many other ſuch Things, when King *Oſwy* had often inculcated with a Brotherly Affection, at laſt by the Perſuaſion of that King, and of divers of his Friends, he alſo Believed, and was baptiſed, with all his Followers, at the ſame place where *Peadda* had been Chriſtned before, (*viz.* at *Wall-Town* above-mentioned). King *Sigebert*, being thus made a Chriſtian, returned to his own Kingdom, only asking of King *Oſwy* to appoint him ſome Teachers, who might convert and baptiſe his Nation into the Faith of Chriſt; ſo the King ſent to the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, and called back *Cedda*, who had been before ſent thither; and giving him a certain Prieſt for his Companion, ſent him to preach the Word to the *Eaſt-Saxons*: When theſe had paſſed through all places, and had gathered a very large Church, it happened ſome time after, that *Cedda*, returning home, went to *Lindisfarne*, to confer with Biſhop *Finan*; who, when he found the Work of the Goſpel to have ſo well proſpered under his Miniſtery, calling to him Two other Biſhops, ordained *Cedda* Biſhop over the Nation of the *Eaſt-Saxons*; who thereupon returned into his own Province, and finiſhing the Work he had begun with greater Authority, Built Churches in many places, and ordained Prieſts and Deacons, who might help him in the Preaching of the Word and Baptiſm; eſpecially in a City, which is called in the *Engliſh* Tongue, *Ithanceſtir*, as alſo in that which is called *Tylabury*; the former of which places was upon the Bank of the River *Pent*, and the other is near the *Thames* (now called *Tilbury*) in which having gathered together a ſmall company of Chriſt's Servants, he taught them the Diſcipline of a Monaſtick Liſe, as far as they were capable to receive it.

Anno Dom. DCLIV.

This Year, (according to the *Saxon* Annals) *Anna*, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles *was Slain*; being overcome in Fight by King *Penda*, of whom *H.Huntington* gives us but a ſlender Account, only that *Anna* and his whole Army periſhed in a moment, by the edge of the Sword; ſo that ſcarce any of them remained.

This Year alſo, one *Bottulf began to Build a Monaſtery at Icanho* (ſuppoſed to be *Boſton* in *Lincoln-ſhire*). As alſo *Honorius*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Deceaſed on 20. *Kal. Octob.* The ſame Year likewiſe (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) *Ercombert* King of *Kent* Deceaſing, *Egbert* his Son Succeeded him; in the beginning of whoſe Reign, *Æthelbert*, and *Æthelred*, the Sons of his Unkle *Ermenred*, being but Youths, were cruelly Murdered by one *Thunor*, the King's Servant, without his privity; whoſe Bodies were ſtrangely diſcovered, where they were buried, by a Light from Heaven: whereupon their Bodies were removed to the Monaſtery of *Warinens*: The Miracles that followed in the doing of which, I omit as incredible.

Anno Dom. DCLV.

This Year King *Penda* was Slain at *Winwidfeld*, with Thirty others of the Royal Blood.

Lib. 3. c. 16.

Of which Battle *Bede* gives us a particular account; That *Oſwi* having long endured the Ravages, and Devaſtations of his Country by the Inroads of King *Penda*, and having had his ſtrong City of *Bebbanburg* (now *Bamburrough* Caſtle) aſſaulted, and ſet on Fire, and thereby very near taking, found himſelf too weak to reſiſt, and offering him many Rich Preſents, deſired to buy a Peace; which *Penda* proudly refuſing, and reſolving nothing leſs ſhould ſatisfie him than this King's deſtruction; *Oſwi* upon that turning his Gifts into Vows to God, implored the Divine Aſſiſtance; devoting his Daughter (then but one Year Old) to be a Nun, and with Twelve Portions of Land, (whereof each maintained Ten Families,) to build and endow Monaſteries: So it ſeems, his Vows proved more ſucceſsful than his Treaties; for hereupon, he with *Alfred* his Son, gathering a ſmall Army, therewith encountred, and diſcomfited the *Mercians*, having then Invaded and waſted the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, thô they were Thirty times more in number, and led by experienced Captains: This Battle was fought near a place called *Loyden* (now *Leeds* in *Tork-ſhire*;) beſides this *Ethelwald*, the Son of *Oſwald*, who ruled in *Deira*, took part with the *Mercians*, but in the Fight withdrew his Forces, and in a ſafe place waited for the Event; with which unſeaſonable Retreat, the *Mercians* perhaps, being terrified, and miſdoubting greater danger fled; their Commanders together with *Penda* himſelf, being almoſt all Slain; amongſt whom was *Ethelher*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, who forgeting the Death of his Brother K. *Anna*, formerly Slain by *Penda*, now took part with him, and was the chief Authour of this War; many as they were flying were drown'd in the River *Winved*, then ſwoln above her Banks: The death of *Penda*, that Cruel, and Heathen King, cauſed a General rejoycing among the Chriſtians, according to the Old *Engliſh* ſaying, (mentioned by *Mathew Weſtminſter*) at *Winved*: So that after *Penda* had been the death of no leſs than Four or Five Chriſtian Kings, whom he ſlew in Battle, he himſelf underwent the ſame Fate; ſo little Difference is there between the deaths of Good, and Bad Princes; only the former are ~~called~~ God's Corrections, but the latter his Judgments.

Anno Dom. DCLV.

But to *Ethelher*, ſucceeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, and to *Penda* his Son *Peadda*, who being a Chriſtian and Son in Law to *Oſwi* himſelf, he allowed him to hold the Province of *South Mercia*, divided from the *Northern*, by the River of *Trent*, then containing (according to *Bede*) Five Thouſand Families,) to be held as Tributary to the *Northumbrian* Kingdom.

After this the *Mercians* became all *Chriſtians*, by the means of King *Oſwi*, and *Peadda*: and here that Copy of the *Saxon* Chronicle, Written in the Abby of *Peterburgh*, gives us a large account of the Foundation of that Abby, which is thus; "That in the Time of this *Peadda*, he "and *Oſwi*, the Brother of King *Oſwald* met, and conferred about building a Monaſtery, in honour of Chriſt and St. *Peter*, which they afterwards did, and gave it the Name of *Medeſhamſted*, from a certain "Well, which is ~~there~~, called *Medeſwell*; ſo they laid the Foundations, "and when they had near finiſhed the Work, they committed it to the "Care of a certain Monk, called *Saxulf*, who was dear to God, and beloved of all the Nation; for he was a Rich, and Noble Perſon in his "time, but is now much richer in Chriſt.

This Year alſo, (*Honorius* the Archbiſhop deceaſing, on the 7th of the Calends of *April*) *Ithamer* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Conſecrated *Deus Dedit* to be Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. This was the firſt *Engliſh* Monk, that had ever been choſen Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and was alſo the firſt that was Conſecrated but by one Biſhop; for the better ſound ſake, he changed his Name to *Deus Dedit*, having been before called *Fridona*, or *Fridon*.

Anno Dom. DCLVI.

This Year was *Peadda* Slain about *Eaſter*, by the Treachery of his Wife, the Daughter of K. *Oſwy*, and *Wulfher* (his Brother) the Son of *Penda* ſucceeded him.

Thô not until ſome Years after; for upon the Death of *Peadda*, King *Oſwi* ſeized ~~alſo~~ that part of the Kingdom, and held next his own ~~and laid~~ it ſo his ~~own Dominions~~. some time. *

Here the *Saxon* Chronicle proceeds to give us a further account, concerning the finiſhing of the aforeſaid Monaſtery of *Peterburgh*; but thô it was done ſome Years after, and the Relation be ſomewhat long, yet becauſe it ſhews more plainly than any other Hiſtory, the Form and Manner of erecting ſuch a Foundation, I ſhall give you the ſubſtance of it, omitting what is not pertinent to our purpoſe. The ſaid Chronicle proceeds thus,

"That in his (*viz. Wulfher's*) Reign, the Abby of *Medeſhamſted* was "greatly encreaſed in Riches, for that King favoured it very much, for "the ſake of his own Brother, *Peadda*, and of *Oſwie*, his Brother in "the Chriſtian Faith; as alſo of *Saxulf* the Abbot; wherefore he ſaid "that he would render it yet more famous, and would highly adorn it, "being thereunto perſwaded By his Brothers, *Ethelred*, and *Merwalla*, "and his Siſters, *Kyneburg*, and *Kyneſwith*, as alſo by Arch-Biſhop *Deus* "*Dedit*, and all his Wiſe Men, both Clerks and Laicks that were in his "Kingdom; then the King ſending for the ſaid Abbot, told him, that "ſince his Brother *Peadda*, and his Friend *Oſwie* had begun this Monaſtery "and that he was Departed this Life, therefore the Abbot ſhould, "take diligent care to ſee it finiſhed, and he would provide all things, "as both Gold and Silver, Lands and poſſeſſions, and whatever elſe was "needful for it; whereupon the Abbot went home, and ſetting to the "Work, ſo far advanced it, that in few Years it was finiſhed; which "when

* Leland in his Collecta[illegible] lately publish[illegible] [illegible]letes from the Authority [illegible] anonimous [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] but he [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] after wards himself [illegible] converted to the Christian faith he [illegible] found[ed] the [illegible] Medeshamstede in expiation of that murther [illegible] [illegible] his [illegible] but since this is not mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle nor in any other ancient historian I look [upon] it as a Monkish [illegible] invented in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to prevail in the English Church.

when it was told the King, he was very joyful, and ſent to give notice of it to all his *Thanes* throughout the whole Nation, as alſo the Arch-Biſhop, Biſhops Earls and all who loved God, that they ſhould come to him; ſo he appointed them a day when the Monaſtery ſhould be Conſecrated; at which Conſecration King *Wulfer*, and his Brother *Ethelred*, and his Siſters were all preſent, as was alſo Arch-Biſhop *Deus Dedit*, and *Ithamer* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, together with *Wina* Biſhop of *London*, and ſeveral other Biſhops: There were alſo preſent all the *Thanes* that were in his Kingdom, when this Monaſtery was Conſecrated, in the Names of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and St. *Andrew*: Then the King riſing up from his Chair, ſpoke thus, with a loud Voice before all his *Thanes*; *Thanks be to the moſt High and Omnipotent GOD, for this honour which he hath done me*, and I will, That you all confirm my Words; I *Wulfer* do give this Day to St. *Peter*, and to *Saxulf*, and to the Monks of this Monaſtery, all theſe Lands, Waters, *&c.* and all the Territories lying round about them, which are of my Royal Patrimony; ſo freely that no Man ſhall have thence any Tribute or Revenue, beſides the Abbot and Monks, which Gift is this; Then the King proceeded to declare the Meets and Bounds of the Lands, which he had given; which becauſe they are not to our purpoſe, I omit, only that they reach'd as far as *Stamford*, and were above Threeſcore Miles about; then ſaid the King, *The Gift indeed is ſmall, but I will, that they hold it ſo freely, that none may exact any* Gueld *or Tribute out of it, but what is* *id to the Monks; and I do hereby free this Monaſtery, from being ſubject to any, but the See of* Rome; *but I will alſo, That all thoſe who cannot go thither, ſhould here implore to St.* Peter: " When the King had ſpoke theſe things, the Abbot made a requeſt to him, in the behalf of certain Religious Monks, who deſired to lead the Lives of *Anchorites*, and therefore prayed, that on a certain Iſland, a ſmall Monaſtery ſhould be Built, wherein they might live in Peace and Solitude; which was preſently granted by the King; then he alſo deſired his Brothers and Siſters, that for the good of their Souls, they would be witneſſes to his Charter; conjuring all thoſe who ſhould ſucceed him, to preſerve his Gift Inviolate, as they hoped to be partakers of Eternal Life, and would eſcape Eternal Torments; then follow the Names of the Witneſſes, who were preſent, and who ſubſcribed, and with the ſign of the Croſs confirmed it, by their conſents; that is, King *Wulfer*, who firſt of all confirmed it with his Word, and then ſign'd it with the Croſs, and then ſpake thus, *I King* Wulfer *with the Earls, Heoretoghs, and Thanes, being Witneſſes of my Gift, do confirm it with Chriſt's Croſs, before the Arch-Biſhop* Deus Dedit: Then follow the Subſcriptions of the Kings, and others of the Blood Royal, (*viz.*) *Oſwi*, King of *Northumberland*, King *Sygar*, King *Sibbi*; *Ethelred* the King's Brother, together with his Siſters above named, as alſo of *Deus Dedit*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; after whom follow the Subſcriptions of the reſt of the Biſhops, together with ſome Presbyters and *Saxulf* the Abbot; as alſo of divers Eoldermen or Governours of Countries, who with divers others of the King's great Men, did likewiſe confirm it: This Charter was made in the Year after our Lord's Nativity, 664, being the Seventh Year of King *Wulfer*'s Reign: they did then alſo denounce the Curſe of God, and all his Saints againſt all that ſhould violate any thing that was there done; to which they all anſwered, *Amen*. As ſoon as this was over, the King ſent to *Rome* to

" Pope *Vitalian*, deſiring him to confirm all that he had granted by hi
" Letters, or Bull, which the Pope immediately performed, being to th
" ſame effect, with the King's Charter already mentioned; in this man-
" ner was the Monaſtery of *Medeſhamſted* Founded, which was after-
" wards called *Burgh*, (now *Peterburgh*.

But to return again to Civil Affairs, having dwelt I doubt too long upon Eccleſiaſtical.

Anno Dom. DCLVIII. " This Year, *Kenwalk* (King of the *Weſt-Saxons*) fought againſt th " *Welſh*, at a place called *Peonnum*, and purſued them as far as *Pedridan*. Of which Fight *H. Huntington* gives us this further Account; That a the firſt Onſet, the *Britains* were too hard for the *Engliſh*; but they ab-horing flight as bad as Death it ſelf, perſiſted in fighting with them, til the *Britains* growing tired, and diſheartened, fled, and were purſued a hath been already ſaid, ſo that they received a very great blow.

Anno Dom. DCLIX. " This Year, according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *Hilda* the Abbeſs " Founded a Monaſtery at a place called *Streanſhale*, wherein ſhe lived " and dyed Abbeſs.

The ſame Year alſo, according to the ſame Author, *Inumin*, *Eaba* and *Eadbert*, Eoldermen of *Mercia*, rebelled againſt King *Oſwi*, and pro-claimed for their King, *Wulfer*, the Son of *Penda*, whom they had hithert kept concealed; Alſo *Ædelbert*, or *Aglbert* the Biſhop left King *Cenwalch*, and took the Biſhoprick of *Paris*; and *Wina* held th Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, of both which *Bede* hath already given us a parricular account.

The ſame Year alſo (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*,) *Cuthred* the Son of *Cuichelm* a Couſin to King *Cenwalch*, as alſo *Kenbryht* the Eolderman great Grandſon to King *Ceawlin*, and Father of King *Cadwalla* dyed.

Anno Dom. DCLXI. This Year (according to the *Saxon* Annals) King *Cenwalch* fought *about the time of* Eaſter *with King* Wulſher *at* Poſentesbyrig [ſuppoſed to be *Pontesbury* in *Shropſhire*;] and *Wulſher the Son of* Penda *waſted the Country a far as* Æſceſdune, now *Aſton* near *Wallingford*; and *Cuthred* the Son o *Cuichelm*, as alſo King *Kenbryht* dyed.

Lib. II. *Cap.* 13. The ſame Year, according to † *Bede*, *Wulſher* took the Iſle of *Wight* with the Country of the *Meanvari*, and gave them to *Athelwald*, King o the *South Saxons*, becauſe he had been that King's Godfather at his Bap-tiſm; and *Eoppa* the Prieſt, at the Command of Biſhop *Wilfrid*, and King *Wulſher*, firſt of all offered Baptiſm to the Inhabitants of that Iſland whether they accepted it or not, is very uncertain: But I cannot bu here obſerve the uncertainty of the Hiſtory of theſe Times; for *Ethelwer* in his Chronicle under this Year, (and at this very place above menti-oned relates, that *Cenwalk* had the Victory, and carried away *Wulſhe* Priſoner.

Theſe *Meanvari* here mentioned by *Bede*, are ſuppoſed by Mr. *Camde* in his *Britannia*, to have been the People of that part of *Hampſhire*, lyin over againſt the Iſle of *Wight*.

This Year alſo *Sigebert*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, (thô ſtanding firm i the Chriſtian Faith) was (as *Bede* tells us) wickedly Murder'd by th *Id. cap.* 22. Conſpiracy of two Brethren in places near about him, who being aske what moved them to do ſo wicked a Deeed? gave no other than thi Barbarous Anſwer; *That they were angry with him for being ſo gentle to hi Enemies, as to forgive them their Injuries when ever they beſought him*: But th occaſion of his death is much more remarkable; for one of thoſe Ear

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who ſlew him, living in unlawful Wedlock, ſtood thereof excommunicated by the Biſhop ; ſo that no man might preſume to enter into his Houſe, much leſs to Eat with him ; the King not regarding this Church-Cenſure, went to a Feaſt at his Houſe, upon an Invitation, whom the Biſhop meeting in his return, thô penitent for what he had done, and fallen at his Feet, yet gently touched with the Rod in his Hand, and being provoked thus foretold: *Becauſe thou haſt neglected to abſtain from the Houſe of this Excommunicate, in that Houſe thou ſhalt dye*, and ſo it fell out, not long after, perhaps from that Prediction; God then bearing witneſs to his Miniſter, in the due power of Church Diſcipline, when Spiritually executed on the Contemner thereof: Yet *Bede* is ſo Charitable as to believe, that the unfortunate Death of this Religious Prince did not only attone for his fault, but might alſo increaſe his merit: To *Sigebert*, *Swidhelm* the Son of *Sexbald*, ſucceeded in that Kingdom, who was Baptized by Biſhop *Cedda* in the Province of the *Eaſt-Angles*, in the Royal Village, called *Rendleſham*, *Edelwald* King of that Country (who was the Brother of King *Anna*) being his Godfather.

M.

Anno Dom. DCLXIV.

“ The Sun was now eclipſed *Vº. Non Maij*; and *Ercenbryht* King of
“ *Kent* departed this Life, and *Ecgbryht* his Son ſucceeded him in that Kingdom.

As for King *Ercombert*, *Will. Malmesbury* gives him a very good Character, being famous for his Religion to God, and his Love to his Country ; but he had no Right to the Crown ſave only by Election, having an Elder Brother, called *Ermenred*, who was alive at the beginning of his Reign, and left two Sons behind him.

“ *Coleman* alſo with his Companions then departed to his own Nation;
“ the ſame Year there was a great Plague over all the Iſle of *Britain*, in
“ which periſhed *Tuda* the Biſhop, and was buried at *Wagele* (which *Bede*
“ calls *Pegnaleth*:) alſo *Ceadda* and *Wilverth* were now Conſecrated Bi-
“ ſhops ; and the ſame Year too the Archbiſhop *Deus Dedit* dyed, after
“ whom the See remained void for Four Years.

But of the occaſion of this departure of *Coleman*, *Bede* hath given us a long and particular account, (*viz.*) That a Synod being called at *Streanſhall* (now *Whitby* in *York-ſhire*) by the procurement of *Hilda* the Abbeſs of that place; thô by the Authority of King *Oſwi*, (who was there preſent,) concerning the old Difference about the obſervation of *Eaſter*; *Wilfred* the Abbot, and *Romanus* a Prieſt, were very earneſt for the obſervation of it, according to the Order of the Church of *Rome*; and *Coleman* Biſhop of *Lindisfarne* was as zealous on the other ſide; but after many Arguments *pro* and *con*, (which you may find at large in *Bede*,) the Synod at laſt determining in favour of the *Romiſh Eaſter*, it ſo far diſpleaſed *Coleman*, that he was reſolved to quit his Biſhoprick, and depart into *Scotland*, to the *Iſle* of *Hye*, (from whence he came,) rather than to comply with it; from whence he alſo departed into *Ireland*, (here called *Scotland*) where he built a Monaſtery in that Country, and lived all the reſt of his days, and in which only *Engliſh* Men were admitted, at the time when *Bede* wrote his Hiſtory.

Id. Cap. 25.

But after the departure of *Coleman*, one *Tuda*, who had been ordained Biſhop among the *Southern Scots*, was made Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, but he enjoyed that Biſhoprick but a very little while.

But after the Death of Biſhop *Tuda*, (according to the Life of Biſhop *Wilfrid*) King *Oſwi* held a great Council with the Wiſe Men of his Nation,

* *Lately publiſh'd at Ox*ford, *by the Learned Dr.* Gale.

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tion, whom they ſhould chuſe in the vacant See, as moſt fit for that holy Function, when they all with one Conſent nominated and choſe Abbot *Wilfrid* as the fitteſt and worthieſt Perſon to ſucceed him; but being to be Conſecrated; he refuſed it from any Biſhop at home, becauſe he look'd upon them all as Uncanonical, being all ordained by *Scotiſh* Biſhops, who differed from the *Roman* Church about this Point of keeping *Eaſter*; ſo that he would needs go over into *France* for Ordination; where ſtaying too long, the King put *Ceadda* (who had lately come out of *Ireland*) into his Place; which *Wilfred* upon his return much reſenting, retired to his Monaſtery at *Ripon*, and there reſided; as alſo ſometimes with *Wulfher*, King of *Mercia*, or elſe with *Ecgbert* King of *Kent*, till he was reſtored to his See.

Bede tells us, that the above-mentioned Eclipſe was followed by a ſudden Peſtilence the ſame Year, which firſt depopulating the Southern Parts of *Britain*, then proceeded to the Northern, wherein Biſhop *Tuda* deceaſed; it alſo invaded *Ireland*, and there took off many Religious, as well as Secular Perſons.

The ſame Year alſo (according to *Florence*) *Ercombert* King of *Kent* dying, left that Kingdom to *Egbert* his Son: Alſo *Ethelwald* King of the *Eaſt Angles* dying this Year, *Aldulf* ſucceeded him.

Lib. 4. *c.* 30.

About this time (according to *Bede*) *Siger* and *Sebba*, ſucceeding *Swidhelm* in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Saxons*, being unſteady in the Faith, and ſuppoſing the late great Peſtilence to have fell upon them for renouncing their old Superſtition, relapſed again to Idolatry, and rebuilt the Idol-Temples, hoping by that means to be defended from the preſent Mortality; but as ſoon as *Wulfher*, King of the *Mercians*, (to whom this Kingdom was then ſubject) heard of it, he ſent Biſhop *Jaruman* to them, who, together with their Fellow-Labourers, by their ſound Doctrine, and gentle Dealing, ſoon reclaimed them from their Apoſtacy.

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This Mortality is alſo partly confirmed by *Mat. Weſtminſter*, who the next Year relates ſo great a Mortality to have raged in *England*, that many Men going in Troops to the Sea-ſide, caſt themſelves in headlong, preferring a ſpeedy Death before the Torments of a long and painful Sickneſs; thô this ſeems to be no other than the great Peſtilence which raged the Year before, unleſs we ſuppoſe it to have laſted for 2 Years ſucceſſively.

The ſame Year alſo, according to the Account of an ancient *Britiſh* Chronicle, (l~~ately~~ in the Poſſeſſion of Mr. *Robert Vaughan*,) *Cadwallader*, laſt King of the *Britains*, having been forced by a great Famine and Mortality to quit his Native Country, and to ſojourn with *Alan* King of *Armorica*; finding no hopes of ever recovering his Kingdom, from thence went to *Rome*, where, profeſſing himſelf a Monk, he died about 8 Years after. Now, thô the *Britiſh* Hiſtory of *Caradoc* (Tranſlated by *Humphrey Lloyd*, and Publiſhed by Dr. *Powel*,) places *Cadwallader*'s going to *Rome* *Anno* 680, which, Mr. *Vaughan* in the Manuſcript I have by me, (and which is already cited in the former Book) proves, can neither agree with the Account of the ſaid old Chronicle, nor yet with the Time of the great Mortality above-mentioned; for *Caradoc* and *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* do both place *Cadwallader*'s going to *Rome* in the Year of the great Peſtilence, which (as *Bede* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* teſtifie) fell out in the Year 664, or 665, and therefore that learned Antiquary very well obſerves, That as for their Calculation, who prolong *Cadwallader*'s Life to the Year 688, or 689, and place his going to *Rome* in Pope *Sergius*'s time, he

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he thinks they had no better Warrant for it, than their miſtaking Ceadwalla, King of the Weſt Saxons, (who then indeed went to Rome, and there died) for this Cadwallader, who lived near 20 Years before, whereby they have confounded this Hiſtory, and brought it into a great deal of uncertainty; whereas that ancient Appendix annex'd to the Manuſcript, Nennius, in the Cottonian Library, (whoſe Author lived above 300 Years before either Geoffery, or Caradoc,) doth clearly ſhew, that this ~~Monaſtery~~ Mortality above-mentioned, and conſequently Cadwallader's going to Rome, happened in the Reign of Oſwi King of Northumberland; who, according to the Saxon Annals, began to Reign Anno 642, and died Anno 670; and therefore no other Mortality ought to be aſſigned for Cadwallader's going to Rome, than this in King Oſwi's Reign, Anno 665, for the Words of the ſaid old Author are theſe: 'Oſwi, the Son of Ethelfred, reigned '28 Years, and 6 Months; and whilſt he reigned, there happened a great 'Mortality of Men, Catwalater (ſo he ſpells it) then reigning over the 'Britains, after his Father, and therein periſhed. Now the Caſe is clear, if theſe Words in the Latin, *Et in ea periit*, have relation to Cadwallader, (as moſt likely they have,) conſidering Oſwi lived 5 Years after the Year 665, wherein this Mortality raged; then Cadwallader never went to Rome at all, but died of this Plague; but of this, I dare not poſitively determine, ſince the greater part of the Welſh Chronicles are ſo poſitive in Cadwallader's dying at Rome. But to return to our Annals.

Anno Dom. DCLXVI.

Lib. 4. c. 1.

Anno Dom. DCLXVII.

'This Year Oſwi King of Northumberland, and Ecgbrith King of Kent, 'with the Conſent of the whole Engliſh Church, (as Bede relates,) 'ſent Wigheard the Presbyter to Rome, to be there made Arch-Biſhop of 'Canterbury, but he died almoſt as ſoon as he arrived: So that Theodorus being the next Year conſecrated Arch-Biſhop, was ſent into Britain. Of which Tranſaction, Bede gives us this particular Account.

Lib. 3. c. 29.

About this time alſo, (as Bede relates,) Wina Biſhop of Wincheſter being driven from his See by King Kenwalch, went and bought the See of London of King Wulfher. This is the firſt Example of Simony in the Engliſh Church.

The See of Canterbury had been now vacant for above 3 Years, for the Pope was reſolved himſelf to Ordain an Arch-Biſhop; and at laſt, at the Recommendation of one Adrian a Greek Monk, (who might have been Arch-Biſhop himſelf, but refuſed it,) the Pope choſe this Theodorus, then a Monk, and a Native of Tharſus in Cilicia; who, being an excellent Scholar, brought the knowledge of the Greek Tongue, as alſo Arithmetick, Muſick, and Aſtronomy, in uſe among the Engliſh Saxons.

Lib. 4. c. 2.

This Arch-Biſhop, immediately upon his coming into England, made a thorough Viſitation of his Province, and (as Bede tells us) ſurveyed all Things, and ordained Biſhops in fit Places; and thoſe Things which he found leſs perfect than they ſhould be, he by their Aſſiſtance corrected; among which, when he found fault with Biſhop Ceadda, as not having been rightly Conſecrated; he humbly and modeſtly replied, *If you believe that I have not rightly undertook the Epiſcopal Charge, I willingly quit it, ſince as I never thought my ſelf worthy, ſo I never conſented to accept it, but in obedience to the Commands of my Superiours.* But the Arch-Biſhop ſeeing his Humility, anſwered, "That he would not have him lay aſide "his Epiſcopacy; and ſo he again renewed his Ordination according to the Catholick Rites.

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From whence it appears, that this Arch-Biſhop then thought the Ordination of the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Biſhops, who differed from the Church of *Rome*, as to the time of keeping *Eaſter*, to be Uncanonical; and for this reaſon *Bede* here alſo tells us, That Biſhop *Wilfrid* was ſent into *France* to be Ordained: But as for this Biſhop *Ceadda*, *Florence* of *Worceſter* informs us, That he was now alſo deprived of his Biſhoprick, (and *Wilfrid* reſtored to it,) as having been unduly Elected thereunto; which, thô *Bede* doth not tell us in expreſs Words, yet he confirms it in the very next Chapter, where he tells us, That *Jaruman*, Biſhop of the *Mercians*, being now dead, King *Wulfher* did not ask Arch-Biſhop *Theodorus* to Ordain a new One, but only deſired of King *Oſwi*, that Biſhop *Ceadda*, the Brother of *Cedda*, ſhould be ſent to him to take that Charge, (who lived privately at his Monaſtery of *Leſtinghen*, where he was then Abbot,) *Wilfrid* then not only Governing the Dioceſs of *York*, and all the *Northumbers*, but alſo the *Picts* as far as King *Oſwi*'s Dominions extended. But to return again to the *Saxon* Annals.

* and the same year after three years Inter-regnum since the death of Cadwalader, Ivor was made K. King of the Britains in Wales Chron. Wal. penes R. Vaughan.

Anno Dom. DCLXIX.

'This Year King *Egbert* gave to *Baſſe* the Prieſt (the Saxon call) *Reculſ*, where he built 'a Monaſtery: This was afterwards called *Reculver* [in *Kent*].

Anno Dom. DCLXX.

'*Oſwi*, King of *Northumberland*, died xv *Kal. Martij*, [and was buried at '*Streanſhale* Monaſtery,] and *Ecverth* (or *Egfrid*) his Son reigned after 'him; alſo *Lothaire*, Nephew of Biſhop *Agelbert*, took upon him the Epiſcopal Charge over the *Weſt Saxons*, and held it 7 Years; Arch-Biſhop *Theodorus* Conſecrated him. He whom theſe Annals call *Lothair*, was the ſame with *Leutherius* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

* *Lib.* 4. *c.* 5.

* *Bede* tells us further of King *Oſwi*, That being worn out with a long Infirmity, he was ſo much in love with the *Roman* Rites, that if he had recovered of the Sickneſs of which he died, he had reſolved to go to *Rome*, and end his Days at the Holy Places; having engaged Biſhop *Wilfrid* to be the Guide and Companion of his Journey, promiſing him no ſmall Rewards for his Pains.

Anno Dom. DCLXXI.

'This Year was a great ſlaughter of Birds. *H. Huntington* renders it a great Fight of Birds, which ſeems to have been ſome remarkable Combat of Crows or Jackdaws in the Air, of which we have ſeveral wonderful Relations in our Hiſtories. *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates, that the ſtrange Birds ſeemed to flie before thoſe of this Country, but that many Thouſands were killed.

and

Anno Dom. DCLXXII.

'This next Year *Cenwalch* King of the *Weſt Saxons* died, and *Sexburga* 'his Wife held the Kingdom after him for one Year. Of whom *William* of *Malmesbury* gives this Account; That this King dying, left the Kingdom to *Sexburga* his Wife; nor did ſhe want Spirit or Courage to diſcharge all the Functions of a King, for ſhe ſtraitways began to raiſe new Forces, as alſo to keep the Old to their Duty; to govern her Subjects with moderation, and to keep her Enemies in awe; and, in ſhort, to do ſuch great Things, that there was no Difference, but the Sex, between Her and a King: But as ſhe aimed at more than *Feminine* Undertakings, ſo ſhe left this Life when ſhe had ſcarce Reigned a Year about.

But *Mat. Weſtminſter* ſays, ſhe was expelled the Kingdom by the Nobles, who deſpiſed Female Government: But what Authority he had for this, I know not, for I do not find it in any other Author; whereas if what *William* of *Malmesbury* ſays of her be true, it was not likely they ſhould Rebel againſt ſo good a Governeſs, who ſeems to have been the perfect Pattern of an Excellent Queen.

Anno Dom. DCLXXII.

& who takes no notice of Queen Sexburga

After the Death of King *Cenwalch*, and (as I ſuppoſe) Queen *Sexburga* likewiſe, *Bede* relates, That the Great Men or Petty Princes of that Kingdom, divided it among them, and ſo held it for 10 Years; in which time *Eleutherius*, Biſhop of the *Weſt Saxons* (*i. e.* of *Wincheſter*) dying, *Heddi* was Conſecrated by Arch-Biſhop *Theodorus* in his ſtead; in whoſe time thoſe Petty Princes being all ſubdued, *Cendwalla* took the Kingdom; but this does not agree with the *Saxon Annals*.

Lib. 4. *c.* 12.

About this time (thô *Bede* does not ſet down the Year) King *Egfrid* of *Northumberland* waging War with *Wulfher*, King of *Mercia*, won from him all the Country of *Lindſey*.

About this time alſo died *Ceadda*, Biſhop of *Litchfield*, (according to *Ran. Higden*'s *Polychron*;) but *Bede* does not tell us the time of his Death, thô he mentions it, and there gives a large Account of the great Humility and Piety of that good Biſhop, and of the Pious End he made: He is called by us at this day St. *Chad*.

Lib. 4. *c.* 3. for

Anno Dom. DCLXXIII.

This Year *Egbert*, King of *Kent*, deceaſed, (according to *Bede*'s Epitome,) who (as ſays *Math. Weſtminſter*) gave part of the Iſle of *Thanet* to build a Monaſtery, to expiate the Murder of his Couſins, whom he had cauſed to be ſlain, as you have already heard.

The ſame Year was a Synod of all the Biſhops and great Men of *England* held at *Heortford*, (now *Hartford*,) which Synod (as *Bede* tells us) was called by Arch-Biſhop *Theodorus*; where *Wilfred* Biſhop of *York*, with all the reſt of the Biſhops of *England*, were either in Perſon, or by their Deputies, (as *Florence* relates,) and in which divers Decrees were made for the Reformation of the Church; the firſt and chiefeſt of which was, *That Eaſter ſhould be kept on the firſt Lord's Day after the Fourteenth Moon of the Firſt Month* (~~*i. e. January*~~); which thô it had been before appointed by the Synod at *Streanſhale* above-mentioned, yet that being not looked upon as a General Council of the whole Kingdom, it was now again renewed; the reſt of them concerning the Juriſdictions of the Biſhops, and the Priviledges and Exemptions of Monaſteries, I paſs over, and refer you to Sir *H. Spelman*'s Firſt Volume of *Councils* for farther ſatisfaction: But I cannot omit, that it was here firſt Ordained, That thô Synods ought to be held twice a Year, yet ſince divers Cauſes might hinder it, therefore it ſeem'd good to the whole Council, that a Synod ſhould be aſſembled once a Year at a place called *Cloveſhoe*.

Lib. 4. *c.* 5.

i.e. March 9. [illegible]

This Year alſo the *Saxon Annals* relate, 'That *Etheldrethe*, late Wife to '*Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, founded the Monaſtery of *Ely*, (in 'which ſhe her ſelf became the firſt Abbeſs.) She (as *Bede* tells us) had been twice married, but would never let either of her Husbands enjoy her; and at laſt (with much ado) obtained Leave of this King to quit his Palace, and retire into a Nunnery; which perverting of the Ends of Marriage, was counted a great piece of Sanctity in thoſe Times. But the Monaſtery above-mentioned being burnt and deſtroyed by the *Danes*, *Anno* 870, was afterwards re-edified by King *Edgar*, as ſhall be in due time more particularly related.

Id. c. 19.

'Alſo *Eglright*, King of *Kent*, deceaſed; and *Lothair*, his Brother, ſucceeded him.

This Year alſo, according to *Bede*, *Boſa* Biſhop of *Dunmoc* being deprived by reaſon of his Infirmities; two Biſhops, (*viz.*) *Acca* and *Bedwin*, were placed in that Dioceſs, one of whom had his See at *Dunmoc* (now *Dunwich*) in *Suffolk*, and the other at *Helmham* in *Norfolk*.

Anno Dom. DCLXXIV.

'This Year *Æſcwin* began to Reign over the *Weſt-Saxons.*] Here alſo follows his Pedigree needleſs to be repeated; for *William* of *Malmesbury* remarks no more of him, than that he was ſuppoſed to be the next of the Royal Line, as being the great Nephew of *Cynegils*, by his Brother *Cuthgils*.

* *Publiſhed by Sir* Ja. Ware 1664, *with other Pieces of* Bede, *and Arch-Biſhop* Egbert; *it is alſo in Manuſcript in the* Cottonian *Library.*

The ſame Year (as *Bede* tells us in *his Lives of the Abbots of *Wiremuth* and *Girwy)* Abbot *Benedict*, (I ſuppoſe from his Epiſcopal Actions Sirnamed *Biſcop*,) having before come over with Arch-Biſhop *Theodorus*, was by him made Abbot of the Monaſtery of St. *Peter* in *Canterbury*; which he 2 Years after reſigning, and *Adrian*, that great Scholar, ſucceeding him, he went again to *Rome*, and then returning into *Britain*, brought along with him many Books of Divine Knowledge; and then applying himſelf to *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, he obtained of him as much Land as ſerved 70 Families, lying near the Mouth of the River *Wir*, (in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*,) where he began a Monaſtery in Honour of St. *Peter*; but before it was finiſhed, he went into *France*, and from thence brought Maſons, who built the Church of Stone after the *Roman* faſhion: and the Work being near finiſhed, he ſent into the ſame Country for Artificers, who underſtood the making of Glaſs, which till then had been unknown in *Britain*; wherewith he glazed the Windows of the Church and Monaſtery he had there built, and thereby taught the *Engliſh* Nation the Art of Glaſs-making; which (ſays my Author) hath proved ſo uſeful in making of Lamps for Churches, and alſo other Veſſels ſo neceſſary for divers Uſes: And becauſe this Iſland, nor yet *France* it ſelf, could then afford all the Ornaments requiſite for the Altar, he took care to fetch them from *Rome*, whither he went for that purpoſe; from whence again returning, he brought a great many choice Books of all ſorts, together with divers Relicks of Saints, and curious Pictures, with which he adorned the Church he had built; and he likewiſe received a Bull from Pope *Agatho*, whereby the Monaſtery alſo, by the Conſent and Licenſe of King *Egfrid*, was freed from all Secular Servitude.

But ſome time after, (*Simeon* of *Durham* ſays 8 Years,) King *Egfrid* (being very well ſatisfied with what *Benedict* had done) beſtowed as much more Land upon him as then maintained 40 Families, for the building of another Monaſtery at a Place called *Girwy*, (now *Tarrov*,) near the Mouth of the River *Tine*, which was built in Honour of St. *Paul*; when alſo, by reaſon of his frequent Abſence and Employment in other Affairs, he appointed one *Eaſterwine* his Kinſman, Abbot of that of St *Peter*; and *Ceolfrid* a Monk of the ſame Monaſtery, over that of S. *Paul*; in which Charges they continued ſeveral Years under his Inſpection; till at laſt, after the deceaſe of *Eaſterwine*, and another Abbot called *Sigfrid*, *Ceolfrid* above-mentioned was made Abbot of both Monaſteries, which he Governed many Years; untill He reſigning that Charge, went to end his Days at *Rome*, but died by the way in *France*. Theſe Tranſactions, thô happening in the ſpace of about 40 Years, I have here put together, that you may have at once the Hiſtory of theſe two ancient and famous Monaſteries, in the latter of which *Bede* himſelf (the Author of this Account) lived, and died a Monk, as ſhall be related hereafter.

About this time alſo, (thô *Bede* does not ſet down the Year,) Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* depoſed *Winfrid*, Biſhop of the *Mercians*, for ſome Canonical Diſobedience, and ordained *Sexwulf*, Abbot of *Medeſhamſted*, in his Room. But to return to the Annals.

'This Year *Wulſher* the Son of *Penda*, and *Æſcwin* Son of *Cenwulf*, 'fought at *Bedanheafde*; and alſo King *Wulſher* deceaſed the ſame Year.] Where that Place was, is uncertain, (thô ſome ſuppoſe it to be *Bedwin* in *Wiltſhire*, lying near *Berkſhire*.) *H. Huntington* deſcribes this Battle to have ~~been very~~ ſharp; but that the *Mercian* King, inheriting his Father's, and his Grandfather's Courage, was ſomewhat ſuperiour; yet that both Armies were terribly ſhattered, and many Thouſands ſlain on both Sides; on which our Author makes this juſt Reflection, 'That from 'hence it is worth while to obſerve, how Vile the Actions of Men, and 'how Vain thoſe Wars are, which Princes call *Glorious Undertakings*; for 'when theſe Kings had brought ſo great a Deſtruction upon their own 'Nations, both of them ſurvived not long after: For (according to *Florence*'s Chronicle) King *Wulſher* deceaſed this Year, having deſtroyed the Worſhip of Idols throughout his Kingdom, and cauſed the Goſpel to be preached in all Places of his Dominions, and *Ethelred* his Brother ſucceeded him in the Kingdom; whom *William* of *Malmesbury* deſcribes to have been more famous for Devotion, than Fighting, unleſs when he ſhewed his Courage in a notable Expedition againſt *Kent*; or elſe when he met and repell'd *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, and forced him to return home, recovering from him all *Lindſey*, which *Wulſher* had taken away before, thô with the loſs of his Brother *Edwin*, in that Expedition; after which, he ſpent all the reſt of his Life in Peace.

Anno Dom. DCLXXV.

About this time alſo, according to *Math. Weſtminſter*, (for *Bede* hath not ſet down the Years,) *Erkenwald*, younger Son of *Anna* King of the *Eaſt Angles*, was by Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* ordained Biſhop of *London*, being a Man of great Worth and Piety.

This Year alſo (according to *Florence*) King *Wulſher* was firſt baptized, but the *Saxon Annals* mention no ſuch thing; and therefore I wonder from whence he had it, for it is quite contrary to what *Bede* relates, concerning his being Baptized long before; or elſe, How could he be Godfather to *Edelwalch*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, who was Baptized near 20 Years before? But I ſuppoſe *Florence* had it from ſome old Monkiſh Legend, if not from the *Roman* Martyrology it ſelf, in which is related, that incredible Story of King *Wulſher*'s murdering of his two Sons, *Ulſwald* and *Rufin*, with his own Hands, becauſe they had been inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith by *Ceadda*, Biſhop of *Litchfield*. And Mr. *Stow*, in his Chronicle, having found the ſame Story in an old Ledger-Book of that Church, hath thought fit to inſert it into his Hiſtory; placing the Year of their Suffering in *Anno* 668, when all our Hiſtorians do at that time relate him to have been a Chriſtian. But this Book adds further, That the Queen, Mother to theſe Princes, cauſed them to be buried under a great heap of Stones, and thereby gave Name to the Town of *Stone* in *Staffordſhire*. I thought good to take notice of this Romance, becauſe a greater Author, *viz.* Mr. *Camden* himſelf, hath alſo thought fit to put it into his **Britannia*, from the Authority of a Manuſcript Book once belonging to the Abby of *Peterburgh*.

* In Staffordſhire.

But it is time to look back upon Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; for now (according to *William* of *Malmesbury*) one *Adhelm* a Monk began to build the Abby of *Malmesbury*, having before obtained a Licenſe for ſo doing, together with a Grant of certain Lands, called *Madulfsburgh*, from *Lutherius* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; the Place being ſo called from one *Maildulf* a *Scotch* Monk, and Philoſopher, (under whom *Aldhelm* had formerly ſtudied)

Anno Dom. DCLXXV. who died at this Place, where *Maildulf* had alſo begun a ſmall Monaſtery; but the few Monks that were there had no Means to ſubſiſt but by Alms, until ſuch time as this *Aldhelm* built it anew, and got it Endowed by the Charity of *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*; *Ceadwalla*, and *Ina*, Kings of the *Weſt Saxons*, with other Noble Benefactors: So that it ſoon became one of the greateſt and richeſt Monaſteries in *England*, being at firſt called *Madunesburg*, and afterwards *Malmesbury*. Vid. *Monaſt. Angl.* p 97, 98.

About the ſame time alſo, according to the old Book of the Abby of *Abingdon* in the *Cottonian Librarie*, the Abby of *Abingdon* was founded by one *Hean*, Nephew to *Ciſſa*, a Petty Prince under *Kentwin*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, in *Wiltſhire* and *Berkſhire*; the Place at firſt was called *Sheoveſham*, and the Foundation was for no more than an Abbot, and 12 Monks, but was afterwards much increaſed by the Charity of ſucceeding Kings; being rebuilt by Abbot *Ordgar* in the Reign of King *Edgar*, having been burnt and deſtroyed by the *Danes* in the time of King *Alfred*.

Lib. 4. c. 6. This Year alſo (according to *Bede*) Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* conſecrated *Erkenwald* ^ Biſhop of *London*, who was in great Reputation for his Sanctity, having, before he came to be Biſhop, founded two Monaſteries, the one for *Ethelburg* his Siſter, at *Berking*; the other for himſelf, at *Chertesey* in *Surrey*.

(younger son [illegible]

Anno Dom. DCLXXVI. 'This Year *Eſcwin*, Biſhop of the *Eaſt Saxons*, departed this Life, and '*Hedda* took the Biſhoprick of that Province, and *Centwin* ſucceeded in the 'Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*; which *Centwin* was Son to *Cynegils*, and 'he the Son of *Ceolwulf*: Alſo *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, waſted *Kent*. Of which Expedition, *H. Huntington* further relates, That this King made War againſt *Lothair*, King of *Kent*; but he fearing that Valour, ſo Hereditary to the *Mercian* Family, kept out of ſight, and durſt not meet him; whereupon the King of *Mercia* deſtroyed the City of *Rocheſter*, and paſſing through the Kingdom of *Kent*, carried away a great deal of Spoil.

Lib. 4. c. 12. *Bede* adds further, That he deſtroyed both Churches and Monaſteries, without any regard to Religion, and ſo ſpoiled the Church and Palace of *Rocheſter*, that *Putta*, the Biſhop of that See, was forced to retire to *Sexwulf* Biſhop of the *Mercians*; and from him receiving the Poſſeſſion of a certain Church, there ended his Days in Peace. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXVII. This *Putta* is by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *William* of *Malmesbury*, made the firſt Biſhop of *Hereford*; which Church, it ſeems, *Sexwulf* parted with to him, tho *Bede* does not expreſly mention it. Alſo *Eadhed* was now ordained Biſhop in the Province of *Lindiſſe*, which King *Egfrid* had lately conquered from *Wulfher* King of the *Mercians*. But when *Ethelred* (Succeſſour to *Wulfher*) recovered that Province, this Biſhop retiring from *Lindiſſe*, governed the Church of *Ripon*.

The ſame Year alſo *Oſric*, a petty Prince of this Country, built a Nunnery at *Bath*, which was afterwards turned to a Houſe of Secular Canons; but King *Edgar* turned them out, and placed *Benedictines* in their Places.

Anno Dom. DCLXXVIII. This Year being the Eighth of the Reign of *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, (according to *Bede*, and the *Saxon Annals*,) there appeared a Comet which continued 3 Months, and ariſing toward Morning, carried with it a large Tail like a Pillar; in which Year alſo (as **Bede* relates) there aroſe a great Contention between King *Egfrid*, and Biſhop *Wilfrid*, who was expell'd his Biſhoprick, and two others ſubſtituted in his Room over the *Nor-*

* *Ibid.*

Anno Dom. DCLXXVIII.

Northumbrian Nation, (to wit,) *Boſa*, who Governed the Province of *Deira*; and *Eatta*, that of *Bernicia*; the former having his Epiſcopal See at the City of *York*, and the other at *Hagulſtad*, being both of them preferred from being Monks. *Stephen Heddi*, the Author of * St. *Wilfrid's* Life above-mentioned, as alſo † *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, relate the Quarrel between King *Egfrid* and the Biſhop to have proceeded from the Envy and Ill-will of *Erminburge* his Queen, ſhe making the King jealous of his Secular Glory, and Riches, and the great Retinue that followed him; whereupon the King reſolved to be rid of him; ſo that preſenting *Theodore* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* with great Gifts, they perſwaded him to come into that Province; and, together with three Biſhops he brought with him, who were not of the Northern Dioceſs, they not only condemned, but deprived Biſhop *Wilfrid*, being abſent; whereupon the Biſhop went to the King, and the Arch-Biſhop, and asked them, What was the Reaſon, that without any Crime alledged, they had robbed him of his Eſtate that was given him by former Kings, for God's ſake? But (if this Author may be credited) they gave him a very trifling Anſwer, ſaying, *That they found no Fault in him*; yet would not alter what had been Decreed againſt him: Whereupon the Biſhop, by the Conſent of the reſt of his Fellow-Biſhops of his Province, appealed to *Rome*. But certainly theſe Biſhops could not at that time be many, for there were then no more in this Province than *Lindisfarne*, and *Whitern* in the *Picts* Country:

* *Vid. Vitam Sancti* Wilfredi, *c.* 24.

† *De Pontif. l.* 3.

Anno Dom. DCLXXIX.

Towards *Rome* he went the next Year; but in his way thither, landing in *Frizeland*, he ſtayed there all that Winter, converting the People of that Province: And then proceeding in his Journey to *Rome* the Spring following, where arriving, he applied himſelf to the Pope, and preſented him with a Petition; which being read before Pope *John*, and the Synod at *Rome*, he was by the ſaid Pope, and all the Biſhops there preſent, (being 150 in Number) Decreed to be reſtored to his Biſhoprick; but he could never prevail ſo far as to get this Council's Decree to be received as long as King *Egfrid* lived.

Vit. Wilfredi, *c.* 39.

The ſame Year Biſhop *Wilfrid* returning into *England*, was received by *Beorthwald*, Nephew of *Ethelred* King of the *Mercians*, who then governed part of that Kingdom under his Uncle; who hearing of it, his Wife being the Siſter of King *Egfrid*, commanded *Beorthwald* immediately to diſmiſs him; from whence, he went to *Centwin* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, where ſtaying but a little while, he was alſo driven from thence, becauſe the Queen was Siſter of Queen *Erminburge*. Thus *Stephanus Heddy*, in his Life of Biſhop *Wilfrid*, relates; but it is to be doubted with too much Partiality on his ſide.

Lib. 4. *c.* 13.

Bede gives us a more particular Account of the reſt of his Actions, that thô he were thus expelled his Biſhoprick, yet ~~that~~ he could not be reſtrained from Preaching the Goſpel; for retiring to the Kingdom of the *South Saxons*, which lies between that of *Kent*, and that of the *Weſt Saxons*, where *Edilwalch*, then King, (and who had not been long before Baptized at the perſwaſion of King *Wulfher*, as has been already ſaid,) gave him Commiſſion to Convert and Baptize, not only the Principal Officers and Knights of that Province, but divers Presbyters, (there named, who came along with him,) did then, or not long after, Chriſten the reſt of the common People; and *Ebba* the Queen was alſo baptized in the Province of the *Wectii*, but what Queen this was, *Bede* does not tell us.

Anno Dom. DCLXXIX. Cap. 40. So that before this, it ſeems, thô the King was a Chriſtian, yet the whole Province of the *South Saxons* were as yet unconverted to the Chriſtian Faith, of which the Author of the Life of Biſhop *Wilfrid* gives this Reaſon; that this Province, by reaſon of the multitude of the Rocks, and thickneſs of the Woods, was hitherto almoſt inacceſſible to ſtrangers: But * *Bede* further tells us, That then there lived a certain *Iriſh* or *Scotch* Monk, named *Dicul*, who had a little Monaſtery in a place called *Boſanham* encompaſſed with Woods and the Sea, where he with five or ſix Brethren ſerved God in great Poverty and Humility; yet would not any of the People imitate their Lives, or hear their Preaching; but when Biſhop *Wilfrid* preach'd the Goſpel to them, he did not only free them from Eternal Torments, but alſo from preſent deſtruction, for it had not rained (as my Author ſays) for Three Years before in that Country; whence multitudes of the poorer ſort of People daily periſhed by Famine; ſo that many becoming deſperate, Forty or Fifty Men in a Company, being almoſt ſtarved, would all take hands together, and at once leap down a Rock into the Sea: But on the firſt day of their publick Baptiſm, ſoft and plentiful ſhowres deſcending, reſtored plenty to the Summer following; ſo this People caſting away their Idolatry, became not only enrich'd with Spiritual, but Temporal Bleſſings; for when the Biſhop came into this Province, and ſaw ſo diſmal a Famine, he taught them how to get their livings by fiſhing; for though the Sea and Rivers abounded plentifully with Fiſh, yet had not they the Wit to make Nets to take any but Eels; whereupon the Biſhop taught them, by joyning many of thoſe ſmall Nets together, to make them ſerve to catch Sea-Fiſh, of which they took ſo great a multitude, that they maintained themſelves with them, till other Proviſions could be had.

* Ibid cap. 13.

Bede ibid. At this time alſo King *Edelwalch* gave Biſhop *Wilfrid* a certain Iſland, called *Seoleſeu*, that is (in the old *Engliſh Saxon*) the Iſland of Seales, (or Sea Calves) where *Wilfrid* founded a ſmall Monaſtery, conſiſting chiefly of thoſe Brethren he brought with him, and which his Succeſſours hold to this day, (*viz.* in *Bede*'s time;) for this place (after called *Selſey*:) was made the ſeat of the Biſhop of that Province, until it was long after removed to *Chicheſter*; here Biſhop *Wilfrid* lived, and exerciſed his Epiſcopal Functions, till the death of King *Egfrid*.

The ſame Year, (according to the *Saxon* Annals) Eſcwin *was ſlain near* Trent, *in which place alſo King* Egfrid *and* Ethelfred *fought the ſame Year*, and now alſo St. *Etheldrith* deceaſed, and *Coludesburgh*, was burnt.

Bede, lib. 4. cap. 21. *H. Huntington* more at large relates this Fight between the Kings of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*; and *Bede* alſo tells us, This Young Prince (mentioned in the Annals) being the King of *Northumberland*'s Brother, and then about Eighteen Years of Age was ſlain, and extreamly lamented in both Kingdoms; For King *Ethelred* had Married *Oſtrithe* his Siſter, but when Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* ſaw the cauſes of their Inteſtine Quarrels daily to encreaſe, he by his interceſſion and perſwaſions made Peace between the two Kings, on this condition; that King *Ethelred* ſhould pay King *Egfrid* a pecuniary Mulct for his Brother, who was ſlain.

Bede, lib. 4. cap. 19. This Queen *Etheldrith* here mentioned in the Annals, was Daughter to *Anna*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and Wife of King *Egfrid*, who yet remained ~~a Virgin; for thô ſhe had been twice Married, yet~~ would ſhe never ~~let either of her Husbands lye with her; but~~ ſhe dyed at laſt Abbeſs of the Monaſtery of *Eli*, which ſhe her ſelf built, and of whom *Bede* makes

a large

Anno Dom. DCLXXIX.

large Elegy both in Proſe and Verſe; and that after ſhe had been there uried Sixteen Years, her body being taken up as whole as at firſt, ſhe as canonized, and called St. *Audrey* of *Ely*; but this *Coludesburgh* here entioned in the Annals, was a great Monaſtery of Monks and Nuns ogether, afterwards called *Coldingham*, in the Marches of *Scotland*; which as *Bede* tells us) was a very magnificent building for that Age, but y the juſt judgment of God for the looſe living of the Monks and Nuns, as burnt; thô it happen'd not by any Miracle, but by meer careleſneſs f the Servants.

Ibid. Lib. 4. cap. 25

About this time alſo, according to an ancient Manuſcript Copy of *lorence* of *Worceſter*'s Chronicle in the *Bodleian* Library, the Province of he *Mercians* was by the Common Council or conſent of *Ethelred* (King f that Kingdom) and of *Theodore* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* divided into ive Dioceſſes; *Boſel* being ordained Biſhop of the *Wicii* who had his *Worceſter*, whileſt *Cuthwin* was ordained to the Dioceſs of *Litchfield*, *axulf* was pleaſed to continue Biſhop over midle *England*, having his ee at *Leiceſter*, and *Ethelwine* was ſet over the Province of *Lindiſſe* aving his See at *Cidnaceſter*; but as for the See of *Hereford*, that had een founded about Three Years before by Biſhop *Putta*, by the means nd conſent of Biſhop *Saxulf*, as hath been now obſerved. But to return o our Annals.

See at

Anno Dom. DCLXXX.

This Year, *Theodore* the Arch-Biſhop ſummon'd a Synod at *Heathfield*, (now *Hatfield* in *Hartfordſhire*) that he might correct divers errours concerning the Chriſtian Faith; but * *Bede* gives us a fuller account of it, and tells us, it was ſummoned to condemn the Hereſie of *Eutyches*, who then maintained but one will and Perſon in Chriſt, and which then troubled the *Latin* as well as *Greek* Church; and therefore the Arch-Biſhop being reſolved to prevent it, held this Synod, in which the Five firſt General Councils, were not only received, and confirm'd, but alſo the latter held at *Rome* under Pope *Martyn* I. in the Reign of the Emperour *Conſtantine*.

* Id cap. 5.

Vi. Sir H. Spelman 1. Vol. p. 168.

Bede alſo tells us, That there was preſent at this Council, *John* the *Præcentor*, or chief Chanter of the Church of St. *Peters* in *Rome*, whom Pope *Agatho* had ſent hither, not only to inſtruct the *Engliſh* Monaſteries, how to Sing after the *Roman* Faſhion, but alſo to give him an account of the Faith of the *Engliſh* Church, which he did at his Return to *Rome*, much to its advantage.

Id. Cap. 18

And the ſame Year, according to *Bede* and the *Saxon* Annals, *Hilda* the Holy Abbeſs deceaſed at *Streanſhale*, (now *Whitby* in *Tork-ſhire*,) which ſhe her ſelf had Founded; ſhe was Grand Niece to King *Edwin*, and having been converted by *Paulinus*, had been almoſt ever ſince her Converſion a profeſſed Nun, firſt in the Monaſtery of *Cale* in *France*, and was afterwards Abbeſs of divers Nunneries in *England*, being eſteemed a Lady of great Sanctity and Knowledge. At this Monaſtery of *Strean-ſhale*, (which was then for Men as well as Women) lived *Cædmon* the *Engliſh Saxon* Poet, who is ſuppoſed by *Bede* to have been once Divinely inſpired in his ſleep to make Verſes in his own Tongue upon the Creation of the World, and ever after kept that faculty upon other Divine Subjects; there are divers of his Paraphraſes in *Saxon* Verſe ſtill extant, upon ſeveral Stories in *Geneſis* and *Exodus*, but very hard to be underſtood by reaſon of the Obſoleteneſs of the *Saxon* Dialect. They have been Printed at *Oxford*, by the Learned *Junius*.

Anno Dom. DCLXXX.

About this time alſo (according to *Florence*) the Kingdom of the *Mercians* became divided into five Dioceſſes; and *Talfride* a learned Monk, of the Abbeſs *Hilda*'s Monaſtery, was elected firſt Biſhop of *Worceſter*, but dyed before his Ordination.

Cited in *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, p. 120.

But the ancient Chronicle of the Church of *Worceſter*, now in the Cottonian Library relates, the Church of *Worceſter* to have been firſt founded by *Athelred*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Theodore* Biſhop of *Canterbury*; one *Boſel* being made the firſt Biſhop of that See, and ſate therein Eleven Years.

There was then alſo founded a Colledge of ſecular Canons, which ſo continued as the Chapter of this Church till *Anno Dom.* 991, when Biſhop *Oſwald* turned them out, and put in *Benedictine* Monks in their Rooms.

About the ſame time alſo, one *Oſwald* Nephew to King *Ethelred*, founded a College for Secular Canons at *Perſhore*, in *Worceſterſhire*, which continued till King *Edgar* and Biſhop *Oſwald*, *Anno* 984. brought in *Benedictine* Monks in their Places.

I may alſo add, under this Year, that pretended Bull of Pope *Agatho*'s Privileges, together with the Charter of this K. *Ethelred*, which is recited in the *Peterburgh* Copy of the *Saxon* Annals, under *Anno* 675, and is there related to have been about the ſame time confirmed in the Council at *Heathfield* above-mentioned; whereby were granted to the Monaſtery of *Medeſhamſtead* divers great Immunities; which Bull does not only confirm all thoſe Privileges formerly granted by Pope *Vitalian*, but there is alſo further added this, that the Abbot ſhould be the Pope's Legat over the whole Iſle (of *Britain*); and that whatſoever Abbot was elected by the Monks, ſhould be immediately conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; with divers other Things too tedious here to relate: Which Bull, being recited in the Council above-mentioned, was by them eſtabliſhed and confirmed; which being done, the King is ſaid to have made a Speech, reciting all the Lands he had given to the ſaid Monaſtery, and then, having ſubſcribed the Charter, the Queen, *Adrian* the Pope's Legat, and all the Biſhops and Abbots, (whoſe Names are there mentioned) did ſo likewiſe, under dreadful Curſes upon thoſe that ſhould violate the Privileges above-mentioned.

But notwithſtanding the ſo exact Recital, and ſuppoſed Confirmation of this Charter in the Council above-mentioned, we have very great Reaſon to ſuſpect this Bull, as alſo the Charter it ſelf, to have been forged long after by the Monks of *Peterburgh*; for, in the firſt place, the Privileges granted to this Abbey do not only exceed any that had been granted by the Pope to any Monaſtery in *England*, but alſo were ſuch, as we do not find it ever enjoy'd; as particularly, that of their Abbot's being the Pope's ordinary Legate all over this Iſland, which had been ſuch a Diminution of the Rights of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as he would never have ſo eaſily paſs'd over: And beſides all which, the Names of the Biſhops, who are put to this Charter, do not at all agree with the Circumſtances of Time; for, firſt, it is certain, that *Wilfred* is here ſtyled Archbiſhop of *York*, which Title he never took upon him, being then no more but a Biſhop under the Juriſdiction of Archbiſhop *Theodore*; and by whom he, at this Time, ſtood deprived, and was not preſent at this Council, nor did return this Year from *Rome*, (as this Copy of the Annals makes him to have done,) but was indeed returned from thence near three Years before; being at this Time converting the *South-Saxons*, (as hath been already

related:)

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related:) Neither was *Putta*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, or *Waldhere*, Biſhop of *London*, at the time when this Council was held, though their Names are alſo put to this Charter; for the former had been dead eleven Years before, and one *Quichelme* was then Biſhop of that See, as appears by the Catalogue of the Biſhops in Sir *H. Spelman*'s *Faſti*, at the end of the Volume of *Engliſh* Writers after *Bede*; nor was the latter then Biſhop of *London*, but *Erkenwald*, who was elected to that See above fifteen Years before, and continued in it 'till after the Reign of King *Ina*, who began not to reign 'till *Anno* 688; ſo that upon the whole matter, I take this Charter to be a notorious piece of Forgery.

Anno Dom. DCLXXXI.

This Year *Trumbrith* was conſecrated Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, and *Trumwin* Biſhop of the *Picts*: This was the Biſhoprick of *Wyterne*, called in Latin *Candida Caſa*; which at that time (as *Bede* teſtifies) belonged to the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; and alſo *Centwin*, (King of the *Weſt-Saxons*,) put the *Britains* to flight as far as the Sea; *H. Huntington* ſays, That he alſo waſted all their Country with Fire and Sword; but the *Welſh* Chronicle of *Caradoc** (tranſlated by *H. Lloyd*) relates, That this Year *Kentwin*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons* gathered a great Company of his Nation together, and came againſt the *Britains*, who ſeem'd ready to receive the Battle; but yet, when both Armies appeared in ſight of each other, they were not all deſirous to fight, for they fell to a friendly compoſition and agreement; (*viz.*) That *Ivor* ſhould take *Ethelburga* to Wife, who was Couſin to *Kentwin*, and quietly enjoy all that he had got during the Reign of *Ivor*; but of this our *Engliſh* Hiſtories are ſilent.

Anno Dom. DCLXXXII.

This Year the Nunnery of St. *Peter*, in *Gloceſter*, was founded by *Oſric*, then a petty Prince or Governour under *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, but was afterwards King of the *Northumbers*: This Monaſtery, thô it had the honour of having Three Queens ſucceſſively, Abbeſſes of it, was deſtroyed by the *Danes*, but afterwards was re-edified for *Benedictine* Monks by *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Anno* 1058.

Anno Dom. DCLXXXIV.

Lib. 4. *c.* 26.

This Year alſo, (according to *Bede*) *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, ſent a great Army into *Ireland*, under one *Bert* (or *Bryt*) his General, who miſerably waſted that innocent Nation, which had been always friendly to the *Engliſh*; (which Character perhaps might have been due to them in *Bede*'s time;) and did not ſo much as ſpare the Churches or Monaſteries; but the *Iſlanders* as far as they were able, repel'd Force with Force, and invoked the Divine aſſiſtance to revenge their quarrel which happen'd the next Year, as the ſame Authour relates. For,

Anno Dom. DCLXXXV.

Bede, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 27, 28.

This Year, not long before the Death of King *Egfrid*, that Holy Man *Cuthbert*, was by the ſame King ordered to be ordained Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, thô he was at firſt choſen to be Biſhop of *Hagulſtad* inſtead of *Trumbert*, who had been before depoſed from that Biſhoprick; yet becauſe *Cuthbert* liked the Church of *Lindisfarne* better, in which he had ſo long converſ'd, *Eatta* was made to return to the See of *Hagulſtad*, to which he was at firſt ordained, whilſt *Cuthbert* took the Biſhoprick of *Lindisfarne*.

But I ſhall now give you from *Bede* a farther account of the Life of this good Biſhop; he had been firſt bred in the Monaſtery of *Mailroſs*, and was afterwards made Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Lindisfarne*; retiring from whence, he had for a long time lived the Life of an *Anchorite* in the Iſle of *Farne*, not far diſtant, but when there was a great Synod aſſembled, King *Egfrid* being preſent at a place called *Twiford*, near the River *Alne*, where Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* preſiding, *Cuthbert* was, by the

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general conſent of them all, choſen Biſhop; who when he could not by any Meſſages or Letters be drawn from his Cell; at length the King himſelf, with Biſhop *Trumwin*, and other Noble and Religious Perſons, ſailed thither, where they at laſt, after many intreaties, prevailed upon him, to go with them to the Synod; and when he came there, thô he very much oppoſed it, yet he was forced to accept the Epiſcopal Charge; and ſo was conſecrated Biſhop the *Eaſter* following; and after his Conſecration, in imitation of the bleſſed Appoſtles, he adorned his calling by his good Works; for he conſtantly taught the People commited to his Charge, and incited them to the love of Heaven, by his conſtant Prayers and Exhortations; and, which is the chief part of a Teacher, whatſoever he Taught, he himſelf firſt practiſed; ſo having lived in this manner about Two Years, being then ſenſible that the time of his Death (or rather of his future Life) drew near, he again retired to the ſame Iſland, and Hermitage from whence he came.

Id. cap. 26.

The ſame Year alſo King *Egfrid* raſhly lead out his Army to deſtroy the Province of the *Picts*, (thô his Friends, and principally Biſhop *Cuthbert*, did all they could to hinder it), and having now entred the Country, he was brought (before he was aware) by the feigned flight of his Enemies, between the ſtreights of certain inacceſſible Mountains, where he, with the greateſt part of his Forces he had brought with him, were all cut off, in the Fortieth Year of his Age, and the Fifteenth of his Reign. And as the Year aforegoing, he refuſed to hear Biſhop *Cuthbert*, who diſwaded him from invading ~~*Ireland*~~, whi~~ch~~ did him no harm; ſo *Bede* obſerves it was a juſt Judgment upon him for that Sin, that he would not hear thoſe who would then have prevented his Ruine.

the Irish,

From this time, the Grandeur ~~and Valour~~ of this Kingdom of the *Northumbers* began to decline; for the *Picts* now recovered their Country, which the *Engliſh* had taken away; and the *Scots* that were in *Britain*, with ſome part of the *Britains* themſelves, regain'd their Liberty, which they did enjoy for the ſpace of Forty Six Years after, when *Bede* wrote his Hiſtory: But *Alfred* Brother to this King ſucceeding him, quickly recovered his Kingdom, thô reduced into narrower bounds: He was alſo a Prince very well read in the Holy Scriptures.

Ibid.

The ſame Year, (as the *Saxon* Annals relate) *Kentwin*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons* dying, *Ceadwalla* began to Reign over that Kingdom, (whoſe Pedegree is there inſerted, which I ſhall refer to another place:) and the ſame Year alſo died *Lothair* King of *Kent*; (as *Bede* relates) of the Wounds he had received in a Fight againſt the *South Saxons*; in which *Edric*, his Brother *Egbert*'s Son, Commanded againſt him, and reigned in his ſtead.

This Year (alſo according to the Annals) *John* was conſecrated Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, and remained ſo till Biſhop *Wilfrid*'s return; but afterwards Biſhop *Boſa* dying, *John* became Biſhop of *York*, but from thence, many Years after, retired to his Monaſtry in *Derawnde*, (now called *Beverlie* in *York-ſhire*:) This Year it rained Blood in *Britain*; and alſo Milk and Butter were now turned into ſomewhat like Blood. You are here to take notice, that this Biſhop *John* above mentioned, is the famous St. *John* of *Beverlie*; of whom *Bede* in the next Book tells ſo many Miracles.

But our Annals do here require ſome farther Illuſtration; for this *Ceadwalla* here mentioned, was the Grandſon of *Ceawlin*, by his Brother *Cutha*; who being a Youth of great hopes, was driven into Baniſhment by

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Cap. 41.

Bede lib. 4. cap. 5.

by his Predeceſſour, and (as *Stephen* * *Heddi* in Biſhop *Wilfrid*'s Life relates) lay concealed among the Woods and Deſarts of *Chyltern*, and *Ondred*, and there remained for a long time; till raiſing an Army, (thô *Bede* does not ſay from whence,) he ſlew *Aldelwald*, King of the *South-Saxons*, and ſeized upon his Province; but was ſoon driven out by two of that King's Captains, *viz.* *Bertune* and *Autune* who for ſome time kept that Kingdom to themſelves: the former of whom was afterwards ſlain by the ſame *Ceadwalla*, when he became King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; but the other who reigned after him, again ſet it free from that ſervitude for many Years; from whence it happen'd, that all that time they had no Biſhop of their own; for when *Wilfrid* return'd home, they became ſubject to the Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, (that is, of *Dorcheſter*) which return (as the Author of *Wilfrid*'s Life relates) happen'd this Year, being the Second of King *Alfred*'s Reign, who then invited him home, and reſtored him to his Biſhoprick, as alſo to his Monaſtery at *Rypun*, together with all his other Revenues, according to the Decree of Pope *Agatho*, and the Council at *Rome* above mentioned; all which he enjoyed till his ſecond Expulſion, as you will hear in due time.

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Id. cap. 16.

After *Ceadwalla* had obtain'd the Kingdom, he ſubdued the Iſle of *Wight*, which was as yet infected with Idolatry; and therefore this King reſolved to deſtroy all the Inhabitants, and to Plant the Iſland with his own Subjects; obliging himſelf by a Vow, (althô he himſelf ~~(as it is reported~~) was not yet baptized,) that he would give the Fourth part of his Conqueſts to God; which he made good, by offering it to Biſhop *Wilfrid*, who was then come thither by chance out of his own Country to preach the Goſpel. The Iſland conſiſted of about Two Thouſand Families, and the King beſtowed upon this Biſhop, as much Land there as then maintained Three Hundred Families, the Care of all which the Biſhop committed to one of his Clerks, named *Bernwin*, his Siſters Son, who was to Baptize all thoſe that would be ſaved. *Bede* alſo adds, That amongſt the firſt Fruits of Believers in that Iſland, there were two Royal Youths, Brothers, who were the Sons of *Arwald*, late King thereof; who having hid themſelves for fear of King *Ceadwalla*, were at laſt diſcovered, and by him ordered to be ſlain, which when the Abbot of *Reodford* heard, (as having his Monaſtery not far from thence) he went to the King, who then lay private in thoſe Parts to be cured of the Wounds he had received in taking of the Iſland, and deſired of him, if the Youths muſt needs dye, that they might firſt receive Baptiſm, which the King granted; whereupon the Abbot immediately inſtructed, and then Baptized them; ſo when the Executioner came to put them to Death, they chearfully underwent it, becauſe they hoped thereby to obtain an Eternal Kingdom. Thus the Iſle of *Wight* did, (thô laſt of all) receive the Chriſtian Faith, and that upon very harſh terms; as if God would make them ſuffer for their ſo long refuſal of the Goſpel.

The ſame Year alſo, Ceadwalla *and* Mollo *(or* Mull*) his Brother waſted* Kent. And, *W. Malmesbury* adds, That the occaſion of this War, was to be revenged of King *Edric*, who had killed *Lothair* his Predeceſſour, and that falling upon that Province, now grown Effeminate with long Peace, he committed a great deal of Spoil throughout the Country; but at laſt meeting with the *Kentiſh* Men, was repulſed with loſs.

Anno Dom. DCLXXXVI. This Year alſo, (according to *Stephen Heddis*'s Life of Biſhop *Wilfrid*,) he was re-called home by King *Alfred*, and reſtored to his Sees of *York*, and *Hagulſtad*, the Biſhops that then enjoyed them being turned out.

Id. ibid cap. 30. The ſame Year alſo *Cuthbert*, that Pious Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, having reſigned his Biſhoprick, and retired again to *Farne-Iſland*, there deceaſed, but his Body was tranſlated to *Lindisfarne*; which being taken up Eleven Years after, was found as entire, as when it was firſt buried.

Anno Dom. DCLXXXVII. This Year *Mollo* (or *Mull*) the Brother of King *Ceadwalla*, but now mentioned, was burnt in *Kent*, and Twelve others with him; but *Ceadwalla* afterwards waſted *Kent* the ſame Year, which action *Will.* of *Malmesbury* and *H. Huntington* relate more at large; That *Ceadwalla* in the ſecond Year of his Reign, ſent his Brother *Mollo* (at his own requeſt) to Ravage and Plunder the Province of *Kent*, out of a Deſire of Spoil, and Ambition of Glory; ſo marching into *Kent*, (then divided into divers Factions) and finding none there to reſiſt him, he laid all the Country waſte; but when he deſpiſed his Enemies, and thought he might do what he pleaſed with them; going about to plunder a certain Houſe, and having no more then Twelve Men in his Company, being there encompaſſed on the ſudden with far greater Forces, and not daring to ſally out upon them, they ſet the Houſe on Fire about his Ears; where He with Twelve Knights were burnt: And thus this brave Army conſiſting of the Flower of the *Weſt-Saxon* Youth came to nothing.

But *Will. Thorne*, in his Chronicle of the Abbots of St. *Auguſtine*, *Cant.* relates the Death of this Prince, with more Circumſtances (*viz.*) That he invading and ſpoiling *Kent*, and coming before the City of *Canterbury*, and being there ſtoutly reſiſted by the Citizens, till almoſt all his Men were killed, was at laſt conſtrained to flee to a certain Houſe, where the Men of *Canterbury* burnt him to Death, as hath been already related; but it ſeems his Body not being reduced to Aſhes, was taken up and buried in the Church of the Abby of St. *Auguſtine*, with the Kings of *Kent*; this I thought fit to add as not being found elſewhere.

But when *Ceadwalla* heard this news, being extremely enraged at it, he again entred *Kent*, and there ſatiating himſelf with Spoil and Slaughter, when he had left nothing worth carrying away, returned home Victorious.

he reſignd his cro

Anno Dom. DCLXXXVIII. This Year, King *Ceadwalla* after he had Reign'd 2 Years (perhaps having ſome remorſe for his former Cruelties,) went to *Rome*, and there received Baptiſm from Pope *Sergius*, "who gave him the Name of *Peter*; "where he not long after dyed, and was buried in the Church of St. "*Peter*; to whom *Ina* ſucceeded in the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and "Reigned Thirty Seven Years: He alſo built the Monaſtery at *Glaſtingabyrig*, (now *Glaſtenbury*) and alſo went to *Rome*, and there remained "until his Death.

Bede, lib. c. 7. *Bede* (who has given us a long Epitaph on *Ceadwalla*, both in Verſe and Proſe,) places this Prince's Baptiſm by the Pope, in *Anno* 689, which might very well be, for he reſigned his Kingdom the Year above mentioned, and it was ended by that time he could be baptized, and ſo the *Saxon* Annaliſt might well place both that and his Baptiſm under one and the ſame Year: The *Britiſh* Hiſtorians confounded this *Ceadwalla* with their King *Ceadwallo*, who ſlew King *Edwin*; but he lived above Twenty Years before this time, as hath been already obſerved.

Rome

But

Anno Dom. DCLXXXVIII.

Vid. Guidon. in Catalogo Pontific ſub Sergio.

But Dr. *Powel*, and Mr. *Vaughan* in their Learned Notes upon *Caradoc's Welſh* Chronicle, do ſuppoſe (with great probability) that this *Cadwallo*, was *Edwal*, ſirnamed *Twrch*, Prince of *Wales*, who about this time began to Reign, being the Son of *Cadwallader*; and may alſo very well agree with what *Guidonius* writeth of one *Ethwal* Prince of *Wales*; who about this time went to *Rome* and there dyed; for in proper Names it is an eaſie matter for a Capital C to creep in, ſince it was commonly uſed in old hands, at the beginning of a Paragraph: and might by an Ignorant Copier be added to the Name it ſelf, and ſo of *Edwal* make *Cadwal*, and from thence *Cadwallader*.

Anno Dom. DCXC. S. C.

Lib. 5. cap. 8.

But the Year after *Ceadwalla* dyed at *Rome*, (according to *Bede*, as well as our Annals) *Theodorus* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* alſo deceaſed, being Eighty Eight Years of Age, having ſate Arch-Biſhop Twenty Two Years, and was buried in the Church of St. *Peter* in *Canterbury*; * *Bede* tells us, That the *Engliſh* Church never attained to that height of perfection under any Arch-Biſhops Government, as it did under his; he being the firſt Arch-Biſhop, who Exerciſed his Metropolitan Juriſdiction over all the Biſhops, as well beyond, as on this ſide of *Humber*.

Berthwald, who now ſucceeded *Theodore* in the Arch-Biſhoprick, had been Abbot of a certain Monaſtery, called *Raculf* (now *Reculver* in *Kent*) near the Iſle of *Thanet*; and was a Man well read in the Scriptures, and skil'd in Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; but yet he ought not to be compared to his Predeceſſours: he was Elected this Year, but it ſeems his Conſecration was deferr'd till near Three Years after, when the *Saxon* Chronicle likewiſe recites it. and further observes that hitherto the Arch Bps of Cant[illegible] had been [illegible] succeeded [illegible] ans but for ye future were Englishmen

This Year alſo (according to *Florence*) *Ina* a Prince of the Royal Blood took the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, being the Son of *Kenred*, the Son of *Ceolwald*: Yet it ſeems he had no right by Succeſſion; for *Will.* of *Malmesbury* tells us expreſly, That it was more in reſpect to his own Natural Vertue, than to the Right of a ſucceſſive deſcent, that he was now made King; and indeed, How could it be otherwiſe, his Father *Kenred* being then alive?

This Year alſo, Abbot *Benedict* (above-mentioned) dyed, after a long Sickneſs, of whom *Bede* in his Life (already cited) gives us a large Account, that having been at firſt a Servant to King *Oſwin*, and receiving from him a competent Eſtate for his Quality, he quited a Military Life for a Heavenly one, and leaving his Country, went to *Rome*, in the Company of *Alfred*, Son to that King; and upon his return thence the ſecond time, profeſſed himſelf a Monk in the Iſle of *Lyren*; where ſtaying Two Years, he accompanied *Wyghard* to *Rome*, ~~who went thither~~ than going thither to be ordained Arch-Biſhop, ~~but~~ Benedict ſoon after dying there, ~~he again~~ returned home with Arch-Biſhop *Theodore*, and after ſome time built the Monaſteries of *Wyremouth* and *Girwy*, as you have already heard; and now after a long Sickneſs, made a Holy End in the Monaſtery of St. *Peter* at *Wyremouth*, where he was alſo buried. [illegible] Chronicles since [illegible] has to have reign'd 3 years

~~Anno Dom. DCXCI.~~

About this time *Wythred*, the Son of *Egbert*, King of *Kent*, being Eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, did by his Piety and Induſtry free it from Foreign Invaſions; tho one *Swebheard*, (or *Webheard*) held part of it together with him for ſome time.

An. Dom DCXCI

Cap. 44.

This Year alſo according to *Florence*, for the Years are not exactly ſet down by *Bede*, or *Stephen Heddi*; Biſhop *Wilfrid* was the ſecond time expel'd from his Biſhoprick by *Alfred*, King of *Northumberland*; which,

(as

Anno Dom. DCXCI.

(as this Authour in his Life relates) happen'd becauſe that King had not reſtored to the Church of St. *Peter* at *Rypun* divers of its Poſſeſſions; The next was becauſe the Monaſtery of *Hagulſtad* had been erected into a Biſhoprick without his conſent, and contrary to the priviledge which Pope *Agatho* had beſtowed upon it; And laſtly, becauſe that King would have compelled him to obey certain Decrees of Arch-Biſhop *Theodore*, which had been made in Biſhop *Wilfrid*'s abſence, and during the firſt quarrel that had riſen between them; which he refuſing to obſerve, thereupon retired to his old Friend *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, who received him with great honour.

But King *Alfred*, as likewiſe Arch-Biſhop *Bertwald*, and all the Biſhops of *Britain*, being aſſembled in a Synod, at a place called *Oneſtrefield* or *Hoſterfield*, They ſent Meſſengers to Biſhop *Wilfrid*, deſiring him to appear before them; but when he came to the Synod, he could by no means agree with them, becauſe they did not perform what they had promiſed by their Meſſengers; ſo that great diſputes ariſing chiefly from thoſe Biſhops of the new Sees, who together with certain Abbots had been alſo ſet on by King *Alfred*, and for the ſake of their own private Intereſts, did not deſire the Peace of the Church; they alſo objected many falſe things againſt him which could no ways be proved; and at laſt decreed that the Biſhop ſhould be cenſured according to the Decrees of the late Arch-Biſhop *Theodore*; whereupon Biſhop *Wilfrid* asked them, with what Face they could prefer the Decrees of *Theodore* before the Apoſtolical Canons, which had been enjoined them from Pope *Agatho*, and Pope *Sergius*? but when no due or decent manner of ſpeaking was obſerved, and that they urged him to ſubſcribe a Reſignation of his Biſhoprick, and Monaſteries in *Northumberland*, and *Mercia*, into the hands of the Arch-Biſhop, he utterly refuſed it, and only offered to ſubmit to the Judgment of the Arch-Biſhop, as far as it was agreeable with the Canons of the Holy Fathers; but at laſt they offered him, that if he would reſign his Biſhoprick, he might ſtill retain his Abbey of *Ripon*, and live there in quiet, provided he did not go out of the bounds of the Monaſtery, nor exerciſe any Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; upon which, he in a long Speech ſet forth his former Merits, in converting the *Northumbrian* Nation to the due obſervation of *Eaſter*; Then asked them for what offenc they went now about to degrade him? To which the King and the Arch Biſhop replied, That he was culpable in this, and was therefore to b condemned, becauſe he had prefer'd the Judgment of the Men at *Rom* before theirs; and the King then offer'd the Arch-Biſhop to make hi ſubmit by force to their Judgment, but this was oppoſed by moſt of th Biſhops, becauſe he had come thither under their ſafe conduct; Then th Biſhop retired again to King *Ethelred*, ſetting forth the hard uſage whic he had received at the Synod, whereupon the King promiſed him neve to alter any thing in the Monaſteries, which he had beſtowed upon hi until he had ſent to *Rome* for the Pope's Judgment of theſe Matters and how he might act ſafely therein; but in the mean time the Arc Biſhop and the Synod did not only deprive, but alſo Excomunicate Biſho *Witfrid*, and alſo all thoſe who were in communion with him; ſo th none might ſo much as eat with them, and whatſoever they touche was looked upon as defiled.

Wherefore Biſhop *Wilfrid* was again forced to go to *Rome*, there make his appeal before the Pope, to whom he preſented a long Petitio

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ſetting forth that the Troubles which he had met with in *Britain*, had proceeded from thoſe, who having ſeized upon his Biſhoprick, and Monaſteries, had refuſed to obſerve the Decrees of his Holineſs's Predeceſſours; whereupon the Pope at that time holding a Council at *Rome*, did there hear the whole difference between him and Arch-Biſhop *Bertwald*, who had now ſent his Deputies thither, together with the accuſations againſt him; ſo in ſhort, upon a ſolemn hearing of the whole matter on both ſides, and after above Seventy Congregations, in about Four Months time, (in all which the Biſhops Innocence did more and more appear,) he was at laſt abſolved by the Pope, and the whole Council; the particulars of which are too long to relate, only that thereupon the Pope wrote Letters to *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Alfred*, King of *Northumberland*, reciting Biſhop *Wilfrid's* former appeal to Pope *Agatho*, and the Decree that had been made in his Favour; as alſo what had been now done at *Rome*, and how well the Biſhop had acquitted himſelf of whatſoever had been laid to his Charge; and therefore did not only order them to receive him, but alſo admoniſhed Arch-Biſhop *Bertwald* to call another Synod, together with Biſhop *Wilfrid*, and there to Summon the Biſhops, *Boſa* and *John*, to hear what they would ſay in their own behalf; and if they could make any agreement, with the liking of Biſhop *Wilfrid*, it would be very grateful to him; but if otherwiſe, they were to exhibit the Reaſons of their diſſent before the Pope, there to be determined in a more ample Council; and whoever ſhould refuſe this, ſhould be ſubject to be Excomunicated, and depoſed from his Biſhoprick.

The Biſhop in his Return home with theſe Letters, fell ſo ſick by the way, that he was like to dye at *Melune* in *France*, where ('tis ſaid) he had a Viſion of an Angel appearing to him, which promiſed him reſtitution to his See within Four Years; ſo he at laſt arrived again in *Britain*, where applying himſelf to Arch-Biſhop *Bertwald*, He being frighted with the Pope's Letters, which had been before ſent him by Meſſengers, received Biſhop *Wilfrid* very kindly, and being then reconciled to him, promiſed to mitigate that harſh Judgment, given againſt him in the former Synod.

Then the Biſhop delivered his Letters to *Ethelred*, (who, having at that time reſigned his Kingdom, was become a Monk,) and ſo uſed his Intereſt with King *Cenered*, whom he had appointed King in his ſtead, that he promiſed to obey the Pope's Decrees; not long after which the Biſhop likewiſe ſent an Abbot with a Prieſt to King *Alfred*, deſiring his leave to return home, and to deliver him the Pope's Letters, and the Decrees which had been made on his behalf; which Meſſengers thô the King civily received, yet he plainly told them, That he would do them any other Favour, but that it was in vain to trouble him any further in this matter, becauſe whatever the Kings his Predeceſſours, together with his Councellours, as alſo the late Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* had already judged, and what he himſelf, together with the preſent Arch-Biſhop, and all the Biſhops of the *Britiſh* Nation had lately Decreed, That he was reſolved never to alter for any Letters ſent (as they ſaid) from the Apoſtolick See; ſo the Meſſengers returning without any ſucceſs, the Biſhop continued where he was for ſome Years: but the King it ſeems repented at laſt of this harſh Reſolution, and would have altered it, as you will hereafter find.

I have been the more exact in this tranſaction of Biſhop *Wilfrid's*, becauſe it has never been as yet publiſhed in *Engliſh* before, and it alſo gives us a great light into the Affairs of the Church at this time; and lets us know that the Kings of *Northumberland* did not then think themſelves bound to obſerve the Pope's Decrees, thô made upon Appeals to *Rome*, if they were contrary to a General Synod, or Council of the whole Nation.

[illegible]

Anno Dom. DCXCIII.

About this time (thô it be not mentioned in *Bede*, nor in the *Saxon* Chronicle) *Ina*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, ſummoned a great Council or Synod of all the Biſhops, with the Great and Wiſe Men of his Kingdom; which, becauſe it is the firſt Authentick great Council, whoſe Laws are come to us entire, I ſhall ſet down the Title of it as it is recited in the Firſt Volume of Sir *H. Spelman's Britiſh* Councils; it begins thus; Ina *by the Grace of God, King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *by the Council and Advice of* Cenred, *my Father, and* Hedde *and* Erkenwald *my Biſhops; with all my Ealdermen, and ſage Ancients of my People, as alſo in an Aſſembly of the Servants of God, have Religiouſly endeavoured, both for the health of our Soul, and the common preſervation of our Kingdom, that right Laws and true Judgments be Founded, and Eſtabliſhed, throughout our whole Dominions, and that it ſhall not be Lawful for the time to come, for any Ealderman, or other Subject whatever, to tranſgreſs theſe our Conſtitutions.*

I have alſo given you an Extract of the chief of thoſe Laws, as far as they relate to any thing remarkable, either in Church or State; referring you for the reſt to the Laws themſelves.

1. *If a Servant do any Work on a* Sunday, *he ſhall be free, and the Maſter ſhall be amerced Thirty Shillings; but if he went about the Work without his Maſter's privity, he ſhall be beaten, or redeem the penalty; but a Freeman, if he work on that Day, without the Command of his Maſter, ſhall looſe his Freedom, or pay 60 Sihillings; if he be a Prieſt, his penalty ſhall be double.*

2. *The portion or dues of the Church ſhall be brought in by the Feaſt of St.* Martyn, *he that payeth them not by that time, ſhall be amerced Forty Shillings, and beſides pay twelve times their value.*

3. *If any guilty of a capital Crime ſhall take refuge in a Church, he ſhall ſave his Life, and yet make recompence according to Juſtice and Equity; if one deſerving Stripes run to a Church, the Stripes ſhall be forgiven him.*

4. *If any one Fight within the King's Houſe, or Palace, he ſhall forfeit all his Goods, and it ſhall be at the pleaſure of the King, whether he ſhall have his Life or not; he that Fights in a Church, ſhall pay* 120 s. *in the Houſe of an Alderman, or other ſage Nobleman,* 60 s. *whoſoever ſhall Fight in a Villager's Houſe paying Scot, ſhall be puniſhed* 30 s. *and ſhall give the Villager* 6 s. *and if any one Fight in the open Field, he ſhall pay* 120 s.

5. *He that on his own private account ſhall revenge an injury done to him, before he hath demanded publick Juſtice, ſhall reſtore what he took away, and beſides forfeit* 30 *Shillings.*

6. If a Robber be taken, he ſhall loſe his Life, or redeem it according to the eſtimation of his Head; we call Robbers to the Number of Seven or Eight Men; from that number to Thirty Five, a band; all above, an Army. Anno Dom. DCLXXX.

7. If a Country Boor, having been often accuſed of Theft, if he be at laſt taken, he ſhall have his Hand or Foot cut off.

8. If any one Kill another's Godfather, or God-Son, the ſatisfaction ſhall be according to his Quality and Circumſtances; let the compenſation due to the Relations, and that due to the Lord, for the loſs of his Man, be both alike: and let the one encreaſe, according to the Circumſtances of the Perſon, juſt as the other doth; but if he were the King's Godſon, let him make ſatisfaction to the King, as well as the Relations; but if his Life was taken away by a Relation, then let the Money due to the Godfather be diminiſhed, as it uſeth to be, when Money is paid to the Maſter for the Death of his Servant: If a Biſhop's Son be killed, let the penalty be half ſo much.

From which Laws we may obſerve that our *Saxon* Anceſtors were ſtrict obſervers of the Lord's day, and would not permit any ſervile Work to be done thereon: Secondly, that the ſuperſtition of Sanctuaries was very ancient in *England*, as well as elſewhere: Thirdly, That Theft, Murder, and all ſorts of Crimes, were then redeemable by pecuniary Mulcts; either to the King, or to the Friends of the party ſlain, or wrong'd, or elſe by loſs of Limbs; but there is one Law behind that is very remarkable,

That if any Engliſh *Man, who hath loſt his Freedom, do afterwards Steal, he ſhall be hang'd on the Gallows; and no Recompence made to his Lord; if any one Kill ſuch a Man, he ſhall make no recompence on that account to his Friends, unleſs they redeem him within a Twelve Month.* Where it appears that no *Engliſh* Freeman could then be hang'd for any fault but Treaſon, (thô that is not expreſs'd in theſe Laws): but as for the laſt clauſe in theſe Laws, *That if the Son of a Biſhop be killed, the penalty ſhould be half*, whereby ſome would prove, that Biſhops were then Married, it is a miſtake; for by thoſe words are only meant a Biſhop's Spiritual Son, or Godſon, and not his Natural, or Conjugal Son.

This Year the Kentiſhmen *made a League with King* Ina *and gave him Thirty Thouſand Pounds to obtain his Friendſhip, becauſe they had before burnt* Moll *his Brother. Alſo* Withred *began to Reign over the Kingdom of* Kent, *and held it Thirty Three Years.* Anno Dom. DCXCIV. *William* of *Malmesbury* makes him to have been *Elected* King by the *General Conſent* of his Subjects, and that he did not deceive their expectation in governing them well.

The *Saxon* Chronicle here alſo proceeds, and gives us his *Pedegree*, which being not to our purpoſe, I omit; only, you may take notice, that he was the Son of one *Ecbert*, and not of the laſt King that Reigned.

As ſoon as ever he was made King, he commanded a Great Council to be ſummoned, at a place called Becanceld *(which though it be ſomewhere in* Kent, *yet no body certainly knows where it lay, unleſs it were* Beckanham, *which lies near* Surry;) *at which Council* Withred *Himſelf was preſent, as alſo the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury *and the Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *and with them all the Abbots and Abbeſſes, together with many Wiſe and Prudent Men, who were*

Anno Dom. DCLXXXV. *there aſſembled, that they might all take Council about the repairing of the Churches in* Kent; *then the King began to ſpeak thus, I will, That all Churches and Monaſteries, which have been given and endow'd for God's Glory, in the Days of the Faithful Kings my Predeceſſours, ſhall remain ſo to God's Honour for ever; Therefore, I* Withred *being an Earthly King, yet moved by the Heavenly one, have learnt from our Anceſtours, that no Lay-man ought to have right to meddle with any Church, or any of thoſe things, that belong to it; Wherefore we do firmly Decree, and appoint, and in the Name of the Omnipotent God, and all his Saints, do ſtraitly forbid all the Kings our Succeſſours, with all Ealdermen,* (i. e. Governours or Judges) *and other Laymen, to exerciſe any Lordſhip or Dominion over thoſe Churches, and their poſſeſſions, which either I, or my Predeceſſours, have given for the Honour of Chriſt, and our Lady St.* Mary, *and all the Saints: but when it ſhall happen that a Biſhop or any Abbot, or Abbeſs ſhall depart this Life, let it be told the Arch-Biſhop, that by his command one may be choſen, who is moſt worthy; Moreover let the Arch-Biſhop make good tryal of his Life, who ſhall be elected to ſo Holy a Function, neither let any one be Elected, or Conſecrated, without the conſent of the Arch-Biſhop; for as it is the King's duty to appoint Ealdermen, Sheriffs, and Judges, ſo it is the Arch-Biſhop's to Govern the Church of God, and to take care of it; as alſo to appoint and elect Biſhops, Abbots, and Abbeſſes, Presbyters, and Deacons, as alſo to Conſecrate, Confirm and Inſtruct them by his good Precepts, and Example; leaſt any of God's Flock ſhould wander out of the way, and periſh.*

This paſſage being found in the *Cottonian* Copy of the *Saxon* Annals, I thought good to inſert, as a Monument of the ancient power of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, as Governour of the Church of *England*, though then under the power of the Pope in Eccleſiaſtical Matters. Theſe are the chief heads of this famous Council; nor do the other Copies in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Collection, differ much from this in the *Saxon* Annals; only there follows the Subſcriptions of King *Wythred*, and *Werburge* his Queen, (who Subſcribed for her ſelf, and the Prince her Son,) then follow thoſe of the Biſhops and Abbots, and after them of Five Abbeſſes of that Kingdom; which ſhews them to have been preſent at this Council; but whether as conſenters, or voters, or elſe as bare witneſſes, I ſhall not determine; but it is obſervable that their Names are written not only before all the Presbyters, but alſo before *Botred*, a Biſhop, though of what Dioceſs is not ſpecified: But to return to Civil affairs.

About this time alſo, as *Bede* relates, (though no Hiſtorian hath given us the Year) *Sebbi*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, being fitter for a Biſhop than a King, and being at laſt taken with a great bodily Infirmity, preferred a private Life before a Crown, and took upon him the Habit of a Monk, with the Benediction of *Waldhere*, then Biſhop, and Succeſſour to *Erkenwald* in the See of *London*; ſo this pious King, after he had beſtowed a great Sum of Money in Charity, ſoon departed this Life, leaving his Sons *Sighard* and *Senfrid* to ſucceed him. *Lib. 4. cap. 11.*

Anno Dom. DCXCVII. *This Year the* Southumbers (*that is the* Mercians) *killed* Oſtry *the Wife of* Ethelred *their late King, and the Siſter of King* Egfrid. *H. Huntington* calls it a vile Wickedneſs, but would not, or could not give us the reaſon why they did ſo; nor what puniſhment was inflicted upon them for it.

This Year likewiſe was held the Council of *Berghamſted* in *Kent*, *Bertwald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Gibmund* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and all the Eccleſiaſtical Order of that Kingdom, together with all the Lay or Military Men being there aſſembled, by the Common, and Unanimous Aſſent of

Anno Dom. DCLXXIV.

of All, they decreed theſe Laws ſhould be added to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Kentiſh* Men: the Conſtitutions of this Council are called in the *Saxon* Title, the Judgments or *Doomes* of King *Wightred*; But thô they relate chiefly to Eccleſiaſtical Matters, yet I ſhall here inſert ſome of the chief of them.

The Firſt Law is, *That the Church ſhall be free, and enjoy her own Judgments, Rents, and Penſions; and that Prayer be made for the King, and his Commands obeyed, not of neceſſity or Compulſion, but out of good will.*

Secondly, *If any Military Man (called there a* Geſithcund-man, *in the* Saxon *Original,) ſhall, after this Council is ended, deſpiſing the King's Law, and the Judicial Sentence of the Biſhop's Excommunication, be taken in Adultery, let him pay to his Lord an* 100 *Shillings.*

By which Law it appears, there was at this time Knights Service in *England*, and alſo, that ſlighting of Excomunication had no further Temporal Penalty, than a pecuniary Mulct.

And that it was to the Lord of whom he held his Land, That he was to pay it, appears by the next Law, by which it is appointed, that if the Adulterer were a Country Man, or Villager, (called there *Ceorleſman*) he ſhall pay Fifty Shillings (to his Lord,) yea thô he do Pennance for that Sin.

Thirdly, *If on* Saturday *in the Evening, after the Sun is ſet; or on* Sunday *Evening after the ſame time; a Servant ſhall, at the Command of his Maſter, do any work, let his Maſter redeem the offence with paying Eighty Shillings.*

Fourthly, *If a Layman kill a Theif, let him lye without any* Wiregild, *that is, without making any ſatisfaction to the Friends of the party ſlain.*

'This Year alſo the *Picts* ſlew *Bert* the Ealderman, *H. Huntington* aſcribes 'this to the Curſe of the *Iriſh* Nation, whoſe Churches he had in the 'late Invaſion deſtroyed; for as King *Egfrid* Invading the Country of 'the *Picts* was there cut off; ſo entering their Country to revenge the 'Death of his Maſter, he was likewiſe ſlain.

Mat. Weſtminſter calls this Ealderman, *Brithric*, Earl of the *Northumbers*, but from what Authority I know not.

I ſhall conclude this Century with a very remarkable Tranſaction out of *Bede*, that happen'd about the latter end of it. *Egbert*, an *Engliſh* Prieſt, living in *Ireland*, being hindred by a Storm that forced him back from Preaching the Goſpel (as he intended) in *Germany*, he perſwaded one *Wilbrode* his Country man to do it; who having obtain'd the Pope's Licenſe to Preach to the *Heathen* Nations, he performed it firſt by preaching the Goſpel in old *Frizeland*, (which then included not only thoſe Provinces, called *Eaſt* and *Weſt Frizeland* to this day, but alſo *Holland* and *Zealand*, and divers others of the *Belgic* Provinces;) where he converted all thoſe Nations to the Chriſtian Faith, and was afterwards, at the deſire of *Pipin*, (father to King *Charles*,) ordained by the Pope, Arch-Biſhop of the *Friſons*, *Anno Dom.* 696: and upon his return to *Rome*; *Pipin*, being then Major of the Palace, (or General of *France*,) gave him for his Epiſcopal See that famous Caſtle, which is called in the Old

Anno Dom. DCXCIX. Language of that Nation, *Wiltaburg*, but in the *Gallic* Tongue, *Trajectum*, at this day *Utrecht*.

Id. c. 12. But not long after, two Prieſts, each of them named *Henwald*, and for diſtinction Sirnamed from the colour of their Hair, the Black and the White, being by his Example piouſly affected to the Souls of their Country-men, the *Old Saxons*, at their coming into *Old Saxony* to convert them, met with much worſe Entertainment; for being in the Houſe of a Farmer, who had promiſed to convey them (as they deſired) to the Governour of that Country, and being diſcovered by their daily Ceremonies to be Chriſtian Prieſts, and the cauſe of their coming alſo known, they were by him and his *Heathen* Neighbours cruelly butcher'd, and their Bodies flung into the *Rhine*; but the Governour coming to the knowledge of it, being enraged at ſuch Violence offered to two Strangers, ſent Armed Men, and ſlew all thoſe wicked Inhabitants, and burnt their Village.

Anno Dom. DCC. About this time Sir *H. Spelman*, in his firſt Volume of *Councils*, records a Charter of Priviledge granted by King *Wythred* in a General Council or Synod of *Kent*; whereby, with the Conſent of the Chief Men of his Kingdom, he freed all the Churches thereof from all Publick Payments or Tributes whatſoever; provided they yielded the King and his Succeſſours the ſame Honour and Obedience, as they had done his Predeceſſours, under whom hitherto they had enjoyed all Juſtice and Liberty. This was done in the Eighth Year of his Reign, at a Place called *Cylling*; which ſeems to be no more than a Confirmation of what had been done 6 Years before in the Council of *Becanceld*. But to return to our Annals.

5 C *Anno Dom.* DCCII. 'This Year *Cenred* began to Reign over the *Southumbers*, (*i. e.* the *Mercians*,) as has been already ſaid.

5 C *Anno Dom.* DCCIII. '*Hedda*, the Biſhop, departed this Life; he held the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* 27 Years.

Lib. 5. *c.* 19. This *Hedda* is he, of whom *Bede* gives the Character of an Excellent Biſhop, and one who Adorn'd the Epiſcopal See, converting more by his Example, than Preaching.

Anno Dom. DCCIV. '*Ethelred*, the Son of *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*, became a Monk, (at '*Bardeney* Abbey,) having reigned 29 (or rather 30) Years, and *Cenred* 'ſucceeded him, (who was his Couſin-German.)

William of *Malmesbury* further adds, That from a Monk he came to be Abbot of that Monaſtery, wherein he died; and that of *Oſgilde*, the Siſter of *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, he begat a Son, called *Ceolred*; yet for all this, *Ethelred* paſſing him by, he appointed *Cenred*, the Son of his Brother *Wulfher*, for his Succeſſour; who reigned with great Love to his Country, and a ſingular Probity of Manners, till, in the Fifth Year of his Reign, he went to *Rome*, and, (as *Bede* tells us) taking upon him *Ibid. c.* 20. the Habit of a Monk, during the Papacy of Pope *Conſtantine*, there ended his Days in Prayers, Faſting, and Alms.

Anno Dom. DCCV. '*Ealfert*, or *Alfred*, King of the *Northumbers*, deceaſed on the 19° '*Jan.* at *Driffeild*, (in the 12th Year of his Reign,) *Oſred*, his Son, 'ceeding in that Kingdom.

But *Stephen Heddi*, in his Life of Biſhop *Wilfrid*, (and who lived that time,) hath given us a more accurate Account of the Death of the King, and of his Succeſſours, *viz.* That King *Alfred* lying now upon his Death-bed, repented of what he had done toward Biſhop

Anno Dom. DCCV.

and promiſed, That if ever he recovered of that Sickneſs, he would reſtore the Biſhop, and in all Things obſerve the Decree of the Apoſtolick See; but if he died, he enjoyn'd, who ever ſhould ſucceed him, to be reconciled with that Biſhop for the good of both their Souls; but this King dying, one *Eardwulf* ſucceeded him, thô but for a ſmall time; and the Biſhop going to him, and carrying that King's Son along with him, he ſent Meſſengers before, ſuppoſing him to be his Friend; but the King being perſwaded by his Councellors, and alſo prompted by his own natural Wickedneſs, ſent the Biſhop word, (binding it with an Oath,) *That unleſs he departed his Kingdom within the ſpace of ſix Days, whoſoever he found of his Company ſhould be put to Death*; Not long after which harſh Meſſage, a Plot being laid againſt him, he was driven out of the Kingdom, which he had ſcarce enjoyed two Months, and ſo the Royal Youth *Oſred*, Son of the late King *Alfred*, ſucceeded in the Kingdom, and became Biſhop *Wilfrid*'s adopted Son.

In the firſt Year of which King, the Author above-mentioned hath given us the following Account, concerning the Reſtitution of the ſaid Biſhop, *viz.* That *Berthwald*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, came about this time from the South, together with all the Biſhops, Abbots, and Chief Men of the whole Kingdom, by the Precept of the Apoſtolical See, to hold a Synod at a Place lying on the Eaſt-ſide of the River *Nid*, in *Northumberland*; where the King, with his Biſhops and Chief Men being met, the Arch-Biſhop made a Speech to them, ſetting forth the Letters from the Pope, which Biſhop *Wilfrid* had brought directed to himſelf, and which he deſired might be read; the Purport whereof was to the ſame effect, as you have already heard: Then *Ælfleda* the Abbeſs, Daughter to the late King, as alſo *Berechtfrid*, the ſecond Man in the Kingdom, ſet forth the Will of the late King, and therefore that it was fit to obey it, as well as the Commands of the Apoſtolical See; whereupon the King, with his Great Men and all the Biſhops, upon mature Deliberation, reſolved to be reconciled to Biſhop *Wilfrid*, and that his two Monaſteries of *Rypon* and *Hagulſtad*, together with all their Revenues, ſhould be reſtored to him; and ſo a firm Reconciliation being made, all the Biſhops departed in Peace.

Vid. Decem Script. col 296.

Cap 11, 12.

But yet for all this, by what *Richard Prior* of *Hagulſtad* hath left us of this matter, it appears, that *Wilfrid* did not carry the Cauſe ſo clearly as this Author would make it; for he only was reſtored to the Biſhoprick of *Hagulſtad*, and Biſhop *John* above-named was from thence tranſlated to *York*, which Biſhop *Wilfrid* had held before; only Biſhop *John* parted with *Hagulſtad* for Peace-ſake. I have been the more exact in this Tranſaction, becauſe it has never been done by any body in our Language before.

Lib. 5 *c.* 10

Alſo it is to this Year we are to refer the great Council, which *Bede* tells us was held in the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*; in which, after the Death of Biſhop *Hedda*, the Biſhoprick of that Province became divided into two; one whereof was conferred on *Daniel*, who held it at the time when *Bede* wrote his Hiſtory; and the other was beſtowed upon *Aldhelm* above-mentioned, then Abbot of *Malmesbury*, who was now made Biſhop of *Shireburn*, and when he was only an Abbot, did, at the Command of a Synod of the whole Nation, write an excellent Book againſt that Errour of the *Britains*, in not keeping *Eaſter* at the due time; whereby he converted many of thoſe *Britains* which were then ſubject to the *Weſt Saxons*, to the Catholick Obſervation thereof: Of

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whoſe other Works likewiſe, *Bede* gives us there a Catalogue; being Perſon (ſays he) admirable in all Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical and Divine Learning; and, as *William* of *Malmesbury* further informs us, was the firſt of the *Engliſh Saxons* who wrote *Latin* Verſes with a *Roman* Genius. ^

^ as to British Affairs we find one Gerent to have been King of the Cornish Britains about this time, for this year Bede mentions an Epistle wrote by the Bishop last mentioned to that Prince.

There is here in the *Saxon* Annals a Gap for the ſpace of 3 Years, in which I think we may (according to *H. Huntington*'s Account) place what *Bede* relates in the Chapter and Book laſt cited, *viz.* That *Daniel* and *Aldhelm* yet holding their Sees, it was ordained by a Synodal Decree, That the Province of the *South Saxons*, which had hitherto belonged to the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*, ſhould now be an Epiſcopal See, and have a Biſhop of its own; and ſo *Ceadbert*, who was then Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Selſey*, was conſecrated firſt Biſhop of that Place; who dying, *Ceolla* ſucceeded in that Biſhoprick; but he likewiſe dying ſome Years before *Bede* wrote his Hiſtory, that Biſhoprick then ceaſed.

Anno Dom. DCCIX.

'This Year the *Saxon* Annals began with the Death of Biſhop *Aldhelm*, '(whom it calls Biſhop of *Weſtwude*, for ſo *Shireburne* was then called,) 'after whom one *Forther* took the Biſhoprick, and this year *Ceolred* ſucceeded in the Kingdom of the *Mercians*; for now *Kenred* (King of the '*Weſt Saxons*) went to *Rome*, and *Offa*, with him and *Kenred*, remained 'there to his Live's end; and the ſame year Biſhop *Wilferth* (or *Wilfred*) 'deceaſed at *Undale*; his Body was brought to *Rypon* in *Yorkſhire*. This is the Biſhop whom King *Egferth* long ſince forced to go to *Rome*.

There being divers Things put very cloſe together under this Year, they will need ſome Explanation. This *Offa*, here mentioned, was (as *Bede and *William* of *Malmesbury* relate) the Son of *Sigher*, King of the *Eaſt Saxons*; who, being a young Man of a ſweet Behaviour, as well as handſom Face, in the Flower of his Youth, and highly beloved by his People, and having not long before ſucceeded to the Kingdom, (after *Sighard* and *Senfrid* above-mentioned,) he courted *Keneſwith*, the Daughter of King *Penda*, whom he deſired to marry; but it ſeems, not long after their Marriage, ſhe over-perſwaded him to embrace a Monaſtick Life, ſo that he now went to *Rome* for that End. And *Bede* tells us expreſly, that both theſe Kings left their Wives, Relations, and Countries, for Chriſt's ſake. But to this *Offa* ſucceeded *Selred*, the Son of *Sigebert* the Good, in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Saxons*. *H. Huntington* propoſes King *Offa* as a Pattern to all other Princes to follow, and makes a long Exhortation to them to that purpoſe; as if a King could not do GOD better Service, nor more Good to Mankind by well-governing his People, than by renouncing the World, and hiding his Head in a Cell: But ſuch was the Faſhion, or rather Humour, of that Age; and the Affairs, as well as Conſciences of Princes, being then altogether Govern'd by Monks, it is no wonder if they extoll'd their own Profeſſion, as the only One whereupon Salvation could certainly be obtained.

But ſince I have already given you from *Bede* and *Stephen Heddi* a large Account of Biſhop *Wilfred*'s Life and Actions above-mentioned, I ſhall not need to add any more to it. He was certainly a Man who had tried all the Viciſſitudes of an adverſe, as well as a proſperous Fortune, having been no leſs than three times deprived of his Biſhoprick; the firſt time unjuſtly, but whether we may ſay the ſame of both the other, ſeems doubtful; for let his Friends ſay what they will, it is evident, he was at firſt deprived for oppoſing a very good Deſign, *viz.* That of dividing the

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* *Lib.* 5. *c.* 20

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the *Northumbrian* Kingdom into more Dioceſſes, and he having the rich Monaſtery of *Hagulſtad* under his Charge, would not permit it to be made a Biſhoprick, thô the Dioceſs was more than he could well manage; and this ſeems to have been the true Original of that great Quarrel between him and the two Kings *Egfrid* and *Alfred*, as you have already heard; ſo it ſhould ſeem, the Wrong pretended to have been done him was none at all, or elſe ſuch holy Men as St. *Cuthbert*, St. *John* of *Beverlie*, and *Eatta*, are deſcribed to be, would never have accepted of the Biſhopricks of *York* and *Hagulſtad* during the time of his Deprivation; and it is very ſtrange, that two Arch-Biſhops ſucceſſively, with the greater part of the Biſhops of *England*, ſhould have agreed to his Deprivation, if there had not been great Cauſe for it; nor would ſo holy and knowing a Woman as the Abbeſs *Hilda*, have been ſo much againſt him, had not there been ſome ſubſtantial Reaſons to juſtifie it; but he had the Pope on his ſide, who always encouraged Appeals to *Rome*, and then it was no wonder if he prevailed; but he was certainly a Prelate of a high Spirit, and great Parts, and who building a great many Monaſteries by the Benevolence of the Kings and Princes of that Time; and himſelf, (thô a Biſhop,) being Abbot of two of them at once; it was no wonder if he grew very rich, which, together with his high way of Living, (being the firſt Biſhop of that Age who uſed Silver Veſſels,) it procured him the Envy of thoſe Princes; but he was a grand Patron of the Monks, and therefore it is not to be wondred at if they cried him up for a Saint, of whom the Writer of his Life, (which he Dedicates to *Acca* his Succeſſour,) relates too many Miracles to be believed, (raiſing the Dead, curing the Lame, being very ordinary Feats,) but the Monks being the only Writers of that Age, we muſt be contented with what Accounts they will give us, thô thus much muſt be acknowledged in his Commendation, That he converted great Multitudes to the Chriſtian Faith, and cauſed the Four Goſpels to be written in Letters of Gold.

But having given you this Account of Biſhop *Wilfred*'s Life, it is fit I ſay ſomewhat further of his Death, concerning which, the Author *Cap.* 62, 63. above-mentioned tells us, That having lived 4 Years in Peace after his laſt Reſtitution, he at laſt went to viſit the Monaſteries which he had founded in the South Parts of *England*, where he was received by his Abbots (whom he had put in) with great Joy; till coming to a Monaſtery which he had founded at *Oundale* in *Northamptonſhire*, being there ſeized with the ſame Sickneſs which had often attacked him before, (thô what it was, this Author does not tell us,) he there died, having before made his Will, and given a great deal, both in ready Money and Jewels, to the Monaſteries he had founded: His Body was carried with great Pomp and Attendance of many Abbots and Monks to his Abbey of *Rypon*, and there buried.

Anno Dom. DCCX. S. C.

'This Year *Acca* (the principal Chaplain of Biſhop *Wilfred*) ſucceeded 'him in his Biſhoprick of *Hagulſtad*; (To this Biſhop, *Florence* of *Worceſter* gives the Character of a skilful Singer, and Learned in the Scriptures:) 'Alſo this Year *Beorthfrith* the *Ealderman* fought againſt the *Picts* be'tween *Hæſe* and *Care*, (ſuppoſed to be *Carehouſe* and *Hatfeild* in *Nor'thumberland*,) and alſo King *Ina*, and *Nun* his Kinſman, fought with '*Gerent* King of the *Britains*; and the ſame Year *Hygbald* was ſlain.

Mat. Weſtminſter places this Action in *Anno* 708, and makes this *Hygbald* to have been killed in the beginning of the Fight by the *Welſh* King above-

General of the Weſt Saxons

Anno Dom. DCCXII.

above mentioned; and He being there put to flight, left great ſpoils behind him to the *Engliſh*; who (as *Florence* adds,) obtained the Victory.

~~This *Britiſh* Prince here mentioned, is ſuppoſed to have been King of *Cornwall*; for we can find no ſuch name in the Catalogue of the Princes of *North*, or *South-Wales*.~~

Lib. 5. *c.* 22.

About this time, (according to *Bede*) *Naitan* King of the *Picts* being convinced by the frequent reading of divers Eccleſiaſtical Writers, renounced his Error, concerning the Celebration of *Eaſter*; and that he might likewiſe reclaim his Subjects with greater Authority, he deſired the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Nation, and therefore ſent Meſſengers to *Ceolfrid*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Wyremouth*, deſiring ſome Exhortatory Letters from him, whereby he might confute thoſe who preſumed not to keep *Eaſter* at the due time; as alſo concerning the true manner of ſhaving of Prieſt's Crowns; he likewiſe deſired ſome Architects, that might build a Church for him after the *Roman* faſhion, which he promiſed to Dedicate in honour of St. *Peter*.

To which Pious requeſts *Ceolfrid* aſſenting, did not only ſend him the Architect he deſired, but alſo writ him a long Epiſtle upon thoſe two Queſtions in which he deſired to be ſatisfied, which you may ſee at large in *Bede*; where, beſides many notable Arguments for keeping *Eaſter* on the firſt *Sunday* after the firſt Full Moon that follows the Vernal Equinox, and beſides ſome others, there is this doughty Reaſon againſt the *Scotch* way of ſhaving Crowns, that it was the Tonſure of *Simon Magus*; and then what good Chriſtian could not but abhor it as much as Magick it ſelf!

“ This Year *Guthlac* dyed, as alſo *Pipin* King of *France*; this *Guthlac* here mentioned, was at firſt a Monk at *Repandun* Abbey, but afterwards profeſſing himſelf an *Anchorite*, he retired into the Fens, and built himſelf a Cell, at *Croyland*: of him the Monkiſh Writers of thoſe times relate incredible Miracles, of his Temptations, Sufferings by, and Victories over, Evil Spirits, which then haunted that place, at which ſome Years after the Abbey of *Croyland* was founded.

The ſame Year alſo *Egwin*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, founded the Abbey of *Eveſham* upon this occaſion; the *Virgin Mary* (as the Monks relate) had appeared about this place to one *Eoves* a Shepheard, and not long after to the Biſhop himſelf, having a Book in her hand, bringing two Female Attendants with her, (though who they were it ſeems ſhe did not declare:) whereupon the Biſhop there founded this Monaſtery, teſtifying this Viſion in the Charter of the Foundation, which you may ſee at large in *Monaſt. Anglic.* as alſo in Sir *H. Spelman*'s firſt Volume of Councils; but as for the Story related by the *Magdeburg Centuriators*, that the *Virgin Mary* did then Command her Image to be ſet up, and worſhiped in that Church, there being no colour for it in the pretended Charter of the Biſhop himſelf, that muſt be certainly forged; for as Sir *H. Spelman* has very well obſerved, Arch-Biſhop *Brightwald* is ſaid to have writ this Charter by the command of the Pope; whereas this Arch-Biſhop was never at *Rome*, nor was the Council in which it is ſaid to have been confirmed, held, till after Biſhop *Egwin*'s Return home into *England*; and as for the Kings, *Kenred* and *Offa*, who are made to witneſs and confirm it, they had both of them reſigned their Crowns, and gone to *Rome* Five Years before the date of this Charter, which is *Anno Dom.* 714; therefore I ſhall paſs it by as a mere Fable, ſince it is certain that the worſhip of Images was not then, nor long after introduced into the *Engliſh-Saxon* Church.

Anno Dom. DCCXII.

But before I diſmiſs this Subject concerning the foundation of the Abby of *Eveſham*, I cannot forbear taking notice of another Charter pretended to be made *Anno Dom.* 709; by King *Kenred*, and King *Offa* above mentioned, wherein they grant thoſe Lands, in which the *Virgin Mary* was ſuppoſed to appear to Biſhop *Egwin*, for the building of a Monaſtery according to the Rule of St. *Benedict*; in which Charter, thô the Lands are particularly named and ſet out, yet it is as juſtly ſuſpicious as the other, to have been forged by the Monks of that Abby in after times; as Sir *H. Spelman* very well obſerves, who hath Printed both theſe Charters in his firſt Volume of Councils; the former of which is dated at *Rome*, Five Years before the other of Biſhop *Egwin's*, and is ſuppoſed to be ſubſcribed by the Pope, this Biſhop himſelf, and the two Kings; who there ſtile themſelves, the former by the Title of King of *Mercia*, and the latter by that of King of the *Eaſt-Angles*; whereas it is apparent both from our Annals and Hiſtorians, that they had both then reſigned their Kingdoms to their Succeſſours, before they went to *Rome*; and, which is worſe, *Offa* was not King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, but of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, as *Bede* expreſly relates; nor can the fault be laid upon the Tranſcribers, ſince the Error is in the Original Charter it ſelf; neither do we read of any King of the *Eaſt-Angles* all that time, till King *Offa*, upon the Murther of King *Ethelbert*, ſeized that Kingdom; but enough, if not too much, of theſe Monkiſh Forgeries: we ſhall now return to our Annals.

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Anno Dom. DCCXV.

“ King *Ina* and *Ceolred* fought at *Wodensburh* in *Wiltſhire* a great and bloody Battle; and now alſo *Dagobert* King of the *French* deceaſed.

Anno Dom. DCCXVI.

This Year was founded at *Theoewkesbury* in *Glouceſter-ſhire*, a noble Monaſtery, for *Bendictine* Monks, by *Odo* and *Dodo*, Ealdermen of *Mercia*.

Vi. *Monaſt. Angl.* P. 153.

“ The ſame Year *Oſred* King of *Northumberland* was killed near the Southern borders; *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates it was in a Fight near the Sea, but names not the Enemy with whom he fought. This *Oſred* held the Kingdom Eleven Years, then *Cenred* took it, and held it Two Years, and after him *Oſric*, who held it Eleven Years. The ſame Year alſo *Ceolred*, King of the *Mercians* Dyed, and lyeth Buried in *Licetfield* (now *Lichſield*): Then *Ethelbald* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and held it Forty One Years.

Of this King *Oſred* above mentioned, *Will.* of *Malmeſbury* gives a very bad Character, that he ſtained his Reign by Debauching the Chaſtity of the *Profeſs'd Nuns*, and that he was at laſt Slain by the Treachery of his Relations, who alſo brought the ſame fate upon themſelves.

But this King *Ethelbald* above mentioned, was the Son of *Alwer*, and he of *Eoppa*, (whoſe pedegree is already ſet down.) Alſo this Year *Egbert*, that venerable perſon, converted the Monks of *Hii* to the right Faith, ſo that they afterwards obſerved *Eaſter* Orthodoxly, as alſo the Eccleſiaſtical Tonſure, the relation of which, *Bede* hath given us at large; being in ſhort, that *Egbert* the Prieſt (above mentioned) coming out of *Ireland* on purpoſe to convert thoſe Monks, they were ſo moved by his Pious Exhortations, that leaving the Traditions of their Fore-fathers, they afterwards obſerved the Catholic (i. e. *Roman*) Rites; *Egbert*, after he had lived with theſe Monks in this Iſland for Thirteen Years, dyed there.

Anno Dom. DCCXVII.

" This Year *Ingild* the Brother of King *Ina* deceaſed, whoſe Siſters " were *Werburgh*, and *Cuthburgh*; the latter of whom Built the Mona- " ſtery of *Winburne*: She was once Married to *Eadbert*, King of *Nor-* " *thumberland*, but whil'ſt he lived, they were made to renounce each " other's Bed.

In this Year alſo (as *Ingulphus* in his Hiſtory of the Monaſtery of *Croyland* relates) that Abby was founded by *Ethelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, in honour of St. *Guthlac*, the *Anchorite*, then lately deceaſed, it was for *Benedictines*: You may ſee this King's Charter in the aforeſaid Authour, whereby he granted to this Monaſtery, the whole Iſle of *Croyland*, then containing Four Leagues in length, and Three in breadth, with all the Marſhes adjoyning, there particularly mentioned.

Anno Dom. DCCXX.

About this time, according to the *Welſh* Chronicle, *Roderic* (or *Rodri*) the Son of *Edwal Twrch*, began to Reign over the *Britains* in *Wales*.

Anno Dom. DCCXXI.

" This Year *Daniel* Biſhop (of *Wincheſter*) went to *Rome*; and the " ſame Year *Ina* ſlew *Cinewoulf Atheling*, (that is, Prince of the Blood " Royal;) and the ſame Year St. *John*, Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, deceaſed, " who was Biſhop Thirty Three Years and Eight Months, whoſe Body " was buried at *Beverlie*.

This was he, who being firſt Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, and then of *York*, was after his Death Canoniſed by the Name of St. *John* of *Beverlie*; to whoſe ſhrine many Pilgrimages were made, and of whom the Monkiſh Legends relate many incredible Miracles, nor is *Bede* himſelf wanting in his Stories of this Biſhop, which notwithſtanding, I think, are better omitted: But *Bede* under this Year gives us this account of him, that when he was not able, by reaſon of his Age, to perform his Epiſcopal Functions, having ordained *Wilfred* his Presbyter, Biſhop of *York* in his room, he retired to his Monaſtery in the Forreſt of *Deira*, where he finiſhed his Life in a Heavenly Converſation.

Anno Dom. DCCXXII.

" This Year Queen *Ethelburg* deſtroyed the Caſtle of *Taunton* (now " *Taunton-Dean* in *Somerſetſhire*) which *Ina* had before built, and *Eadbert* " was forced to flye into *Surry*, to the *South-Saxons*, where *Ina* alſo fought " with them. *H. Huntington* tells us, That the reaſon why Queen *Ethelburgh* deſtroyed this Caſtle, was, becauſe *Eadbert*, a Rebellious Prince of the Blood Royal, had taken it; and made it the ſeat of this Rebellious War.

Anno Dom. DCCXXV.

It being now (according to *Bede*) the Seventh Year of the Reign of *Oſric* King of *Northumberland*, King *Wythred* dyed, who was Son of *Egbert* King of *Kent*, after having reigned Thirty Four Years and an half: He left Three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alaric* his Heirs: *Will. Malmesbury* gives him this Character, that he was gentle at home, invincible in War, and who ſtrictly obſerved the Chriſtian Religion; but according to our Annals, *Eadbert* his Son ſucceeded alone to him in the Kingdom: This Year alſo (according to our Annals) " *Ina* fought again with the *South-Saxons*, and there ſlew *Eadbert Ætheling*, whom he " had before baniſhed.

H. Huntington farther informs us, That King *Ina* purſued *Eadbert* into *Southſex*; and a nameleſs Authour adds, That he then ſlew *Aldwin*, King of the *South-Saxons*, (who took his part) and Conquered that Countrey.

Alſo the ſame Year, King *Ina* new built the Ancient Monaſtery of *Glaſtenbury*, endowing it with divers Lands, and alſo granted it an E

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emption from all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, with divers other priviledges, as you may find in his Charter, confirmed by a great Council of the whole *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom; the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, with divers other Biſhops and Great Men being preſent, and ſubſcribing to it in the preſence of all the Lay-people. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXV.

This Charter is in ~~the~~ Manuſcript, in the Library of *Trinity* Coll. in *Cambridge*; and is alſo Printed by Sir *H. Spelman* in his Firſt Volume of *Britiſh* Councils: It was alſo ſent to *Rome*, and there confirmed by the *Pope*, as the Book of *Glaſtenbury* relates.

About this time (as *Ranulph* of *Chicheſter* in *Polychronichon* relates) that *Ina*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, firſt confered upon St. *Peter* (that is the Biſhop of *Rome*) a Penny from every Houſe in his Kingdom, which was called by the *Engliſh-Saxons Romeſcot*; and in Latin *Denarius Sancti Petri*, i.e. *Peterpence*,) which is alſo allowed by *Polydore Virgil* in his Hiſtory (who was once the Pope's Collector of this Tax in *England*;) but ſince I do not find this confirmed by any Ancient Authour or Council, I ſuſpend my belief of it; ſince I do not look upon the bare Teſtimony of the Collector of *Polychronicon*, as of ſufficient Authority for a matter of this Moment; but if it were ever granted by this King, it is likewiſe as certain, that it could not be done without the conſent of the *Mycel-Synod*, or great Council of the Kingdom, though that be not now to be found.

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William of *Malmesbury*, and *H. Huntington* do both give King *Ina* great Commendations, propoſing him as an Example not only of Magnanimity and Juſtice, by the good Laws he made, but alſo of Piety and Devotion; in that he was perſwaded to quit all Worldly Vanities for a Monaſtick Life, and that by the frequent Exhortations of the Queen his Wife; who, when ſhe ſaw nothing would prevail upon him, took this courſe; which, (thô none of the cleanlieſt,) I will here give you: Once when the King had made a great Entertainment at one of his Country-houſes, as ſoon as the Company was gone, the Queen ordered the Steward to defile all the Rooms with Cow-dung and other filth, and alſo put a Sow and Pigs into the Bed, where they had lain the Night before; but when the King and Queen had gone ſome part of their Journey, ſhe perſwaded him to return back again to the ſame place, otherwiſe he would run a great hazard; which being done, when the King ſaw the place, which was yeſterday fit to entertain a Prince, now thus ſpoiled, being much troubled at it, he went to the Queen, and complain'd to her of it; at which ſhe laughing replied; " *My Lord and Husband*, See what is become of all " that Feaſting and Magnificence we ſaw Yeſterday, Are they not all " gone and paſt, like Water that runs into the Sea? ſo of all thoſe Vanities " there remains nothing, but this Dung and Filth, that only ſerves to repre-" ſent the Corruption of the Soul by ſuch Exceſſes; think then Sir, Anno Dom. DCCXVII. "This Year *Ingild* the Brother of King *Ina* deceaſed, whoſe Siſters "were *Werburgh*, and *Cuthburgh*; the latter of whom Built the Monaſtery of *Winburne*: She was once Married to *Eadbert*, King of *Northumberland*, but whil'ſt he lived, they were made to renounce each "other's Bed.

In this Year alſo (as *Ingulphus* in his Hiſtory of the Monaſtery of *Croyland* relates) that Abby was founded by *Ethelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, in honour of St. *Guthlac*, the *Anchorite*, then lately deceaſed, it was for *Benedictines*: You may ſee this King's Charter in the aforeſaid Authour, whereby he granted to this Monaſtery, the whole Iſle of *Croyland*, then containing Four Leagues in length, and Three in breadth, with all the Marſhes adjoyning, there particularly mentioned.

Anno Dom. DCCXX. About this time, according to the *Welſh* Chronicle, *Roderic* (or *Rodri*) the Son of *Edwal Iwrch*, began to Reign over the *Britains* in *Wales*.

Anno Dom. DCCXXI. "This Year *Daniel* Biſhop (of *Wincheſter*) went to *Rome*; and the "ſame Year *Ina* ſlew *Cinewoulf Athelinq*, (that is, Prince of the Blood "Royal;) and the ſame Year St. *John*, Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, deceaſed, "who was Biſhop Thirty Three Years and Eight Months, whoſe Body "was buried at *Beverlie*.

This was he, who being firſt Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, and then of *York*, was after his Death Canoniſed by the Name of St. *John* of *Beverlie*; to whoſe ſhrine many Pilgrimages were made, and of whom the Monkiſh Legends relate many incredible Miracles, nor is *Bede* himſelf wanting in his Stories of this Biſhop, which notwithſtanding, I think, are better omitted: But *Bede* under this Year gives us this account of him, that when he was not able, by reaſon of his Age, to perform his Epiſcopal Functions, having ordained *Wilfred* his Presbyter, Biſhop of *York* in his room, he retired to his Monaſtery in the Forreſt of *Deira*, where he finiſhed his Life in a Heavenly Converſation.

Anno Dom. DCCXXII. "This Year Queen *Ethelburg* deſtroyed the Caſtle of *Taunton* (now "*Taunton-Dean* in *Somerſetſhire*) which *Ina* had before built, and *Eadbert* "was forced to flye into *Surry*, to the *South-Saxons*, where *Ina* alſo fought "with them. *H. Huntington* tells us, That the reaſon why Queen *Ethelburgh* deſtroyed this Caſtle, was, becauſe *Eadbert*, a Rebellious Prince of the Blood Royal, had taken it; and made it the ſeat of his Rebellious War.

Anno Dom. DCCXXV. It being now (according to *Bede*) the Seventh Year of the Reign of *Oſric* King of *Northumberland*, King *Wythred* dyed, who was Son of *Egbert* King of *Kent*, after having reigned Thirty Four Years and an half: He left Three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alaric* his Heirs: *Will. Malmesbury* gives him this Character, that he was gentle at home, invincible in War, and who ſtrictly obſerved the Chriſtian Religion; but according to our Annals, *Eadbert* his Son ſucceeded alone to him in the Kingdom: This Year alſo (according to our Annals) "*Ina* fought again with the *South-Saxons*, and there ſlew *Eadbert Ætheling*, whom he "had before baniſhed.

H. Huntington farther informs us, That King *Ina* purſued *Eadbert* into *Southſex*; and a nameleſs Authour adds, That he then ſlew *Aldwin*, King of the *South-Saxons*, (who took his part) and Conquered that Countrey.

Alſo the ſame Year, King *Ina* new built the Ancient Monaſtery at *Glaſtenbury*, endowing it with divers Lands, and alſo granted it an E

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emption from all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, with divers other priviledges, as you may find in his Charter, confirmed by a great Council of the whole *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom; the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, with divers other Biſhops and Great Men being preſent, and ſubſcribing to it in the preſence of all the Lay-people. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXV.

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"How

Anno Dom. DCCXXVIII.

"how ſoon that Fleſh will rot that is now pamper'd, by Luxury; and "the greater and more powerful we are, the greater will our Torments "be hereafter. She needed to ſay no more, for ſhe had now brought over her Husband to her Sentiments, which ſhe had for ſome Years before conſtantly inſtill'd, thô hitherto in vain; thus after ſo many warlike Triumphs, being at the higheſt pitch of Humane Felicity, he went to *Rome*, where he ſhewed not the leaſt Pride in his Converſation, but without expoſing himſelf to publick view; being there ſhorn a Monk, grew old in that mean Habit; nor was his Wife, who had been the Authour of this Reſolution, wanting in following the ſame Example, accompanying him thither her ſelf, comforting him, and confirming him in that Courſe he had undertaken by her own Example; ſo not living far from each other in Mutual Love, they at laſt departed this Life, not without doing divers Miracles, if our Author may be credited.

But before we diſmiſs the Hiſtory of this King, it is fit we ſhould take notice of a notorious falſhood inſerted by ſome Ignorant trifling Monk, among the Laws of King * *Edward* the *Confeſſour*, concerning "this King *Ina*'s Marrying *Guala*, the Daughter of *Cadwallader*, King "of the *Britains*; from which Daughter we are there told, that Country was called *Wallia*, which in Ancienter times had the name of *Cambria*, and that all the *Engliſh* who lived at that time, took their Wives "from the *Britiſh* Stock, as they did alſo from the *Engliſh*; and that "this was done by the Advice of a Common Council of the Kingdom, "and that in this manner they were made one Nation, and one People, "by God's mercy; throughout the whole Kingdom of *Britain*; which hath given occaſion to ſome fabulous Hiſtorians to make this *Ina* King of *Wales*, as well as *England*, though without any ground. Since none of the Ancient *Britiſh*, or *Engliſh* Chronicles, do ever mention any ſuch thing: For during the Reign of this *Ina*, *Ivour* the Son of *Alan*, Duke of *Britain*, is Recorded by the *Welſh* Chronicles to have Reigned in *Wales*; but the likeneſs of theſe two Names, I ſuppoſe gave the firſt occaſion to this Fable.

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The ſame Year that *Ina* went to *Rome*, the *Saxon* Annals relate, "That "King *Ethelhard* (his Succeſſour) fought with *Oſwald* Ætheling, which "*Oſwald* was the Son of *Æthelbald*; and he the Son of *Cynebald*, Grandſon to King *Ceawlin*; who as *H. Huntington*, and *Will.* of *Malmesbury* tell us, Being a Young Prince of the Blood Royal and raiſing a Rebellion againſt him in the beginning of his Reign, endeavoured to obtain the Kingdom for himſelf; but being worſted was forced to Flye.

9

Anno Dom. DCCXXIX.

This Year appeared a Comet, and that Holy Man *Ecgbert* dyed at *Hye*.

This *Ecgbert*, was the perſon above mentioned, who brought over the Monks of that Monaſtery, to keep *Eaſter* after the *Roman* manner.

Anno Dom. DCCXXX.

"This Year *Oſwald Ætheling*, dyed, (as it is ſuppoſed in Baniſhment.)

Anno Dom. DCCXXXI.

"This Year *Oſric* King of *Northumberland* was ſlain, and *Ceolwulf* ſucceeded him, and held it Eight Years; who was the Son of *Cutha*, and "he the Son of *Cuthwin*: where follows his Pedigree as far as *Eoppa*.

The Same

This Year (*Bede* alſo tells us,) *Bertwald* the Arch-Biſhop Deceaſed; being worn out with Age, and Infirmities, having held that See Thirty Seven Years and Six Months; in whoſe room *Tatwin* was made Arch-

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* Vid. *Lambert's Arch. cap.* 35. f. 148.

Anno Dom. DCCXXI.

Biſhop, who had been a Prieſt in the Monaſtery of *Berodune*, in the Kingdom of the *Mercians*; he was conſecrated at *Canterbury* by *Daniel*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Ingwald* Biſhop of *London*, *Aldwin*, Biſhop of *Leichfeld*, and *Aldulf* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; he was a Man famous for Religion and Prudence, and very well skill'd in the Scriptures: he ſate Arch-Biſhop till *Bede*'s Death, and lived but Three Years after; here alſo follow in *Bede*, the Names of the reſt of the Biſhops, that were his Contemporaries, which is unneceſſary here to be inſerted.

But as for the ſtate of Civil Affairs, when *Bede* finiſhed his Hiſtory, he gives us this brief Account, *viz.* "That *Ceolwulf* (who was then "King of *Northumberland*,) had been in the beginning of his Reign per-"plexed with great Troubles, the end of which *Bede* could not then "foreſee; the Nation of the *Picts* at this time kept their league, with "the *Engliſh* Nation, and rejoyced to be partakers of the Catholick "Peace and Truth with the Univerſal Church: This he ſpeaks becauſe *Natan* King of the *Picts*, had been but a little before brought over to imbrace the *Romiſh* obſervation of *Eaſter*, and to their manner of ſhaving Prieſt's Crowns.

"Alſo the *Scots*, who Inhabit *Britain*, being kept in within their own "limits, did practiſe no Treachery againſt the *Engliſh* Nation; as to "the *Britains*, thô the greateſt part, from a natural hatred to the *Engliſh* "Nation, did oppoſe the Catholick obſervation of *Eaſter*, yet the Di-"vine Power, as well as Human Force, being againſt them, they could "not obtain their deſires; for though they were partly at their own "diſpoſal, yet were they in great meaſure ſubject to the *Engliſh*; in "this Peaceable and quiet time, the moſt part of the *Northumbrian* "Nation, as well Nobles as Private Perſons, choſe rather to make "themſelves and their Children Monks, than to Educate them in a Mili-"tary Life; which (ſays he) What end it will have, the next Age will "ſhew.

And ſo indeed it did, not long after *Bede*'s Death, for when the beſt Men thus retired into Monaſteries, none but the worſer, or meaner ſort being left, they ſoon fell into horrid Rebellions and Civil Wars; one King driving out, and Murdering another, leaving the People an eaſie Prey to the *Danes*, who in the next Generation Invaded them: This (as *Bede* relates) was the Preſent State of *Britain*, in his Time, about 285 Years after the Arrival of the *Engliſh Saxons*.

We being now bereft of the aſſiſtance of ſo good an Authour, muſt for the future wholly rely upon the *Saxon* Annals, together with the other Monkiſh Writers; thô indeed for near the ſpace of above Thirty Years laſt paſt, *Bede* growing more intent upon Eccleſiaſtical than Civil Affairs, (being all moſt wholly taken up with the reciteing of Viſions and Miracles,) and mentioning other things only by the bye, hath given us ſo ſlender an account of thoſe times, that if we had not found ſome aſſiſtance from the *Saxon* Annals, (as well as from other Writers,) the Hiſtory of that Age, though very ſhort and obſcure, would yet have been much more imperfect without them.

But to proceed now with our *Saxon* Annals.

'This Year K. *Ethelbald* took *Sumerton*; and *Acca* was driven from 'his Biſhoprick of *Hagulſtad*, (I ſuppoſe by the then King of *Northumberland*, though no Author expreſly mentions it.) *Will.* of *Malmesbury* tells us, that this *Ethelbald* was that great and powerful King of the *Mercians*

to

Anno Dom. DCCXXXIII. to whom *Boniface*, Biſhop of *Mentz*, (being then the Pope's Legat, writ a ſharp Letter, ſetting forth, and reproving, the then reigning Vic of this Nation, and particularly of that King himſelf; who, relying the vain Confidence of his Juſtice and Alms, was not aſhamed (no mo than the Noblemen of his Kingdom, by his Example,) to commit U cleanneſs even with Conſecrated Nuns, which wicked Actions the Biſho foretells would be the ruin of himſelf and Kingdom, as it proved in th end.

But King *Ethelbald*, after he had thus taken *Symerton*, with an Army to powerful to be reſiſted by the K. of the *Weſt Saxons*, became ſo great, that (a *H. Huntington* obſerves,) he made all the reſt of the Provinces of *Englan* together with their Kings, ſubject to him, as far as the River *Humber*. This *Symerton* was anciently a great Town and Caſtle of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, and gave Name to that County, which we now call *Somerſetſhire*, though at preſent it be but an ordinary Country Village. Alſo this Year the Sun was ſo much eclipſed, that (as the Epitome of *Bede* and *Ethelward* relate,) on 13° *Kal. Sept.* its whole Orb ſeem'd as it were covered with a black Sheild.

Anno Dom. DCCXXXIV. This Year alſo the Moon appear'd as it were ſtain'd with Blood, and *Simeon* of *Durham* ſaith it laſted one whole hour, and then a Blackneſs following, it return'd to its natural Colour. • Alſo *Tatwin* the Archbiſhop deceaſed; • and *Egbryht* was made Biſhop of *York*: Now *Bede* alſo died.

But the Author of his Life (in Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library) refers it to the Year following; and the Chronicle of *Mailros*, with greater Truth, to the Year 736; for he was (as his Life above-cited relates,) born *Anno* 677, and deceaſed in the 59th Year of his Age.

But ſince *Bede* our Hiſtorian deceaſed about this time; and that it is to him we are beholding for the greateſt part of the Hiſtory of this preſent Period, it is fit we give you a ſhort account of his Life; He was born in the Province of *Northumberland*, not far from the Monaſtery of *Gyrwie* (the place is now called *Tarrow*,) near the Mouth of the River *Were*, where he was bred up from ſeven Years of Age, and in which, being profeſs'd, he lived a Monk all the reſt of his Life, ſpending his time in the Study of the Scriptures, ſaying his Prayers, or Writing Comments upon the Old and New Teſtaments, as alſo his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, (ſo often cited by us,) beſides divers other Books, containing the Lives of Saints, and other Matters, of Humane, as well as Divine Learning; whoſe Titles you may find at the end of his ſaid Hiſtory: 'Till at laſt, being waſted by a long Aſthma, he there made an Heavenly End, as may be ſeen in his Life above-mentioned: So that *Simeon* of *Durham* very well obſerves, that though he lay, as it were, hid in the utmoſt Corner of the World, yet, after his Death, he became known in all Parts by his Learned Writings; therefore he hath, for his great Piety, as well as Learning, juſtly obtained the Title of *Venerable Bede* :‡ After whoſe deceaſe, (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* rightly obſerves,) all knowledge of Actions paſſed was almoſt loſt even to his own Times, ſince none proved an Emulator of his Studies, nor a Follower of his Learning; ſo that to a ſlothful Generation, one more ſlothful ſtill ſucceeding, the Love of Learning for a long time grew cold in this whole Iſland.

‡ and he was so honoured abroad that Pope Sergius wrote a letter on purpose to Ceolfride Abbot of Gyrwie to send over Bede to Rome that he might confer with him upon some material points after which he should be sent back with all safety. but we do not find that he ever went thither. see the copy of the letter among the fragments of Alcuines or Albines Epistles. publisht in Lelands collections

Anno Dom. DCCXXXV. • This Year Biſhop *Egbriht* received the Pall from *Rome*; but you muſt here obſerve, that by the Pope's thus ſending a Pall to the Biſhop of *York*, he now became an Archbiſhop, and conſequently Metropolitan of all the

Northumbrian Provinces, that See having been, ever ſince the Time of *Paulinus*'s Flight out of *Northumberland* into *Kent*, and carrying the Archi-epiſcopal Pall along with him, no more than an ordinary Biſhoprick, ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, from whoſe Power it was from this time exempted, and came now to have Supreme Juriſdiction over all the Biſhops in *Deira* and *Bernicia*, as far as the *Pictiſh* Kingdom. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXXV. his

'The Arch-biſhop *Nothelm* received his Pall from *Rome*:] This was the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſucceeded *Tatwine*. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXXVI.

You may take notice, that it was in thoſe Times uſual for the Pope to ſend a Pall to every new Archbiſhop upon his Conſecration, to ſhew his Dependance upon the See of *Rome*, and for which every Archbiſhop paid a great Sum of Money to the Pope's Treaſury.

This *Nothelm*, when he was a Presbyter of the Church of *London*, was he, to whom *Bede*, in the Epiſtle before his Hiſtory, owns himſelf beholding for divers ancient Monuments relating to the *Engliſh* Church, as alſo Epiſtles out of the Pope's Repoſitory.

'This Year *Forthere* Biſhop of *Sciteburn*, with *Frithogithe* Queen of the '*Weſt-Saxons*, went to *Rome*. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXXVII.

Where (as *H. Huntington* tells us,) they both took upon them the Monaſtick Habit; which, in thoſe days, very many of the *Engliſh* Nation, of all Degrees and Qualities, as well high as low, were wont to do. For now alſo (as our Annals relate,) '*Ceolwulf*, King of *Northumberland*, 'ſurrendred his Kingdom to *Eadbert* his Couſin, who reigned Thirty one 'Years: (This *Ceolwulf* was he to whom *Bede* dedicated his Hiſtory;) who, after his profeſſing himſelf a Monk in the Monaſtery of *Lindisfarne*, (as *R. Hoveden* relates) brought the Monks of that place from the ſtrict diſcipline of drinking only Milk or Water, to drink Wine, and Ale, and they might very well afford it, for he brought along with him good proviſions to live eaſily, as great Treaſures and Revenues in Land (recited at large by *Simeon* of *Durham*) all which he beſtowed on that Monaſtery; no wonder then if ſuch great Commendations be given by Monkiſh Writers to Kings becoming Monks.

The ſame Year alſo, (as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter* relates) *Alwin* Biſhop of *Lichfield* dying, there were two Biſhops ordained in that Dioceſs, *viz. Wicca* at *Lichfield*, and *Tocca*, the firſt Biſhop of *Leyceſter*, which Town from this time continued a Biſhop's See, for divers Ages: Alſo this Year (according to the *Saxon* Annals) 'the Bi-'ſhops *Ethelwald*, and *Acca* deceaſed, and *Cynwulf* was conſecrated Bi-'ſhop; and the ſame Year *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians* waſted the 'Contry of *Northumberland*. (And as *H. Huntington* adds,) carried away as much Spoil as he had a mind to from thence: Alſo (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) *Swebriht* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* died this Year.

'*Eadbriht* (or *Egbert*) the Son of *Eatta*, who was the Son of *Leodwald* 'began to Reign in the Kingdom of the *Northumbers*, and held it One and Twenty Years; *Egbert* Arch-Biſhop of *York* was his Brother, who were both buried in the City of *York*, in the ſame Church-Porch. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXXIX. E

~~But~~ It there is an over-ſight in theſe Annals, for this *Eadbriht* above mentioned, muſt be the ſame with *Eadbriht*, under the former Year. y:t

This Year alſo, (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Swebright* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* died.

Anno Dom. DCCXXXIII.

to whom *Boniface,* Biſhop of *Mentz,* (being then the Pope's Legat, writ a ſharp Letter, ſetting forth, and reproving, the then reigning Vi of this Nation, and particularly of that King himſelf; who, relying the vain Confidence of his Juſtice and Alms, was not aſhamed (no mo than the Noblemen of his Kingdom, by his Example,) to commit U cleanneſs even with Conſecrated Nuns, which wicked Actions the Biſho foretells would be the ruin of himſelf and Kingdom, as it proved in t end.

u But King *Ethelbald,* after he had thus taken *Symerton,* with an Army t powerful to be reſiſted by the K. of the *Weſt Saxons,* became ſo great, that (*H. Huntington* obſerves,) he made all the reſt of the Provinces of *Englan* together with their Kings, ſubject to him, as far as the River *Humber* u This *Symerton* was anciently a great Town and Caſtle of the *Weſt-Sax* Kings, and gave Name to that County, which we now call *Somerſetſhir* though at preſent it be but an ordinary Country Village. Alſo this Ye the Sun was ſo much eclipſed, that (as the Epitome of *Bede* and *Ethe ward* relate,) on 13° *Kal. Sept.* its whole Orb ſeem'd as it were cover with a black Sheild.

if *Anno Dom.* DCCXXXIV.

This Year alſo the Moon appear'd as it were ſtain'd with Blood, and *Simeo* of *Durham* ſaith it laſted one whole hour, and then a Blackneſs following it return'd to its natural Colour. 'Alſo *Tatwin* the Archbiſhop deceaſed 'and *Egbryht* was made Biſhop of *York*: Now *Bede* alſo died.

But the Author of his Life (in Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library refers it to the Year following; and the Chronicle of *Mailros,* with greate Truth, to the Year 736; for he was (as his Life above-cited relates,) born *Anno* 677, and deceaſed in the 59th Year of his Age.

But ſince *Bede* our Hiſtorian deceaſed about this time; and that it is to him we are beholding for the greateſt part of the Hiſtory of this preſent Period, it is fit we give you a ſhort account of his Life; He was born in the Province of *Northumberland,* not far from the Monaſtery of *Gyrwie* (the place is now called *Yarrow,*) near the Mouth of the River *Were,* where he was bred up from ſeven Years of Age, and in which, being profeſs'd, he lived a Monk all the reſt of his Life, ſpending his time in the Study of the Scriptures, ſaying his Prayers, or Writing Comments upon the Old and New Teſtaments, as alſo his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, (ſo often cited by us,) beſides divers other Books, containing the Lives of Saints, and other Matters, of Humane, as well as Divine Learning; whoſe Titles you may find at the end of his ſaid Hiſtory: 'Till at laſt, being waſted by a long Aſthma, he there made an Heavenly End, as may be ſeen in his Life above-mentioned: So that *Simeon* of *Durham* very well obſerves, that though he lay, as it were, hid in the utmoſt Corner of the World, yet, after his Death, he became known in all Parts by his Learned Writings; therefore he hath, for his great Piety, as well as Learning, juſtly obtained the Title of *Venerable Bede*:+ After whoſe deceaſe, (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* rightly obſerves,) all knowledge of Actions paſſed was almoſt loſt even to his own Times, ſince none proved an Emulator of his Studies, nor a Follower of his Learning; ſo that to a ſlothful Generation, one more ſlothful ſtill ſucceeding, the Love of Learning for a long time grew cold in this whole Iſland.

Anno Dom. DCCXXXV.

This Year Biſhop *Egbriht* received the Pall from *Rome*; but you muſt here obſerve, that by the Pope's thus ſending a Pall to the Biſhop of *York,* he now became an Archbiſhop, and conſequently Metropolitan of all the *Northumbrian*

+ and he was so honoured that Pope Sergius wrote a letter on purpose to Ceolfride Abbot of Gyrwie to send over Bede to Rome that he might confer with him upon some material Points after which he should be sent back with all safety. but we do not find that he ever went thither. see the copy of the letter among the fragments of Alcuines or Albines epistles. published in Lelands Collections

Anno Dom. DCCXXXV.

his

Northumbrian Provinces, that See having been, ever ſince the Time of *Paulinus*'s Flight out of *Northumberland* into *Kent*, and carrying the Archiepiſcopal Pall along with him, no more than an ordinary Biſhoprick, ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, from whoſe Power it was from this time exempted, and came now to have Supreme Juriſdiction over all the Biſhops in *Deira* and *Bernicia*, as far as the *Pictiſh* Kingdom.

Anno Dom. DCCXXXVI.

'The Arch-biſhop *Nothelm* received his Pall from *Rome*:] This was the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſucceeded *Tatwine*.

You may take notice, that it was in thoſe Times uſual for the Pope to ſend a Pall to every new Archbiſhop upon his Conſecration, to ſhew his Dependance upon the See of *Rome*, and for which every Archbiſhop paid a great Sum of Money to the Pope's Treaſury.

This *Nothelm*, when he was a Presbyter of the Church of *London*, was he, to whom *Bede*, in the Epiſtle before his Hiſtory, owns himſelf beholding for divers ancient Monuments relating to the *Engliſh* Church, as alſo Epiſtles out of the Pope's Repoſitory.

Anno Dom. DCCXXXVII.

'This Year *Forthere* Biſhop of *Sciretburn*, with *Frithogith* the Queen of the '*Weſt-Saxons*, went to *Rome*.

Where (as *H. Huntington* tells us,) they both took upon them the Monaſtick Habit; which, in thoſe days, very many of the *Engliſh* Nation, of all Degrees and Qualities, as well high as low, were wont to do. For now alſo (as our Annals relate,) '*Ceolwulf*, King of *Northumberland*, 'ſurrendred his Kingdom to *Eadbert* his Couſin, who reigned Thirty one 'Years: (This *Ceolwulf* was he to whom *Bede* dedicated his Hiſtory; who, after his profeſſing himſelf a Monk in the Monaſtery of *Lindisfarne*, (as *R. Hoveden* relates) brought the Monks of that place from the ſtrict diſcipline of drinking only Milk or Water, to drink Wine, and Ale, and they might very well afford it, for he brought along with him good proviſions to live eaſily, as great Treaſures and Revenues in Land (recited at large by *Simeon* of *Durham*) all which he beſtowed on that Monaſtery; no wonder then if ſuch great Commendations be given by Monkiſh Writers to Kings becoming Monks.

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The ſame Year alſo, (as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter* relates) *Alwin* Biſhop of *Lichfield* dying, there were two Biſhops ordained in that Dioceſs, *viz.* *Wicca* at *Lichfield*, and *Tocca*, the firſt Biſhop of *Leyceſter*, which Town from this time continued a Biſhop's See, for divers Ages: Alſo this Year (according to the *Saxon* Annals) 'the Bi'ſhops *Ethelwald*, and *Acca* deceaſed, and *Cynwulf* was conſecrated Bi'ſhop; and the ſame Year *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians* waſted the 'Contry of *Northumberland*. (And as *H. Huntington* adds,) carried away as much Spoil as he had a mind to from thence: Alſo (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) *Swebriht* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* died this Year.

Anno Dom. DCCXXXIX.

E

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y.t

This Year alſo, (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Swebright* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* died.

Ceolwulf

Anno Dom. DCCXXXIX. *Ceolwulf*, late King of *Northumberland*, died this Year (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) in the Monaſtery of *Lindisfarne*: Alſo (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) *Nothelm*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, deceaſed; but the *Saxon* Annals defer his Death two Years longer.

Anno Dom. DCCXL. This Year *Acca*, Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, deceaſed, who, as the ſame Author relates, was had in great Reverence, not only during his Life, but alſo after his Deceaſe, for his great Sanctity and ſuppoſed Miracles.

Anno Dom. DCCXLI. 'King *Ethelred* deceaſed, and *Cuthred* his Couſin ſucceeded in the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*, and held it 16 Years.] This King made ſharp War againſt *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, and that with various Succeſs, (as *H. Huntington* tells us,) ſometimes making Peace, and then again renewing the War.

'This Year alſo *Nothelm* the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed, and '*Cuthbriht* was Conſecrated in his ſtead, as was alſo *Dun* Biſhop of '*Rocheſter*, (after the Death of *Eadulph*.) 'This Year alſo the City of '*York* was burnt, together with the Monaſtery, (as *Simeon* has it.)

Anno Dom. DCCXLII. Now was held the great Synod at *Cloveſhoe*, where were preſent *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, and *Cuthbert* the Arch-Biſhop, with many other wiſe Men.

Where this *Cloveſhoe* was, is now very uncertain, ſince the Name is wholly loſt; ſome ſuppoſe it to have been *Cliffe* in *Kent*, near *Graveſend*; but it is not likely that *Ethelbald*, being now the chief King of *England*, would permit this Council to have been held out of his own Dominions; ſo that *others ſuppoſe it to have been ***Abingdon*** in *Berkſhire*, which was anciently called *Seoveſham*, where (as the old Book of that Abbey tells us) was anciently a Royal Seat of the Kings, and where there uſed to be great Aſſemblies of the People concerning the arduous Affairs of the *Mercian* Kingdom.

* Vid. Nominum, & Locorum explan. ad fin. Chron. Saxon. nuper Edit. per Edm. Gibſon.

But thô we are more certain of the Decrees of this Council, than of the Place, where it was held; yet ſince it was a meer Eccleſiaſtical Synod, and no great Council of that Kingdom, and that its Decrees were chiefly made in Confirmation of the Charter of King *Withred* concerning free Elections to Monaſteries in *Kent*, according to the Directions of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, I ſhall refer you to the Canons themſelves, as they are to be found in the *Decem Scriptores*, and *Sir *H. Spelman*'s *Britiſh* Councils; and ſhall only take notice of this one, that now Biſhops were firſt ordered to viſit their Dioceſſes once a Year.

* Col. 2209. Vol. 1. p. 230.

Anno Dom. DCCXLIII. 'This Year *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, and *Cuthred* King of the '*Weſt Saxons*, fought againſt the *Britains*.] *H. Huntington* tells us, That theſe two Kings now joyning their Forces brought two great Armies into the Field againſt the *Welſh-men*, who not being able to defend themſelves, were forced to flie, leaving great Spoils behind them; ſo both the Kings returned home Victorious.

Anno Dom. DCCXLIV. According to *Florence* of *Worceſter*. *Wilfred*, the ſecond Biſhop of *York* of that Name, died, after he had ſate 30 Years. Alſo this Year, according to the Annals,

'*Daniel* reſigned the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, being worn out by Age, 'and *Hunferth* ſucceeded him; and they ſay, the Stars ſeemed to fall from Heaven. But *Simeon* of *Durham* calls them, (with more probability,) ſuch Lightnings as thoſe of that Age had never before ſeen.

About this time alſo, (according to *Simeon,*) there happened a great Fight between the *Picts* and the *Britains,* I ſuppoſe he means thoſe of *Cumberland*, for no other *Britains* lay near the *Picts.*

Anno Dom. DCCXLV.

'This year Biſhop *Daniel* (above-mentioned) deceaſed, after he had 'been 43 years Biſhop.

Anno Dom. DCCXLVI.

'This year *Selred* (King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*) was ſlain ;] But by whom, or which way, is not here ſaid. This *Selred* was Sirnamed *The Good*, and reigned 38 years.

Anno Dom. DCCXLVII.

Swithheard, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, dying, *Elfwold* ſucceeded him, as the Chronicle of *Mailros* relates.

This Year alſo was held the ſecond Council at *Cloveſhoe*, under *Cuthbert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, there being preſent, (beſide the Biſhops, Abbots, and many Eccleſiaſticks,) *Ethelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, with his chief Men and Ealdermen : In which, beſides many Decrees concerning the Unity of the Church, and for promoting Peace, (which you may ſee at large in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Firſt Volume of Councils ;) and after, the reading of Pope *Zachary*'s Letters to the People of *England* to live more continently, Theſe (among other) Decrees were likewiſe paſſed, *viz.* 1. That the Reading of the Holy Scriptures be more conſtantly uſed in Monaſteries. 2. That Prieſts receive no Reward for baptizing Children, or for other Sacraments. 3. That they learn the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer in *Engliſh*; and are likewiſe to underſtand and interpret into their own Tongue the Words of Conſecration in the Celebration of Maſs, and alſo of Baptiſm, *&c.* P. 245,

Anno Dom. DCCXLVIII.

'This year *Cynric Ætheling* (that is, Prince of the Blood-Royal of the '*Weſt Saxons*) was ſlain ; and *Eadbriht*, King of *Kent*, died, after ſix 'Years Reign ; and *Ethelbryht*, the Son of King *Withred*, ſucceeded him.] This *Cynric* was he, whom *H. Huntington* relates to be Son of *Cuthred*, King of the *Weſt Saxons* ; who, thô young in Years, was a great Warriour for his time, yet periſhed in a ſudden Sedition of his own Souldiers, but where he does not ſay.

Anno Dom. DCCXLIX.

Simeon affirms, That *Elfwald*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*, now dying, *Hunbeanna* and *Albert* divided that Kingdom between them ; but what relation they had to the late King, he does not tell us.

Anno Dom. DCCL.

'This year *Cuthred*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, in the 12th Year of his 'Reign, fought againſt *Ethelune*, that couragious Ealderman.] *H. Huntington* calls him a bold Earl, who moved Sedition againſt his Lord ; and thô he were inferiour in the number of his Souldiers, yet maintained the Fight a great while by his ſole Courage and Conduct ; but while he was ready to get the Victory, a Wound he then unfortunately received, ſo diſabled him, and diſheartened his Men, that the King's (being the ſtronger, as well as the juſter) Side, did thereby prevail.

Alſo the ſame Year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and the Chronicle of *Mailros*,) *Eadbert* King of *Northumberland* led *Kynwulf* Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, Priſoner to the City of *Beban*, who it ſeems had ſome ways rebelled againſt him, for he then alſo cauſed the Cathedral Church of *Lindisfarne* to be beſieged.

[illegible] Castle.
in Northumberland

The ſame Year (as *Bede*'s Continuator relates) *Eadbert*, King of *Northumberland*, made War upon the *Picts*, and ſubdued all the Country of *Kyle*, with other Territories, joyning them to his own Dominions.

Anno Dom. DCCLIII.

'This Year (according to the *Saxon* Annals) King *Cuthred* fought 'againſt the *Britains*:] (But of this, the *Welſh* Chronicles are ſilent, as well as other Authors.) 'The ſame Year alſo, (being the 12th Year of his 'Reign,) King *Cuthred* fought againſt *Æthelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, at '*Beorgford* (now *Burford*) in *Oxfordſhire*, and there put him to flight.

But *H. Huntington* gives us this Battle more at large, That King *Cuthred* being not any longer able to bear the Inſolencies and Impoſitions of that proud King *Ethelbald*, took Arms, and met him with an Army in the Field, preferring his Liberty before his Life, being encouraged by Earl *Ethelune* above-mentioned, who it ſeems was now cured, and reconciled to the King, relying upon whoſe Courage and Council, he reſolved to undertake this War; but *Ethelbald*, as a King of Kings, had brought along with him, beſides his own *Mercians*, the *Kentiſh* Men, with the *Eaſt Angles* and *Saxons*, which made all together a very great Army, and being both drawn up on the Spot, they approached each other, whilſt Earl *Athelune* marching before the *Weſt Saxons*, carried the Royal Standard, (being a Golden Dragon,) and in the beginning of the Battle challenging him to a ſingle Combat, there ſlew the Standard-bearer of the Enemy; upon which a great Shout being given, *Cuthred*'s Souldiers were very much encouraged; then both Armies engaging, there followed a great and bloody Fight, of which our Author gives us a long and pompous Relation. Pride and Ambition (ſays he) inciting the *Mercians*, and fear of Servitude provoking the *Weſt Saxons*, to fight it to the laſt; but wherever Earl *Ethelune* charged the Enemies, he with the force of his invincible Battle-Axe deſtroyed all before him; but at laſt K. *Ethelbald* and the Earl meeting, they fought together with great Obſtinacy and Reſolution; till GOD, who reſiſteth the Proud, ſo diſcouraged this King, that he turned his Back, and fled, whilſt his Men ſtill fought on; yet at laſt they were all routed; nor from that time, to the day of his Death, did GOD give him any more Succeſs.

C. S Anno Dom. DCCLIV.

'*Cuthred*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, departed this Life; and (according to *Simeon*) *Sigebert*, his Couſin, ſucceeded him: Alſo *Cyneheard* 'ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* after *Hunferth*, and the ſame 'year the City of *Canterbury* was burnt. x

x This year also Ro
dri surnamed Ma
gynted C. S
~~[illegible]~~ king of
North wales deceasing
was succeded by Cura
Doc. chron. Walk:

Anno Dom. DCCLV.

'This Year was very remarkable, for now (as our *Annals* inform us) '*Cynwulf*, with the Wiſe and Noble Men of the *Weſt Saxons*, deprived 'King *Sigebert* of the whole Kingdom for his Cruelty and Injuſtice, '(except *Hampſhire*,) which he kept for ſome time, until he ſlew one '*Cumbran* an Ealderman, (who had continued longeſt with him;) ſo 'that at laſt *Sigebert* was driven into *Andred*'s Wood, where he remained 'till ſuch time as a certain Hogheard ran him through with a Lance at '*Pruntes-Flood*, and thereby revenged the Death of *Cumbran* the Ealder'man. This King *Cynwulf* often overcame the *Britains* in Fight, but after 'he had governed the Kingdom about 30 Years, he was ſlain by *Cyneheard Ætheling*, brother to *Sigebert*; as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.

H. Huntington is very particular in the Reaſons, and manner of King *Sigebert*'s Depoſition, and tells us, That being puff'd up with the good Succeſs of his Predeceſſours, he grew intollerable to his Subjects; for he had oppreſſed them by all manner of ways, and wreſted the Laws for his own Advantage, inſomuch that this *Cumbran*, one of his nobleſt Earls, at the Deſire of the People, repreſented their Grievances to this cruel King, who, becauſe he perſwaded him, that he ſhould govern them

Anno Dom. DCCLV.

more gently, and thereby become more beloved both by God and Man, he preſently commanded him to be ſlain, and ſo daily increaſed in his Tyranny, till in the beginning of his Second Year, the Great Men and People of the whole Kingdom being gathered together, by the Provident Deliberation, and Unanimous Conſent of them All he was expell'd the Kingdom; and *Cinewulf*, a notable young Man of the Blood Royal, was *Elected* King in his room.

This is the firſt Example we have in our *Engliſh* Hiſtory, of the Solemn Depoſition of a King, by the Authority of the Great Council of the Kingdom, concerning whom our Author bids us remark the manifold Juſtice and Providence of God, how ſometimes it doth not only recompence Kings according to their Merits in the World to come, but alſo in this; for oftentimes ſetting up Wicked Kings for the Deſerved Puniſhment of their Subjects, he lets ſome of them Tyrannize a great while, that ſo a wicked People might be puniſhed, and the King becoming more wicked, may be tormented for ever; as may be ſeen in *Æthelbald*, King of *Mercia* above-mentioned, whilſt God cuts others ſhort by a ſpeedy Deſtruction, leſt his People, being oppreſs'd by too great Tyranny, ſhould not be able to ſubſiſt under it, ſo that the immoderate Wickedneſs of a Prince does often accelerate his Puniſhment.

The ſame Year, (according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle publiſhed by Dr. *Powel*,) *Conan Tindaethwy*, Son of *Rodri Molwynoc*, began his Reign over the *Britains* in *Wales*.

'This Year alſo, (according to the *Saxon* Annals,) *Æthelbald*, King 'of the *Mercians*, was ſlain at *Seccandune* (now *Secington*) in *Warwick*'*ſhire*, after he had reigned 41 Years; and then *Beornred* uſurped the 'Kingdom, and held it but a little while, and that with great Trouble; for 'the ſame year King *Offa* expelled *Beornred*, and taking Poſſeſſion of the 'Throne, held it 39 Years; but his Son *Egberth* no more than 140 Days. 'This *Offa* was the Son of *Thincerth*, and he the Son of *Eanwulf*: The reſt of his Pedigree, as far as *Woden*, I omit.

Abbot *Bromton*'s Chronicle farther adds, concerning the Death of King *Ethelbald*, That he was ſlain in a Fight at the Place above-mention'd, yet was it not by the Enemy, but by the Treachery of this *Beornred*.

Ingulph, in his Hiſtory of *Croyland*, tells us, That King *Ethelbald* having founded the Abby of *Ripendune* (now *Repton*) in *Derbyſhire*, (being the moſt famous of that Age,) was there buried; and alſo of this *Beornred*, (whom he calls a Tyrant,) that he did not long enjoy his Uſurpation, for it ſeems he was not of the Blood Royal of the *Mercian* Kings; but when he was Expelled, *Offa* ſucceeded him by the General Conſent of the Nobles of *Mercia*; but *Mat. Weſtminſter* (who puts the Succeſſion of King *Offa* two Years later) is more particular in this Tranſaction, and relates, That this *Beornred* governing very Tyrannically, the whole Nation of the *Mercians* roſe up againſt him; ſo that both the Nobility and Commons joyning together, under the Conduct of *Offa*, a valiant young Man, Nephew to the late King *Æthelbald*, they expelled *Beornred* the Kingdom; and then *Offa*, by the General Conſent of the Clergy and Laity of that Kingdom, was crowned King. This was that King *Offa*, who afterwards became a Terrour to all the Kings of *England*.

Anno Dom. DCCLVI.

Eadbert, King of *Northumberland*, and *Unuſt*, King of the *Picts*, brought an Army againſt the City *Alkuith*, which the *Britains* delivered upon Conditions. This is from the Authority of *Simeon* of *Durham*, and lets us ſee, that this City (now in *Scotland*) was then in the Hands of the *Northern Britains.*

Anno Dom. DCCLVII. 'This year *Eadbert*, King of the *Northumbers*, was ſhorn a Monk, and *Oſwulf*, his Son, ſucceeded him, yet Reigned but one Year, being ſlain by the Treachery of his own Servants on the 9th of the *Kal. Auguſt* following, thô without any juſt Cauſe, as I can find.

Concerning this *Eadbert*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, in his Hiſtory of that Church, tells us, That after he had reigned 21 Years, and ruled his Kingdom with great Wiſdom and Courage, ſo that all his Adverſaries being either overcome by force, or elſe ſubmitting themſelves to him; the *Engliſh*, *Pictiſh*, and *Scotiſh* Kings, not only maintained Peace and Friendſhip with him, but rejoyced to do him Honour; ſo that the Fame of his Grandeur ſpreading as far as *France*, King *Pipin* not only made a League with him, but ſent him great Preſents; and the Kings, his Neighbours, when he was about to reſign the Crown, had him in that Eſteem, that they offered him part of their own Dominions, on Condition, that he would not lay down his Charge; but he refuſed it, and reſigned his Kingdom to *Uſulf*, his Son.

Alſo about this time, (according to the *Britiſh* Chronicles,) there was a great Battle fought at *Hereford*, between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*, where *Dyſnwal ap Theodore* was ſlain: But they do not tell us who obtained the Victory.

Anno Dom. DCCLVIII. This Year *Cuthbert*, Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*, deceaſed, having ſate Arch-Biſhop 18 Years. Alſo (according to *Florence*) about this time *Swithred* reigned over the *Eaſt*, and *Oſmund* over the *South Saxons*; as alſo *Beorne* was King over the *Eaſt Angles.*

Anno Dom. DCCLIX. 'This Year *Bregowin* was conſecrated Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* at the Feaſt of St. *Michael*; and *Ethelwold*, Sirnamed *Moll*, began to reign over the *Northumbers*, and at laſt reſigned the Crown.

Anno Dom. DCCLX. '*Ethellryght*, King of *Kent*, deceaſed; he was the Son of King *Wythred*. Of this King, *William* of *Malmeſbury* records nothing remarkable, but that the City of *Canterbury* was burnt in his Reign.

'*Ceolwulf* alſo, late King of *Northumberland*, departed this Life the ſame Year, dying a Monk in the Iſle of *Lindiſfarne*.] But *Simeon* of *Durham* prolongs his Life 4 Years longer.

Anno Dom. DCCLXI. 'This Year was a very ſharp Winter; and *Ethelwald Moll*, King of *Northumberland*, ſlew Duke *Oſwin* at *Edwinſclife* on the Eighth of the *Ides* of *Auguſt.*

But thô who this Duke was, our Annals do not tell us; yet *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Roger* of *Hoveden* relate, he was one of thoſe Great *Northumbrian* Lords, that rebelled againſt the King; who gained the Victory over him, and thoſe Rebels that took his part.

Anno Dom. DCCLXII. 'This Year deceaſed *Bergowine*, the Arch-Biſhop above-mentioned. But if he ſate 4 Years, (as theſe Annals affirm,) he could not have died till the Year following; in which alſo,

Anno Dom. DCCLXIII. '*Janbryht* (who is alſo called *Lambert*) was now conſecrated Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* about 40 Days after *Chriſtmas*. Alſo *Frithwald*, Biſhop of *Witherne*, died on the *Nones* of *May*; he had been Conſecrated in *Tork* on the 18th *Kalends* of *September*, in the Reign of *Ceolwulf*, and ſate Biſhop 29 Years; and then *Piyhtwin* (or *Pechtwin*) was Conſecrated Biſhop of *Witerne* at *Ælfet*, on the 16th *Kal.* of *Auguſt.*

Anno Dom. DCCLXIV.

'Janlryht, the Arch-Biſhop, received his Pall.] This was (as *Florence* f *Worceſter* informs us) from Pope *Paul* I.

This Year alſo, (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates,) there was much Miſchief done by Fire, at *London*, *Wincheſter*, and other Places.

Anno Dom. DCCLXV. [illegible]

'*Albred*, King of *Northumberland*, began to reign, and reigned Eight ears; (*Ethelwold Moll* having now ~~by Death quitted~~ that Kingdom) [illegible]

The manner of which is given us more perfectly by *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Roger Hoveden*, (*viz.*) That *Ethelwold* loſt the Kingdom of *Northumberland* at *Winchan-heal* 1° *Kal. November*, being murder'd by the Treachery of this *Alhred*, who ſucceeded him, and was alſo of the Race of *Ida*, being his Great Nephew.

The ſame Year alſo, (according to * *William* of *Malmesbury*,) *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, envying the Greatneſs of the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury*, did, by moſt noble Preſents made to the Pope, obtain a Pall for the See of *Lichfield*, that is, That it ſhould be for the future an Arch-Biſhoprick, and that all the Biſhops of the Provinces of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the *Eaſt Angles*, ſhould be ſubject to it; and this he not only gained, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition and Remonſtrances of Arch-Biſhop *Jambert* to the contrary, but alſo bereaved the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* of all its Lands, which lay within the *Mercian* Territories; which Injuſtice continued during the whole Reign of King *Offa*, till *Kenulph* his Succeſſour, by the Interceſſion of *Eanbald* then Arch-Biſhop of *York*, reſtored the See of *Canterbury* to its ancient Rights.

* *De Geſtis Pontif. l.* 1.

Anno Dom. DCCLXVI.

'This Year deceaſed *Egbert* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, (13° *Kal. Sept.*) who 'ſate Biſhop 36 Years.] This is he who was Baſe Brother to the King of the ſame Name, and regained the Pall to his See, after it had been without it ever ſince the time of *Paulinus*: He alſo built a Noble Library at *York*, which was then counted one of the beſt in *Europe*; for *William* of *Malmesbury* relates, that *Alcwin* (the greateſt Scholar of his time) once told the Emperour *Charles*, 'That if he would give him ſuch Books of 'exquiſite Learning, as he had in his own Country by the Pious Induſtry 'of his Maſter Arch-Biſhop *Egbert*, then he would inſtruct and ſend 'him back ſome young Men, who ſhould carry over the choiceſt Flowers 'of the *Engliſh* Learning into *France*.

Anno Dom. DCCLXVII.

(According to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Albert* was now ordained Arch-Biſhop of *York*.

Anno Dom. DCCLXVIII.

'*Eadbert*, the Son of *Eatta*, deceaſed on 14° *Kal. September.*] This *Eadbert* had been formerly King of *Northumberland*, and (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) died 10 Years after his taking the Habit of a Monk, and was buried at *York*.

Alſo this Year, (as the *Welſh* Chronicles acquaint us,) by the means of *Elbodius*, that Learned and Pious Biſhop of *North Wales*, it was decreed in a General Synod of the *Britiſh* Nation, That *Eaſter* ſhould be kept after the Cuſtom of *Rome*; ſo that all Differences between that Church and the *Britiſh* now ceaſed.

Anno Dom. DCCLXIX.

'*Charles*, King of the *Franks*, began his Reign;] for *Pepin*, his Father, died this Year, (as *R. Hoveden* informs us:) Alſo the fair City of *Cataract* in *Yorkſhire* was burnt by *B ornred* the *Mercian* Tyrant; and He alſo periſhed by Fire the ſame Year.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXI. 'This Year (according to *Simon* of *Durham*, and *R. Hoveden,*) Offa 'King of the *Mercians*, ſubdued the Nation of the *Heſtings* by force o 'Arms; but who theſe People were, or where they inhabited, no Autho 'informs us. Mr. *Lambert*, in his *Gloſſary* at the end of the *Decem Scriptores* will have them to be *Danes*; but I ſee no reaſon for it here, ſince the *Danes* were not then ſettled in *England*.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXII. 'This Year died *Milred* the Biſhop.] *Florence* ſays, he was Biſhop of the *Wiccii*, (that is, of the Dioceſs of *Worceſter*,) and was in great Reputation for his Sanctity.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXIII. This Year *Albert*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, received his Pall from Pope *Adrian*, as *Simeon* informs us.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXIV. 'This Year the *Northumbrians* expelled their King *Albred* from *York* 'about *Eaſter*, and choſe *Ethelred*, the Son of *Moll*, (once King,) for 'their Lord: He reigned 4 Years.

[illegible]

Of which Tranſaction, *Roger Hoveden* gives us this particular Relation; That King *Albred* being depoſed by the Common-Council, and Conſent of his own Subjects, and forſaken of all his Great Men, was forced to retire firſt to the City of *Bebban*, (af~~terwards called *Banborough Caſtle*~~,) from whence he betook himſelf to *Cynoth*, King of the *Picts*, with but very few Followers.

note, this is supposed to be the same with Banborough Castle C.S.

'The ſame Year alſo appeared a Red Croſs in the Heavens after Sun-'ſet, and the *Mercians* and *Kentiſh-men* fought at *Octanford* (now *Otford*) 'in *Kent*.] But neither the *Saxon* Annals, nor any other, vouchſafe to tell us what was the Quarrel, nor who were the Commanders on either ſide, nor yet what was the Succeſs. 'Alſo ſtrange Serpents were ſeen 'in the Province of the *South Saxons*.] *Mat Weſtminſter* places this Prodigy two Years after, and ſays, They ſeemed to creep out of the Earth.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXV. 'This Year *Cynwulf*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, and *Offa*, King of the '*Mercians*, fought at *Binſington* (now *Benſington*) in *Oxfordſhire*, 'but *Offa* took the Town:] So it ſeems *Cynwulf* had the worſt of it. Here follows in the *Peterburgh* Copy another Relation concerning that Abbey, which is thus: That

'In the Reign of King *Offa* there was a certain Abbot of *Medeſham-'ſtead*, called *Beonna*, who, with the Conſent of the Monks of his Mo-'naſtery, leaſed out to *Cuthbriht* the Ealderman, *X Bonde-land* (that is, the Ground of ten Bond-men, or Villains,) 'at *Swineſheafde*, with the 'Meadows and Paſtures, and all other Things thereunto belonging; upon 'this Condition, That *Cuthbriht* ſhould pay the Abbot Fifty Pounds, and 'one Night's Entertainment every Year, or elſe Thirty Shillings in 'Money; and that after his Death the Lands ſhould again revert to the 'Monaſtery: To which Grant, King *Offa*, King *Egferth*, Arch Biſhop '*Higebert*, the Biſhop *Ceolwulf*, the Biſhop *Inwona*, with *Beon* the Abbot, 'and many other Biſhops, Abbots, and Great Men, were Witneſſes. I have inſerted this Paſſage, thô it does not relate to the Civil Hiſtory of theſe Times, becauſe it is the firſt Example of a Leaſe of this kind, and ſeems to have been done in a great Council of the Kingdom, where theſe Kings were preſent, which was then neceſſary for ſuch a Grant.

'Alſo in the time of this King *Offa*, (as the *Peterburgh* Copies relate,) 'there was a certain Ealderman, called *Brordan*, who deſired of the King, 'That for his ſake he would free a certain Monaſtery of his, called *Wo-'cingas*, becauſe he intended to give it to St. *Peter*, and to the Church of

Anno Dom. DCCLXXV.

'of *Medeſhamſted*, one *Puſa* being then Abbot of it: This *Puſa* ſucceeded *Beonna*, and the King loved him very well; wherefore he freed the Church of *Wocingas* by the King's conſent with that of the Biſhop, Earls, and all other Men's conſents; ſo that no body ſhould from thenceforth have any duty or Tribute beſides, St. *Peter* and the Abbot; this was done in the King's Town, called *Freoricburne*.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXVI

'*Pehtwin*, Biſhop of *Witerne* (called in Latin *Candida Caſa*) deceaſed XIII. *Kal. Octob.* he was Biſhop Fourteen Years, and had been bred under *Aldhelm*, that Pious Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and the ſame Year *Ethelbert* was conſecrated Biſhop of that See at *York*, XVII. *Kal. Junii.*

This Year (according to the *Welſh* Chronicle) the *South-Welſhmen* deſtroyed great part of *Mercia* with Fire and Sword: As alſo that

Anno Dom. DCCLXXVII.

The Summer following, all the *Welſhmen*, both of *North* and *South-Wales*, gathered themſelves together, and, Invading the Kingdom of *Mercia*, made great ſpoil, by burning, and plundering the Country; whereupon King *Offa* was forced to make Peace with the other *Saxon* Kings, and to bend his whole Forces againſt the *Welſh* Men, who not being able to encounter ſo great a ſtrength as he then brought againſt them; were forced to quit all the plain Country, between the Rivers of *Severne* and *Wye*, and retired into the Mountains; whereupon *Offa* perceiving this, ſeiſed upon all the Country, and planted *Saxons* in their places; and annexing it to his own Kingdom, cauſed that famous Ditch, or Trench, to be made from Sea to Sea, betwixt his Kingdom and *Wales*, whereby he might the better defend his Country from the Incurſions of the *Welſh* hereafter: This Ditch is ſeen at this day in divers places, and is called in *Welſh*, *Clawdh Offa*, (i.e.) *Offa*'s *Ditch*.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXVIII.

'This Year *Æthebald* and *Hearbert*, kill'd Three chief *Geriſs* or Governours, *Ealdwulf* the Son of *Boſa* at *Cyningeſclife*, (i e.) *Kings Cliffe*; and *Cynwulf* and *Ecga* at *Helathyrn*, XI. *Kal. Aprilis*; then *Alfwold* took the Kingdom, (*Æthelred* being Expel'd the Land,) and Reigned Ten Years.

But *H. Huntington*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, gives us a more exact account of this Matter; that *Æthelred*, King of *Northumberland*, having cauſed Three of his Nobles, *Aldwulf*, *Kinwulf*, and *Ecga*, to be treacherouſly ſlain by two of the ſame rank; The Year following his Subjects Rebelling againſt him, they firſt ſlew *Aldwulf*, General of the King's Army, in Flight at the place above mentioned, as they alſo did the two other Commanders in the ſame manner; ſo that King *Æthelred*'s Captains being all ſlain, and his hopes as well as his Forces defeated, he was forced to flee into another Country, and ſo *Elfwald* the Son of *Oſwulf* ſucceeded him, thô not without Civil Broils: He was a Juſt and Pious Prince; yet could not eſcape the hard Fate of his Predeceſſors, as you will ſee in due time

'The ſame Year, (as the *Laudean* Copy relates,) King *Charles* entred *Spain*, and deſtroyed the Citties of *Pampelona*, and *Ceſar Auguſta*, (now called *Saragoſa*,) and having joined his Army, ſubdued the *Saracens*, and received Hoſtages from them; and then returned by *Narbon* and *Gaſcony* into *France*.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXX.

'This Year the chief *Geriſs* or *Governours* of *Northumberland*, burnt *Beorne* the Ealderman in *Seletune*; 19 Kal. *Januarij*.

Roger Hoveden, calls theſe *Geriſs*, *Osbald*, and *Æthelheard*, and *H. Huntington* ſays, They burnt this Ealderman, or Chief Juſtice of the Kingdom, *Anno Dom.* DCCLXXX. Kingdom, becauſe he was more Rigid and Severe, than in Reaſon he ought to have been.

'The ſame Year the Ancient *Saxons* and *Franks* fought againſt each 'other,] in which Battle, *Charles* King of the *Franks* gained the Victory, having waſted the *Saxon* Territories with Fire and Sword, and laid them to his own Dominions; as not only our own, but the *French* Hiſtorians relate.

'Alſo, Biſhop *Æthelheard* dyed at *York*, and *Eanbald* was conſe-'crated to the ſame See; and *Cynebald* the Biſhop reſigned his See at '*Lindisfarne*, and *Alchmund* Biſhop of *Hagulſtead* deceaſed, *7th Id. Sept.* 'and *Higbert* was conſecrated in his ſtead, the *6th* of the *Nones* of *Octob.* 'as likewiſe *Higbald* was conſecrated at *Soccabrig* to be Biſhop of *Lindis-*'*farne*. Alſo King *Allwold* ſent to *Rome*, to demand the Pall for *Eanbald*, 'Arch-Biſhop of *York*.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXXII. 'This Year *Werburh*, the Wife of King *Ceolred* (late King of the '*Mercians*,) deceaſed, (at her Nunnery of *Cheſter*, where ſhe was Abbeſs, 'and where the Church is dedicated to her Memory:) alſo *Cenwulf* 'Biſhop of *Lindisfarne* died; there was likewiſe now a Synod at *Aclea*. But under what King this Council was held, or whereabouts the place is, or what Decrees were there made, our Hiſtories are altogether ſilent in, but Sir *H. Spelman*, in his * firſt Volume of Councils, ſuppoſes it to have been at a place of that Name, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, where there are two places ſo called, the one *Alca*, and the other *Scole Aclea*.

* *Page* 305.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXXIV. This Year, *Cyneheard* ſlew *Cynewulf*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, but *Cyneheard* himſelf was there ſlain, and Eighty Four Men with him: but theſe Annals in the beginning of this King's Reign, under *Anno Dom.* DCCLV. have given us a full account of this King's unfortunate end, which I rather chuſe to inſert in its proper place, and was thus; 'That 'he endeavouring to Expel *Cyneheard* (Brother to the late King *Sigebert* 'out of the Kingdom;) in the mean time when he knew that the King 'with a ſmall Company was gone to *Merinton*, (now called *Merton* in '*Surrey*,) to viſit a certain Woman, he there beſieged him, and beſet the 'Chamber where he was, before the King's Attendants could know 'any thing of it; which, as ſoon as the King perceived, he got out of 'Doors, and Manfully defended himſelf; but all of them aſſaulting the 'King at once, they in the end ſlew him, (thô as *Florence* relates, he firſt 'ſorely wounded *Cynheard*;) but when the King's *Thanes*, who were then 'in the ſame Houſe, heard the noiſe, they all ran thither as faſt as they 'could get themſelves ready; but *Cyneheard Ætheling* promiſed them 'great Rewards, and Pardon, if they would take his part, which none 'of them would agree to, but preſently all fought againſt him, till they 'were all kill'd, except one *Britiſh* Hoſtage, who was grievouſly wound-'ed; but the next morning the King's *Thanes* that remained at home, 'coming to know that he was kill'd, (*viz*) *Oſric*, the Ealderman, and '*Wiverth* his *Thane*, and all thoſe whom he had left behind him, they all 'came thither on Horſeback, and when they found *Cyneheard Ætheling* in 'the Town, where the King lay dead, and having the doors faſt locked 'upon them, as they approached and endeavoured to break 'in; *Cynheard* promiſed to grant them all their Liberties, and all their 'Lands and Goods, with great Riches and Honours, if they would de-'liver up the Kingdom to him peaceably; telling them moreover, That 'he had ſome of their Kinſmen with him, who would never deſert him;

but

Anno Dom. DCCLXXXIV.

' but they anſwered, That none of their Relations were dearer to them than their own Lord, and they would never obey his Murderers; and they then farther told their Kinſmen, That if they would leave their Leader, they ſhould all be ſafe, from whom they alſo received this Anſwer, That the like had been already promiſed to thoſe who were of the King's Party; and ſaid, That as they then refuſed their promiſe, ſo themſelves ſhould now refuſe the like from them, then they ſought at the Gates until they were broken open, and the Conſpirators forced to retire within them, but there *Cyneard Ætheling* was Slain, and all thoſe that were with him, except one, who was the *Ealderman*'s Godſon, to whom, being grievouſly wounded, he granted his Life. This King *Cynwulf* Reigned One and Thirty Years, and his Body lyes buried at *Wintenceſter*, but that of the *Ætheling* at *Axanmiſter*, (now *Axminſter* in *Devon-ſhire*,) being both of them deſcended from *Cerdic*, the firſt King of that Kingdom.

' This ſame Year alſo, *Brihtic* began his Reign over the *Weſt-Saxons*, whoſe Body lyes buried at *Werham*, and he was alſo deſcended from *Cerdic* in a right Line. In thoſe times King *Ælmond* Reigned in *Kent*; he was the Father of King *Egbert*, and *Egbert* was the Father of *Athulf*, (or *Athelwulf*.)

But the Authour of theſe Annals is here miſtaken, for thô one *Ælmond* was Father of King *Egbert*, yet was there never any of that Name King of *Kent*.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXXV

' *Bothwin*, Abbot of *Ripun*, deceaſed this Year, and the ſame Year was held that troubleſome Synod at *Cealchythe*, where Arch-Biſhop *Janbryht* loſt part of his Province to the See of *Litchfield*; alſo *Higebryht* was this Year choſen Arch Biſhop of *Litchfield*, by King *Offa*, and *Egbert* his Son, was anointed King with him; and in thoſe times there were Legates ſent from Pope *Adrian* to renew the Faith, which had been ſent us by *Auguſtine*.

Note, the Pope had before granted the Pall to *Litchfield*, and thereby made it an Arch-Biſhoprick, but it was not till the following Year confirmed in a general Synod of the Kingdom.

Anno Dom. DCCXXXVI.

Vid. *Spelman's Council vol.* 1.

This Year that great *Synod*, or Council of *Calcuith* (above mentioned) was held by *Gregory*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and *Theophilact*, Biſhop of *Tudertum*, (then the Pope's Legates in *England*;) at which were alſo preſent *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Cinwulf*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; where not only the *Nicene* Creed was again received, and confirm'd, as alſo the Seven firſt General Councils; but many Canons were made concerning Matters of Religion, and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; of all which I ſhall here recite ſome that I think proper.

The ſecond of theſe Decrees is, That Baptiſm be performed at the times appointed by the former Canons of the Church, and no other; and that all Men in general learn the Creed and the Lord's Prayer; that Godfathers ſhall be anſwerable for thoſe Children for whom they ſtand, till they come to Years capable of learning the Creed and the Lords Prayer.

The Twelfth Canon is, That in the Election or Ordination of Kings, no Man ſhould permit the Aſſent or Vote of Evil Men to prevail; but Kings ſhall be Lawfully Elected by the Clergy and Elders of the People, not begot of Adultery or Inceſt; becauſe, as in our times, an Adulterer according to the Canons cannot arrive to the Prieſt-hood, ſo neither can he be the Lord's Anointed, and the Heir of his Country,

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and King of the whole Kingdom, who is not begot of Lawful Matrimony. The reſt of it is for rendering Honour and Obedience to Kings, without ſpeaking Evil of them, and the chief Texts out of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, are cited to that purpoſe. It is alſo there forbid, That any Man ſhould conſpire the Death of the King, becauſe he is the *Lord's Anointed*; and if any ſhall be guilty of that wickedneſs, if he be a Biſhop or one in Prieſt's Orders, he ſhall be deprived, as *Judas* was caſt out from his Apoſtleſhip: There is alſo here likewiſe cited out of Scripture ſeveral examples of thoſe that have been puniſhed either for conſpiring the Death of Kinsg, or having actually kill'd them.

The Sixteenth Canon is, That Baſtards, and thoſe begotten of Nuns, ſhall not inherit, which is the firſt Decree we find of this kind.

The Seventeenth Canon is, That Tythes ſhall be paid according to the Scriptures, *viz. Thou ſhalt bring the Tenth part of all thy encreaſe, when thou bringeſt thy firſt fruits into the Houſe of the Lord thy God*; there is likewiſe cited the Text in *Malachi Chap.* 3. concerning the paying of Tythes, and therefore, ſays the Canon, we exhort all Men, that they pay Tythes of whatſoever they poſſeſs; becauſe it is God's ſpecial Commandment, that every Man live, and give Alms of the other 9 parts.

Whence you may obſerve, that as this is the firſt Decree of any Council in *England*, concerning payment of Tythes, ſo alſo is it hereby declared that they are due by Divine Right.

The Nineteenth Decree is, againſt Mens obſerving any Pagan Rites, and particularly of making marks and ſcars in any part of their Bodies for any falſe God. There are alſo other Decrees which ſeem very trivial, as againſt cutting off Horſes Ears, or Tails, and ſlitting their Noſes; as alſo againſt eating Horſe-fleſh, which it ſeems was then much in faſhion amongſt the Common ſort of People; as alſo againſt caſting of Lots for the deciding of Civil Controverſies.

It alſo here appears by the Addreſs of the Pope's Legates, made to him at the end of this Council, that there were two diſtinct Seſſions of it; the firſt was held before King *Ælfwald*, and Arch Biſhop *Eanbald*, and all the Biſhops belonging to the *Northumbrian* Kingdom; as alſo all the Senators, Ealdermen, and People of that Country, who when theſe Decrees were propoſed to them, did all of them with great devotion promiſe to obſerve them, and ſubſcribed them with the Sign of the Croſs. Then follow the ſubſcriptions of the King, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and the reſt of the Biſhops of that Province; after them follow alſo the Subſcriptions of the Presbyters and Deacons of Churches, Judges, Chief and Noble Men, ſome of whom do there ſubſcribe for all the reſt.

Where this Council was held for the Kingdom of *Northumberland* is uncertain; but the ſecond Seſſion of it was held at *Calcuith*, now ſuppoſed to be in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, which, as alſo in the concluſion o this Council, it is thus recited; 'King *Offa* with all the Senator 'of his Kingdom, with *Janbryht*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the othe 'Biſhops of that Province, the ſame Decrees being read before the Council, as well in *Latin* as in *Saxon*, ſo that all might underſtand them 'they all agreed with one accord to obſerve them; then follow the Subſcriptions of King *Offa*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with diver of the Nobles there preſent, who ſubſcribed in the name of all the reſ

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But *Will.* of *Malmesbury* in his Firſt Book, *de Pontif*, hath given us a further account of the Acts of this Council, than what are expreſſed in the Canons themſelves; *viz.* That in this Council, Arch-biſhop *Janbryht* was forced to reſign part of his Province to the Biſhop of *Litchfield*, who thereby became an Arch-Biſhop; ſo that there remained no more Biſhops under the Juriſdiction of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, but thoſe of *London*, *Winchester*, *Rochester*, and *Shireburne*: But thô it had been obtained by King *Offa* from the Pope by great importunity, and falſe ſuggeſtions, that Arch-Biſhop *Janbryht* ſhould be thus deprived of his Primacy; yet was it not counted of any force till it was confirmed in a great Council, and that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* himſelf had conſented to it.

The ſame Author further adds, That alſo in this Council, *Offa* the moſt potent King of the *Mercians*, did then cauſe his Eldeſt Son *Egfred*, a Comely and Valiant Young Man, and endued with all good Qualities, to be ſolemnly Crowned King; who obeying his Father in all things, Reigned together with him ſo long as he lived.

But it is very obſervable, that neither *Alrich*, then King of *Kent*, nor any of his Deputies, did appear at this Council; for which I can give no other Reaſon, than that this King did not approve of the Removal of the chief Archiepiſcopal See from *Canterbury* in his own Dominions, to *Litchfield* in another Prince's Territories.

De Pontif. l. 1.

But as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* obſerves, This Violence done to the See of *Canterbury*, thô it laſted all the Reign of King *Offa*, and alſo during the Life-time of Arch-Biſhop *Janbryht*, who ſpared neither coſt nor pains to get his See reſtored to its Ancient Dignity; yet was it all to no purpoſe, till ſuch time as *Kenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, reſtored the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* to its former Rights, *Litchfield* becoming again an ordinary Biſhoprick, ſubject to the See of *Canterbury* to this day, having continued an Arch-Biſhoprick only during the times of two Arch-Biſhops, *viz.* for the ſpace of about Eleven Years. But it is time to return to Civil Affairs.

The ſame Year (as *H. Huntington* relates) the Sign of the Croſs appeared of it ſelf upon Mens Cloaths, which (if true) is wonderful to future Ages.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXXVII.

King *Brithric* now married *Eadburghe*, the Daughter of King *Offa*, which was done (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* relates) to ſtrengthen his Intereſt with his Neighbouring Princes; alſo about thoſe times (as *Ethelwerd*, and the *Saxon* Annals inform us,) arrived in the *Weſt* Country three Ships of *Danes*, or *Norwegians*, from *Herethaland*, (that is, the Country of *Pyrates*;) theſe landing, the King's *Gerefa* or Officer coming thither on Horſeback endeavoured to carry them to the King's Town (of *Dorcheſter*,) becauſe he knew not from whence they came; but he was there ſlain with thoſe that attended on him; after which great Multitudes of People flocking in, the *Danes* were at laſt forced to Flee to their Ships, and leave their prey behind them; theſe were the firſt *Daniſh* Ships that ever infeſted the *Engliſh* Nation.

Where *Note*, That the ſame People who are firſt called *Normans* in the *Saxon* Annals, are there alſo named *Danes* in other places; which ſhews, that the *Danes* and *Normans* were then looked upon to be one and the ſame People.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXXVI. ‘This Year there was a general Synod aſſembled at *Pyncanhale*, or *Finkenhale*, (now *Finkley* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, then part of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*) where *Eanbald* Arch-Biſhop of *York* preſided: whoſe Decrees you may ſee in Sir *H. Spelman*'s 1 *Vol.* of Councils; but its conſtitutions being wholly about Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and the right obſervation of *Eaſter*, it is beſide my purpoſe to take any further notice of them.

This Year alſo, (according to the Annals) *Albert* the Abbot deceaſed; and King *Charles* paſſed through *Almany*, to the very Borders of *Bavaria*, (as the *Latin* Text of the *Laudean* Copy relates.)

Anno Dom. DCCLXXXIX. ‘*Alfwold*, King of *Northumberland*, was ſlain by one *Sicga* on the IX. *Kal. Octob.*

This King is ſaid by *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Roger Hoveden*, to have been a very Juſt and Worthy Prince, and that he was Slain by the Treachery of this *Sicga*, who was one of his chief Noblemen, and being Murthered at *Cilceaſter*, (near the *Pict*'s Wall,) there was frequently ſeen a Light from Heaven over the Place, where he was Slain: He was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Hagulſtad*, with great Solemnity, and there was afterwards a Church built in the Place where he was killed: and *Oſred*, the Son of *Alchred*, Reigned after him, who was the Nephew of King *Alfwold*: There was alſo at this time another Synod held at *Aclea*.

The ſame Year likewiſe (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*,) *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, fought againſt *Kenwulf*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, at the Siege of *Benſington* Caſtle: But *Kenwulf* being worſted was forced to flee, and ſo *Offa* took the Caſtle.

Anno Dom. DCCXC. ‘Now *Janbryht* the Archbiſhop deceaſed, and *Ethelheard* the Abbot was elected Archbiſhop. Alſo *Oſred*, King of the *Northumbers*, was betray'd, and driven out of his Kingdom; and *Ethelred*, the Son of *Ethelwald* (Sirnamed *Mull*,) reigned after him, or rather was again reſtored to the Kingdom, having reigned there before, as hath been already ſhewn.

But *Simeon* of *Durham* adds farther, that this *Oſred*, the late King of this Kingdom, having been alſo ſhaven a Monk againſt his Will, eſcaped again out of the Monaſtery, into the *Iſle of Man*. But the next Year,

Anno Dom. DCCXCI. As *Simeon* relates, *Oelf* and *Oelfwin*, Sons of *Alfwold*, formerly King of *Northumberland*, were drawn by fair Promiſes from the Principal Church of *York*, and afterwards, at the Command of King *Ethelred*, cruelly put to Death at *Wonwalderemere*, a Village by the great Pool in *Lancaſhire*, (now called *Winanderemere*.)

Alſo about this time, (according to the ſame Author,) one *Eardulf*, an Earl, being taken and brought to *Ripun*, was there Sentenced by the ſaid King to be put to Death, without the Gate of the Monaſtery; whoſe Body, when the Monks had carried to the Church, with ſolemn Dirges, and placed under a Pavilion, was about Midnight found alive. But this Relation is very imperfect, for it neither tells us how he eſcaped Death; nor how he was conveyed away, though we find him five Years after this made King of *Northumberland*.

This Year (as *Simeon* of *Durham* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* relate,) *Charles* King of *France* ſent certain *Synodal* Decrees into *England*; in which alas! (for with great Grief, our Author ſpeaks it) were found many inconvenient things, and altogether contrary to the true Faith: For it had been decreed in a Council at *Conſtantinople*, by more than Three Hundred Biſhops,

ſhops, that Images ought to be adored, which the Church of God does (ſay they) wholly abominate.

Anno Dom. DCCXCI.

Then *Albinus,* (that is our *Alcuin,*) wrote an Epiſtle, wherein he proved it by the Authority of the Holy Scriptures to be utterly Unlawful; and this he offered, together with the Book it ſelf, to the King of *France,* on the behalf of all our Biſhops and Great Men; and this Letter of *Alcuinus* is thought to have wrought ſuch an effect on the Synod of *Francfort,* aſſembled about two Years after, that the Worſhip of Images was therein ſolemnly condemned.

Vid. *Sir* H. Spelman's *Councel,* 1. *vol.* p. 307.

From which it is evident, that Image-Worſhip, as now practiſed in the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches, was not then received in *England.*

And this Year alſo, according to the ſame Author, *Oſred,* late King of *Northumberland,* being deceived by the Oaths of ſome great Men, returned privately from the Iſle of *Man*; when, his Souldiers deſerting him, and being taken Priſoner by King *Ethelred,* he was by his Command put to Death, at a Place called *Aynsburg*; but his Body was buried at the famous Monaſtery at the mouth of *Tine*; and the ſame Year King *Ethelred* betrothed *Elfrede* the Daughter of King *Offa.*

Anno Dom. DCCXCII.

In whom alſo there was found as little Faith as Mercy; for this Year, according to our Annals, *Will.* of *Malmesbury,* and *Mat. Weſtminſter*; *Ethelbert,* the Son of *Ethelred,* King of the *Eaſt-Angles,* notwithſtanding the diſſwaſions of his Mother, going to the Court of King *Offa,* in order to Wooe his Daughter, was there ſlain, by the wicked Inſtigations of Queen *Quendrith*; ſo that out of an Ambition to ſeize his Kingdom, *Offa* was perſwaded to make him away; but by what means it is not agreed: The Annals relate him to have been beheaded.

But the ſame Annals, and *Florence* of *Worceſter* agree, ‘That his Body ‘was buried (in the Monaſtery) at *Tinmouth.* But the Chronicle aſcribed to Abbot *Bromton,* as alſo *Mat. Weſtminſter,* have given us long and Legendary Accounts of the Death of this Prince; and the latter of theſe, as well as other Monks, who were favourers of this King *Offa,* would have this Murther to be committed without this King's knowledge; and *Mat. Weſtminſter* has a long Story about it, but not at all probable, eſpecially ſince the King was ſo well pleaſed with the Fact when it was done, that he preſently ſeized the Kingdom of this poor Murthered Prince, and added it to his own Dominions.

Anno Dom. DCCXCIII.

This Year, (as *Mat. Paris,* and his Nameſake of *Weſtminſter* relate,) King *Offa* was warned by an Angel to remove the Reliques of St. *Alban* into a more noble Shrine; and ſo either for this cauſe, or elſe (which is more likely) to expiate the ſeveral Murthers he had committed, began to build a new Church and Monaſtery in honour of St. *Alban,* and thither removing his Bones, into a Silver ſhrine all gilt and adorned with precious Stones, he placed them in the new Church that he had built without the Town: where (as the Monks pretended) they wrought great Miracles.

This King having made a journey on purpoſe to *Rome,* obtained of Pope *Adrian* to have him Canonized: King *Offa* alſo conferred upon this Monaſtery very great Privileges, and vaſt Poſſeſſions, all which he confirmed by his Charter, which you may find in the firſt Volume of * *Monaſt. Anglic.* as that alſo, *Anno. Dom.* 1154. One *Nicholas* having been firſt a Servant in this Abbey, and afterwards was Biſhop of *Alba,* Elected Pope by the Name of *Adrian* IV: he by his Bull ordained, that, as St. *Alban*

* P. 175.

was

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was the firſt Martyr of *England*; ſo this Abbot ſhould be the firſt in Dignity of all the Abbots in *England*; and Pope *Honorius* did by a Bull in the Year 1118, not only ratifie all the Privileges made and confirmed by former Popes, but alſo granted to the Abbot and his Succeſſours Epiſcopal Rights, together with the Habit; and that he and his Monks ſhould be exempt from all Juriſdiction to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, with other Exemptions too long here to be ſet down.

'Alſo this Year there appeared ſtrange Prodigies in the Country of '*Northumberland*, which mightily terrified the People of that Province; '(*viz.*) immoderate Lightnings; there were alſo ſeen Meteors like fiery 'Dragons, flying in the Air; after which ſigns followed a cruel Famine; 'and a little after, the ſame Year (6° *Idus Jan.*) certain Heathens '(i. e. *Danes*) miſerably deſtroyed the Church of God in *Lindiſfarne*, 'committing great Spoils and Murthers. *Simeon* of *Durham* ſays, Theſe *Danes* not only pillaged that Monaſtery, but killing divers of the Friers, carried away the reſt Captive, ſparing neither Prieſts nor Laymen. 'This 'Year alſo *Sicga* died; he who killed the good King *Alfwold*, who now (as *Roger Hoveden* relates) ſlew himſelf.

And the ſame Year, (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*,) *Ethelard* was ordained Arch-Biſhop of *York*; and (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) the ſame Year died *Alric*, Third Son to *Withred*, King of *Kent*, after a long Reign of Thirty Four Years; in whom ended the Race of *Hengiſt*: Thenceforth, (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* obſerves,) whomſoever Wealth or Faction advanced, took on him the Title of King of that Province.

Anno Dom. DCCXCIV.

'This Year both Pope *Adrian*, and *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, 'departed this Life; the Latter after he had Reigned Forty Years.

Yet notwithſtanding the Printed Copies of the *Saxon* Annals, have placed this King's Death under this Year: Yet the reſt of the Copies do not agree with this Account; for the *Laudean* Manuſcript Copy, in the *Bodlean* Library places this King's Death in *Anno. Dom.* 896; and that with greater Truth; for firſt Pope *Adrian* above-mentioned died not till Two Years after the time here ſpecified. And, it appears farther in a Letter written by the Emperour *Charles the Great*, to this King *Offa*; and which is recited at large by *William* of *Malmesbury*, in his Life of this King, that Pope *Adrian* was dead ſome time before the date of that Letter: *viz. Anno. Dom.* 796; Thô it is certain, King *Offa* did not ſurvive long after.

I thought to give the Reader notice of this, becauſe it puts the Death of this King, and the Succeſſion of all his Succeſſours, juſt Two Years later than the common Printed Accounts: But whenever this King here died, he is ſaid by *William* of *Malmesbury* to have been buried in a Chapel at *Bedford*, near the River *Ouſe*; whoſe frequent Inundations had in his time, carried away both the Chapel, and the Tomb into the River: So that it could not be ſeen, unleſs ſometimes by thoſe who waſhed themſelves in that River.

This Prince is alſo deſcribed by the ſame Author, to have had ſo grea a Mixture of Vertues and Vices, that he does not know well what Character to give him: The Reaſon that ſo confounded him, was, That th he was a Cruel and Perfidious Prince, yet he Built the Monaſtery of S *Albans* (as you have heard,) but for all that he cannot give him many goo words, becauſe he took away abundance of good Farms from hi Abbey. This ſeems to have been the firſt of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kin who maintained any great correſpondence with Foreign Princes; for tho

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had firſt great Enmity with *Charles* the Great, which proceeded ſo far, as to the interdicting of all Commerce, yet at laſt it was changed into as much Amity; ſo that a firm League was made between them, as appears by a Letter of the ſaid *Charles* to *Offa*, extant in *William* of *Malmesbury*, in which alſo is mentioned, that he ſent him many Noble Preſents. Alſo he granted (ſaith *Henry Huntington*) a perpetual Tribute to the Pope out of every Houſe in his Kingdom, and this, perhaps, for his conſenting to tranſlate the Primacy from *Canterbury* to *Litchfield* in his own Dominions. He alſo drew a Trench of a wondrous length between *Mercia* and the *Britiſh* or *Welſh* Territories, thereby to hinder the Incurſions of the *Welſh-men*, called to this day in the *Welſh* Tongue *Claudh Offa*, (*i. e.*) *Offa's Dike.*

Anno Domi. DCCXCIV.

But from the Grant of the above-mention'd Penſion, ſome Men of different Perſwaſions have drawn as different Conſequences. *Pol. Virgil*, and divers of the *Romiſh* Writers, have from thence concluded, That King *Offa*, by this Act, made his Kingdom Tributary to the Pope; whereas indeed it was no ſuch Thing, for it had been alſo granted by King *Ina* long before, (as hath been already obſerved,) for the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*; whoſe Example King *Offa* ſeemed now to follow, and indeed was no more than a Voluntary Annual Alms, or Benevolence, as it is expreſly called in our *Saxon* Annals, as ſhall be ſhewn further hereafter.

This is alſo urged by ſome high Promoters of the Royal Prerogative, to prove this King's unlimited Power in Eccleſiaſtical, as well as Civil Matters; ſince He (as they ſuppoſe) could, without the Conſent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, charge all the Houſes in his Dominions to pay, each of them, one Penny to the Pope: But this, if it be cloſely looked into, will prove a Miſtake; for tho it be true, that upon King *Offa*'s going to *Rome*, he is ſaid to have granted this Alms, called *Rome*'s *Scot*, or *Peter-pence*, to the Pope, yet *Anno* 794, immediately upon his Return, you will find in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Councils, he called a Great Council at *Verulam*, (now St. *Alban*'s,) where this Tribute might be confirmed by the Conſent of the Eſtates of his Kingdom: Nor is the Silence of our Hiſtories, or of the Acts of this Council it ſelf, any material Argument to the contrary, ſince that Law might be loſt, or omitted, by which it was confirmed, as well as ſeveral other Councils of that Age; there being no more mention made of this King's Confirmation of the Lands given to this Monaſtery in the great Council at *Verulam*, than what is cited in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Councils out of a Manuſcript Hiſtory of St. *Alban*'s, all the Acts of that Council being now loſt. But to return to our Annals. P. 314

'The ſame Year *Ethelred*, (who had been twice King of *Northumberland*,) 'was ſlain by his own People 14° *Kal. Maii*, and that deſervedly, (as *R. Hoveden* relates,) as having been the Death of King *Oſred*, his Predeceſſour. After ~~*Ethelred*, one *Osbald*, a Nobleman, was made King; but held the Throne but a ſmall time, being deſerted by his Subjects, and at laſt forced to flee the Kingdom, going by Sea from *Lindisfarne*, and then taking Refuge with the King of the~~ *Picts*, there died an Abbot. Who was moſt in fault, in all theſe frequent Rebellions, and Changes of Kings among the *Northumbers*, is hard to decide; ſince all the Annals, as well as Hiſtorians, are very ſhort in their Relations of theſe Tranſactions; but it is certain, that the People, as well as Princes, muſt have ſuffered much

After this Ether[illegible]
King is [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible]
of Mai[illegible]. Osb[illegible]
a Nobleman was [illegible]
King by the [illegible]
but being [illegible]
[illegible] after 27 days [illegible]
was forced with [illegible]
followers to flee into the
Isle of Lindisfarne & from
went by the Sea to the King of the
Picts where he became a Monk and
after said [illegible] the throne
remained [illegible] all the rest of his

Anno Dom. DCCXCIV. much by ſuch frequent Revolutions. And it is alſo very well obſerved by *H. Huntington*, that theſe frequent Rebellions, and Expulſion of their Kings, proceeded in great part from the proud and turbulent Temper of the *Northumbrian Angles*.

The ſame Year, (according to our Annals,) Biſhop *Ceolwulf*, and Biſhop *Eadbald*, departed from the *Northumbers*, and *Egferth* (Son to *Offa*) began his Reign over the *Mercians*, and within a few Months after deceaſed, having ſcarce reigned half a Year. It is alſo further to be noted, That this Prince, being of great Hopes and Worth, had been crowned King 9 Years before, in his Father's Life-time, and after his Death reſtored to the Church whatever he had violently ſeized on; but before he died, he left the Crown to *Kenwulf*, the next of the Royal Line.

But the Monks do aſcribe the ſhort Reign of this good Prince, to his Father's Sins; but of theſe Things, it belongs not to us to determine.

‘ Alſo this Year *Eadbert*, or *Ethelbert*, (Sirnamed *Pran*,) began to Reign ‘ in *Kent*, and alſo *Ethelred* the Ealderman deceaſed.

This Man had been a famous Commander in his time, but was then a Monk in the City of *York*; and now alſo, (according to the Annals,) ‘ the Heathen *Danes* deſtroyed *Northumberland*, and robbed the Monaſtery ‘ built by *Egbert*, which is at the Mouth of the River *Weri*; but there ‘ one of the *Daniſh* Captains was ſlain, and divers of their Ships de‘ ſtroyed by a Tempeſt, and many of their Men drowned; but ſome ‘ of them reaching the Shore, were preſently ſlain at the Mouth of the ‘ ſame River.

But *Simeon* of *Durham* imputes this to a Judgment inflicted on them by St. *Cuthbert*, for thus ſpoiling his Monaſtery.

H *Anno Dom.* DCCXCV. ‘ The Moon was Eclipſed, 5° *Kal. Aprilis*, from the Cock crowing, till ‘ the Morning. *Eardwulf* alſo began to reign over *Northumberland* [illegible] *Idus* ‘ *Maii*, and was afterwards Conſecrated, and placed on the Throne 7° *Kal.* ‘ *Junii*, at *York*, by *Eanbald* the Arch-Biſhop, and by the Biſhops *Ethelbert*, ‘ *Higbald*, and *Badewulf*.

This *Eardwulf*, as *Florence* of *Worceſter* informs us, was he, who 5 Years before had ſo ſtrangely eſcaped Death at *Ripun*, after he had been carried out to be buried, ~~but the Chronicle of *Mailroſs* does here give great Light to the *Saxon* Annals; for it tells us, that now the *Northumbers* murthered their King *Ethelred*, the Son of *Moll*; *Simeon* places it a Year after, but ſays, The Murther was committed on the 14th of the *Kalends* of *May*, at a Place called *Cobeme*; but they both agree, that immediately after his Death, one *Osbald*, a Nobleman of that Country, was made King, but reigned only 27 Days; and that then being forſaken by the Chief Men of his Kingdom, he was driven into the Iſle of *Lindisfarne* with a few Followers, from whence he fled by Sea to the King of the *Picts*, where he became a Monk: And this *Eardwulf* reigned in his ſtead~~.

William of *Malmesbury* further adds, that *Alcuin*, writing to King *Offa*, tells him, That King *Charles*, ſo ſoon as he heard of this Murther of King *Ethelred* above-mentioned, and of the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Northumbrian* Nation, not only ſtopt the Gifts he was then ſending, but falling into a Paſſion againſt them, called them *a perverſe and perfidious Nation, and worſe than Pagans*; ſo that if *Alcuin* had not interceded for them, he would have done them all the Miſchief he could.

About this time alſo the *Welſh* Chronicles relate, there was a great Battle fought at *Ruthlan*, between the *Saxons* and the *Britains*; where *Caradoc ap Gwin*, King of *North Wales*, was ſlain. *Anno Dom.* DCCXCV.

But ~~Biſhop~~ *Powel* obſerves, in his Notes upon *Caradoc*'s Chronicle, That in thoſe Times there was no ſettled Government in *Wales*; therefore ſuch as were Chief Lords of any Country there, are, in this Hiſtory, ſtiled *Kings*.

'This Year died *Eanbald*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the 4th of the *Ides* of '*Auguſt*, whoſe Body was there buried; ~~alſo the ſame Year Biſhop Ceol-' wulf died~~, and another *Eanbald* was conſecrated in his ſtead. This 'Year likewiſe *Cenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, deſtroyed *Kent* to the Bor'ders of *Mercia*, and took *Eadbert*, (or *Ethelbert*, Sirnamed *Pran*,) and 'carried him Priſoner into *Mercia*, and there cauſed his Eyes to be put 'out, and his Hands to be cut off. Alſo *Ethelheard*, Arch-Biſhop of *Can'terbury*, called a Synod; which, by the Command of Pope *Leo*, eſta'bliſhed and confirmed all thoſe Things relating to God's Church, which 'had been before conſtituted in the Reign of King *Withgar*; and then the 'Arch-Biſhop ſaid thus. *I* Ethelheard, *Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *with the Unanimous Conſent of the whole Synod, and of the whole Body of all the Monaſteries, to whom Exemption hath been granted of old Times by Believers; in the Name of GOD, and by his fearful Judgment, (and, as I have received Command from Pope* Leo,) *do Decree, That for the future none ſhall preſume to Elect themſelves Governours amongst* Lay-men *of GOD's Heritage, but as it is contained in the Charter (or Bulls) which the Pope hath granted, or Holy Men, (to wit,) our Kings and Anceſtors have ordained, concerning the Holy Monaſteries, ſo let them remain inviolate, without any gain-ſaying; and if there be any one who ſhall refuſe to obey this Command from GOD, the Pope, and Us, but ſhall deſpiſe it, and count it as nothing; let him know, that he ſhall give an Account of it before the Tribunal of GOD. And I* Æthelheard *the Arch-Biſhop, with Twelve Biſhops, and Three and twenty Abbots, do hereby eſtabliſh and confirm this Decree with the Sign of the Croſs.* *Anno Dom.* DCCXCVI.

c. S ~~An~~ [illegible] also the same year Bishop Ceol[illegible] [illegible] died

This Council, thô the Annals do not expreſly mention it under that Title, is that great Council of *Becanceld*, placed in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Collection, under *Anno* 798, being held under *Cenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, *Æthelheard* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with 17 Biſhops more, who all ſubſcribed to this Decree, thô the Annals mention no more than 12 Biſhops there.

In north wales k[illegible] [illegible] deceasing a man sirnamed [illegible] succeeded him, of both these kings I find nothing considerable. S. C. Chron. [illegible]

'This Year the *Romans* took Pope *Leo*, and cut out his Tongue, and 'put out his Eyes, and depoſed him; but preſently after (if it may be 'believed) he could both ſee, and ſpeak, by the help of GOD, as well 'as he could before; and was alſo reſtored to the Papacy (by the Em'perour *Charles*). Alſo *Eanbald*, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, received the 'Pall, and *Ethelbert* Biſhop of *Hagulſtad* deceaſed 3° *Kal. Nov.* *Anno Dom.* DCCXCVII.

'This Year was a bloody Battle in the Province of *Northumberland*, in '*Lent*-time, at *Wealage*, (now called *Whalie*) in *Lancaſhire*, where was 'ſlain *Alric*, the Son of *Heardbert*, and many others with him. *Anno Dom.* DCCXCVIII.

The occaſion of which Civil War, *Simeon* of *Durham* hath thus given us, *viz.* That beſides *Alric*, there were divers others in *Northumberland*, who had formerly conſpired againſt King *Ethelred*, and now raiſing a Rebellion againſt *Eardwulf*, under *Wada* their Captain, after much ſlaughter on both ſides at *Billangahoth*, near *Whalie*, in *Lancaſhire*; the Conſpirators being at laſt put to flight, King *Eardwulf* returned home

Anno Dom. DCCXXVIII. Victorious. The ſame Year *London* (according to the ſame Author,) with a great multitude of its Inhabitants, by a ſudden Fire was conſumed.

And now (according both to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Roger Hoveden*) was held the Second Council of *Pinchinhale* in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, under *Eanbald* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and divers other Principal and Eccleſiaſtical Men, where many Things were ordained for the Profit of GOD's Church, and of the *Northumbrian* Nation; as concerning the keeping *Eaſter*, and other Matters not particularly mentioned.

Tom. 1. *p.* 187. The ſame Year alſo (according to *Monaſticon Anglicanum*) *Kenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, founded a ſtately Abbey at *Winchelcomb* in *Glocesterſhire* for 300 Benedictine Monks, and when it was Dedicated in the Preſence of *Wilfrid* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and 13 other Biſhops, he then ſet free before the High Altar *Eadbert*, King of *Kent*, who was then his Priſoner of War.

But having before moſt cruelly put out his Eyes, and cut off his Hands, and diſpoſed of his Kingdom to another, I doubt that Liberty proved but a ſmall Satisfaction to this poor injured Prince. But ſuch was the Superſtitious Zeal of that Age, the Foundation of a Monaſtery was counted a ſufficient Atonement to GOD for whatſoever Cruelties or Injuſtice Princes had then committed.

Anno Dom. DCCXCIX. 'This Year *Ethelheard* the Arch-Biſhop, and *Cynebriht* Biſhop of the '*Weſt Saxons*, went to *Rome* to take the Habit of a Monk, and Biſhop *Alfwin* deceaſed at *Southburg* (now *Sutbury*) in *Suffolk*, and was buried at '*Domuc* (now *Dunwich*) in the ſame County, (being then the Seat of 'that Biſhoprick; and *Tidfrith* was choſen in his Room. Alſo this Year 'the Body of St. *Withburg* was found at *Durham* entire and uncorrupt, 'after ſhe had been dead 55 Years. Simeon of Durham

+ And the ſame Year (according to ~~*Roger Hoveden*~~) *Oſwald*, who had been before King of *Northumberland*, died an Abbot, and was buried in *York* Minſter; and *Alred* the Ealderman, who ſlew King *Æthelred*, was alſo killed by one *Thormond*, in Revenge of the Death of his Lord.

Anno Dom. DCCC. 'Alſo the Moon was eclipſed in the ſecond Hour of the Night, 17° *Kal.* '*Feb.* Alſo this Year *Beorthric*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, deceaſed: As 'alſo *Worre* an Ealderman: Then alſo *Ecgbriht* began to reign over 'the *Weſt Saxons*; And the ſame Day (or Year, as *Florence* of *Worceſter* 'hath it) *Æthelmond*, Ealderman of *Wicon*, (that is, *Worceſterſhire*,) paſs'd 'the River *Severne* at *Cyneſmeresford*, (ſuppoſed to be *Kemsford* in *Glouceſterſhire*,) and there met him *Weoxton* the Ealderman, with the *Wiltſhire* 'Men who gained the Victory.

I cannot find in any Author the occaſion of this Quarrel; only, that it was fought between theſe Earls, one of the *Weſt Saxons*, and the other of M. the *Mercians*; but ſuch Bickerings we often meet with in theſe Writers, and ſo related, are of no more uſe to Human Life, than to Chronicle the Skirmiſhes of Crows or Jack-daws flocking together, and fighting in the Air.

The ſame Year is very remarkable, becauſe (as our Annals relate) '*Charles* the Great was firſt made Emperour, and ſaluted *Auguſtus* by the '*Romans*, he then condemned thoſe to Death who had before outraged 'Pope *Leo*; but by the Pope's Interceſſion they were pardoned as to Life, 'and only baniſhed; but Pope *Leo* himſelf anointed him Emperour. Alſo this Year, according to the * *Welſh* Chronicles, about this time *Arthen* ap-

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* Vi. Dr. Powel's *Hiſtory*.

ap Sitſilt, King of *Cardigan*; and *Run*, King of *Dyvet*; and *Cadel*, King of *Powis*, all three died.

Anno Dom. DCCC.

Now alſo (according to *Florence*, and *Simeon*,) *Alchmund*, Son to *Ethelred*, late King of *Northumberland*, being taken by the Guards of K. *Eardulf*, was by his Command ſlain; but without telling us any Reaſon why. ^*

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^* This I suppose is he who was afterwards sainted and whose body being first buried at Lilleshal, was afterwards translated to Derby ~~where~~ in a church which is to this day called by his name.

Alſo about this time, (according to Sir *H. Spelman*'s Firſt Volume of Councils) was held the Third Council of *Cloveſhoe*, under *Kenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Athelherd*, or *Ethelhard*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with all the Biſhops, Ealdermen, Abbots, and other Dignified Perſons of that Province; in which few Things were tranſacted concerning the Faith, only the Lands of a certain Monaſtery, called *Cotham*, which had been given by *Ethelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, to the Monaſtery of St. *Saviour*'s in *Canterbury*, and had been upon the Embezeling the Deeds, unjuſtly taken away by King *Kenwulph*, but he now repenting of it, deſired they ſhould be reſtored; whereupon *Cynedrith*, his Daughter, then Abbeſs of that Monaſtery, gave the ſaid Arch-Biſhop other Lands in *Kent* there mentioned, in exchange for the ſame.

But ſince I am come to the Concluſion of this Period, I cannot omit giving you a fuller Account of the Character, and Death of *Brithric* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, and of the Succeſſion of *Egbert*, who afterwards became the Chief or Supreme King of this Kingdom, and to whom all thoſe Kings that remained were forced to become Tributary.

As for King *Britric*, he is noted by *Will.* of *Malmeſbury* to have been more deſirous of Peace, than War; and to that end, courted the Friendſhip of Foreign Princes, to have been eaſie to his Subjects in ſuch Things as did not weaken his Government; yet being jealous of Prince *Egbert*, who afterwards ſucceeded him, he forced him to flee to King *Offa* for Refuge; but upon the coming of certain Ambaſſadours to Treat of a Marriage between King *Brithric*, and the Daughter of King *Offa*, he retired into *France*, till that King was made away by the means of his Wife *Ædburga*, the Daughter of King *Offa*; who having prepared a Cup of poiſoned Wine for one of his Favourites whom ſhe hated, the King, coming in by chance, taſted of it, and ſo pined away. After whoſe Death, *Aſſer*, in his Annals, relates, That when this Queen could live no longer among the *Engliſh*, (being ſo hated by them for her violent and wicked Actions,) ſhe went into *France*, where ſhe was kindly Entertained by *Charles* the Great, and there making that Emperour many great Preſents, for which he bidding her chuſe whom ſhe would have for a Husband, himſelf, or his Son, ſhe fooliſhly choſe his Son; whereupon the Emperour laughing, ſaid, *If thou hadſt choſen me, thou ſhouldeſt have had my Son, but now thou ſhalt have neither*: (A juſt Return for her deſiring to marry one ſo much younger than her ſelf.) So the Emperour put her into a Monaſtery, where ſhe lived for ſome Years as an Abbeſs; but being Expelled thence for her Incontinency, ſhe wandred about with only one Servant, and begged her Bread in *Pavia* in *Italy*, till ſhe died.

But as for *Egbert* above mentioned, when he had been for about three Years baniſhed into *France*, where (as *William* of *Malmeſbury* tells us) he poliſhed the Roughneſs of his own Country Manners, the *French* Nation being at that time the moſt Civilized of any of thoſe *Gothic* and *German* Nations, who had ſome Ages before (as hath been already related) ſettled themſelves in this ſide of *Europe*: But upon the Death

Anno Dom. DCCC. of King *Brihtric*, without any Iſſue, (as the ſame Author relates,) he was recalled by the Nobility of the *Weſt Saxon* Kingdom; and being there ordained King, reigned with great Glory and Honour, exceeding all the *Engliſh Saxon* Kings that went before him, as ſhall be declared in the enſuing Book.

But before I conclude this, I cannot forbear mentioning a Learned *Engliſh-man*, who flouriſhed about this time, called *Alcuinus*, or *Albinus*; who, going into *France*, was in great Favour with *Charles* the Great, whom he taught the Liberal Arts, and by his means erected the Univerſity of *Paris*, where he read *Logic*, *Rhetoric*, and *Aſtronomy*; being the moſt Learned Man of all the *Engliſh-men* (if not of all others) in his Time. He died Abbot of St. *Martins* at *Tours*, which that King beſtowed upon him. He wrote elegantly in Verſe, as well as Proſe, conſidering the Age he lived in; as appears by his Poem *De Pontificibus & Sanctis Eccleſiæ Eboracencis*, lately Publiſhed by the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Gale*, in his laſt Volume of *Engliſh* Hiſtorians.

So having arrived to the end of this Period, I ſhall in the next Book ſhew, how King *Egbert* obtained not only the Crown of the *Weſt Saxon* Kingdom, but alſo the Supreme Dominion of the *Engliſh* Nation.

The End of the Fourth Book.

A Continuation of the Succeſſion of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings contai and *Simeon* of *Durham*. Note, That the laſt King of each Colum the better ſee how the Series is continued.

This Account differs ſometimes from the Annals *ſome few Years, wherein they are certainly miſtaken.* The
Manuſcript Welſh *Chronicle* at

Anno Dom.	Kings of Kent.	Anno Dom.	Kings of the South-Saxons.	Anno Dom.	Kings of the Weſt-Saxons.	Anno Dom.	Kings of the Eaſt-Saxons.	Anno Dom.
560	Ethelbert *reigned 56 years.*			597	Ceolwulf *reigned 14 years.*	566	Sebert 47 *years.*	
616	Eadbald, *or* Ethelbald, *his Son*, 24 *years.*					617	Sexred, Seward, *and* Sigebert, *being brothers*, 6 *years.*	617
				611	Cynegils, *and*			
			In the Succeſſion of this Kingdom we find a great Chaſm, until	613	Cwichelm, *his Son, who lived not long; but* Cynegils *reigned 31 years.*			
640	Ercombert, *his Son*, 24 *years.*							
						623	Sigebert *the little, their Couſin*, 25 *years.*	
664	Egbriht, *his Son*, 9 *years.*							
								634
673	Lothair, *his Brother*, 12 *years.*							
		680	Ethelwalch, *or* Athelwald, *who being ſlain in Battel by* Ceadwalla, *he for ſome time added that Kingdom to his own, till he was driven out by* Bertune *and* Autune, *two Commanders of the late King* Ethelwalch'*s. Theſe divided the Kingdom between them; after whom followed divers Kings, who being obſcure, we know not their Names, until one*	643	Kenewalch, *his Son.*			
685	Eadric, *a Stranger to the Royal Line.*					648	Sigebert *the Good.*	
				672	Sexburge, *his Queen.*	661	Swithelme, *his Brother*, 2 *years.*	
686	Wittred & Wæbberd; *theſe alſo uſurped (not being of the Blood-Royal), and reigned at once.*							
								634
				674	Æskwine, *Couſin to the late King, reigned* 2 *years.*	663	Sigher *and* Sebba, *Couſins; the former reigned a ſmall time; the latter*, 30 *years.*	
								642
694	Wightred, *who reſtored the Royal Line, and dying, left three Sons, that all reigned one after another*, viz.			676	Centwine, *Son to* Cynegils *reigned 9 years.*			
						693	Sigehard *and* Swenfred 7 *years.*	
				685	Ceadwalla *three years and an half.*			
								651
727	Ethelbert, *who reign'd 22 years.*					700	Oſſa *reigned* 9 *years.*	
				688	Ina, *his Couſin, reign'd 39 years.*			670
749	Eadbert, 11 *years.*							
760	Alric; *in whom the Royal Line being extinct, ſev'ral ſtrangers were advanced to the Throne;* viz.					709	Selred, *his Couſin, reigned* 37 *years and an half.*	685
				728	Æthelheard, *his Kinſman, reigned 14 years and an half.*			
								705
								716
						746	Swithred.	718
				741	Cuthred, *his Couſin.*			
								729
764	Heahbert *and* Sigared; *theſe reigned at once, and divided the Kingdom between them.*	725	Aldwin, *who being ſlain by* Ina *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *he by conquering this Kingdom, added it to his own.*				*After whoſe death (as* Florence *tells us) few Kings reigned over the* Eaſt-Saxons; *for the ſame year in which the* South-Saxons *and* Kentiſh-men *ſubmitted themſelves to King* Egbert, *the* Eaſt-Saxons *did ſo likewiſe.*	737
				754	Sigebert, *his Couſin*, 13 *years.*			758
								759
				755	Cynewulf *reigned 29 years.*			765
778	Egfert, *another Uſurper.*							774
786	Eadbert *or* Ethelbert, *ſirnamed* Præn, *taken Priſoner by* Kenwulf *King of the* Mercians, *who beſtowed this Kingdom upon*			784	Brihtric, *his Couſin*, 18 *years.*			778
								789
				802	Egbert, *his Couſin (though far remote.)*			790
								795
								795
794	Cuthred, *as his Tributary.*							

the former Book; from the *Saxon* Annals, *Florence* of *Worceſter*,
the former Table, is again repeated in this, that the Reader may

Tab. 2.

logy of the Kings of Wales *is according to the Account of Mr* Robert Vaughan, *and that Ancient*
of Domeſday-Book.

of Northumberland	Anno Dom.	*Kings of the* Eaſt-Angles.	Anno Dom.	*Kings of* Mercia.	Anno Dom.	*Kings of the* Britains.
ned 24 years over both King-	599	Eorpwald, *or* Earpenwald.			658	Cadwan *was now elected King, and reigned* 12 *years.*
f Ælla, *reigned likewiſe over*	636	Sigebert *the Great.*		Ceorl.		
rs; but he being ſlain, they be-	638	Egric, *his Couſin.*	627	Penda, *a Prince of the Royal Blood, reigned* 30 *years.*		
divided; for then in	643	Anna, *Nephew to* Redwald.			660	Cadwallo, *his Son.*
Bernicia,	654	Ethelthere, *his Brother.*			634	Cadwallader, *the Son of* Cadwallo, *reigned* 31 *years. He going to* Rome, *there followed*
Al- *one* 634 Eanfred, *Son to* Ethelfrid, *late King, reigned one year.*	656	Æthelwald, *his Couſin.*	655	Peada, *his Son, one year, after whom*		
	664	Aldwulf, *Son to* Ethelhere.	656	Oſwie, *King of* Northumberland *held that Kingdom three years; but he being expell'd,*	665	*An* Interregnum *of* 3 *years, until*
	683	Ælfwold, *his Brother.*				
g both ſlain in the ſame year,						
	690	Beorne, *one of another Family.*				
ther to Eanfrid, *reigned over ms* 9 *years; who being alſo ſlain,*					668	Ivor, *Son of* Alan *King of* Little-Britain, *who reigned* 22 *years.*
		Note, *That under* An. 749. Sim. *of* Durham, *and the Chronicle of* Mailroſs, *make* Hunbean *and* Albert *to have ſucceeded* Ælfwold, *and divided the Kingdom between them. But ſince* Mat. Weſtm. *calls them* Beorna *and* Athelbert, *I take this* Hunbean *to be the ſame with* Beorne *abovementioned, and* Athelbert *to be the ſame with*				
er to ign- icia 644 Oſwin, *Son to* Oſric, *reigned in* Deira, *until after* 7 *years reign, being ſlain by,*			659	Wulfher, *Son to* Penda, *was made King.*		
					690	Edwal, *ſirnamed* Wyrch, *reigning at the ſame time in* Cornwal *and* Devonſhire, *is ſuppoſed to have reigned* 19 *years after the death of* Ivor.
			675	Ethelred, *his Brother,* 39 *years.*		
mention'd) he then united both doms into one; and ſo they af- ntinued: He reigned 28 *years.*			704	Kenred, *his Couſin,* 5 *years.*		
gfert, *Son to* Oſwie, *reigned*			709	Ceolred, *Son of* Ethelred, 9 *years.*		
Brother, 20 *years.*					700	Gerent, *King of* Cornwal, *choſen King of the* Britains.
o Alfred, 11 *years.*			719	Ethelbald *the Proud, his Couſin, tho far remote,* 36 *years.*		
of Cuthelm, 2 *years.*					720	Roderick Molwynoc, *Son of* Edwal Wyrch, *reign'd* 32 *years.*
er to Kenred, 11 *years.*						
Couſin to Kenred, 8 *years.*			755	Beornred, *an Uſurper, half a year.*		
years.	749	Ethelred *Son to* Æthelwald; *who after the death of* Beorne *reigned alone; tho the time when is uncertain.*			752	Caradoc, *his Son, King of* North-Wales, *reigned* 42 *years.*
Son, 1 *year.*						
ſirnamed Moll, 6 *years.*			756	Offa, *Nephew to* Ethelbald, 40 *years.*		
eat Grandſon to Ida, 16 *years.*					755	Conan Tindaethwy, *otherwiſe called* Howel, *reigning in* South-Wales *at the ſame time, till at laſt he being expelled the Countrey, his Brother poſſeſſed the whole Kingdom.*
r Ethelbert, *Son to* Moll, 4	793	Æthelbert, *Son to* Ethelred, *murther'd by K.* Offa, *who ſeized his Kingdom; after whom were many Kings of ſmall note for* 61 *years, until* Edmund, *ſirnamed the Martyr.*	796	Egfert, *his Son, about half a year.*		
1 *years.*						
Nephew, Son to Alred, 1 *year.*						
r Ethelbert, *again reſtored,* 4			796	Kenwulf, *one of the Blood-Royal, tho far remote,* 24 *years.*		
days, and then depoſed.						
years.						

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THE
General Hiſtory
OF
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:
As well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil.

BOOK V.

From the beginning of the Reign of King EGBERT, *to that of* King EDGAR; *Being the ſpace of One Hundred Fifty Six Years and an Half.*

THE *Engliſh Saxons* having after their Conqueſt of ſo great a part of *Britain*, and the expulſion of the Natives into *Wales* and *Cornwall*, erected Seven (and if we reckon *Deira* and *Bernicia* as diſtinct, Eight) different Kingdoms in this part of our Iſland; that naturally followed, which always attends a Warlike People, canton'd out into many ſmall independant principalities, *viz* conſtant diſputes about the borders of their reſpective Territories, or elſe a ſtriſe for the Maſtery who ſhould be Chief, and Domineere moſt over the reſt: from whence (beſides divers other accidental occaſions of Quarrels) ſprang Civil Wars, incident to neighbouring Nations, no ways divided but by Rivers or other leſs certain boundaries, which never ceaſed until what had been begun by King *Egbert*'s Predeceſſours, was finiſh'd by himſelf, and his Succeſſours, who at length united all thoſe Kingdoms into one, to the laſting quiet and happineſs of the *Engliſh* Nation; which to ſet forth ſhall be the ſubject of this preſent Period. For though there had been before *Egbert* many chief or Principal Kings (ſeveral of whom *Bede*, as alſo the *Saxon Annals* have mentioned) who by the ſole power of their Arms ſucceeded each other in that Title, yet did it never ſo properly belong to any one as to King *Egbert*, (with whoſe Reign we ſhall begin this Book ;) ſince he was not ſatisfied as others had been before him, with the bare acknowledgments and ſubmiſſions of the other remaining Kings; but having ſubdued moſt of them, he laid their Kingdoms to his own, leaving only thoſe of the *Mercians* , *Northumbrians* and *Eaſt-Angles* to be held by their reſpective Princes as Tributaries to his Crown ; in which ſtate they continued, till the Invaſion and Conqueſt of the *Danes* wholly ſwallowed up all thoſe Principalities, and that after their expulſion by King *Alfred*, and his Son *Edward* the Elder, theſe Kingdoms became again united to the reſt of their Dominions under the General name of *England*.

But ſince the Invaſion of the *Danes*, alſo happened in the beginning of this Period, 'tis fit we ſay ſomething of it, both as to its Cauſes, and Inſtruments by which it was performed ; in the doing of which I ſhall make uſe of *H. Huntington*'s words, in the Prologue to his Fifth Book, wherein he tells us, ‘ That the Invaſion of the *Danes* was much the fierceſt, and moſt cruel that ever was felt in this Iſland ; for the *Romans* althô they ſubdued *Britain* to their Empire, yet uſed their Victory with moderation, and made thoſe they conquered partakers of the *Roman* Laws and Civility ; and as for the Invaſion of the *Picts* and *Scots* which followed the decay of the *Roman* Empire in *Britain*, though it fell ſeverely upon the Northern Parts, yet was it not of any long continuance, or of any general extent, being ſoon ſtopt by the more predominant Power and Valour of the *Engliſh-Saxons*; who (as you have already heard) conquering this Kingdom by degrees, though they drove out the ancient Inhabitants who refuſed to ſubmit to them ; yet we do not find, but that they ſpared the lives of all thoſe that became their Vaſſals, and having Conquered the Country, they not only repaired the ancient Towns and Cities , but likewiſe built many new ones, and governed the Kingdom by their own Laws and Conſtitutions. Laſtly, the *Normans*, who ſucceeded the *Danes* in ſubduing this Nation, yet granted not only Life and Liberty to the vanquiſhed, but alſo permited them the uſe of their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms; whereas the *Danes* waſted and ſpoiled this whole Iſland, for a long time together by frequent Incurſions, exempting no places Sacred or Prophane from Spoil or Ruin ; ſo that ſparing neither Age nor Sex, they ſeemed for a long time not ſo much to deſign the Conqueſt, as Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Nation ;] till at laſt King *Knute* obtaining the Crown of *England*, after the Death of King *Edmund* (Sir-named *Ironſide*,) by reſtoring its ancient Laws and Liberties, made ſome amends for the continual ſpoils and depredations of himſelf and his Predeceſſours.

If therefore you do but conſider the frequent Invaſions of that Barbarous People, how they often landed in ſeveral places at once, thereby not only dividing the Forces of the *Engliſh-Saxons*, but alſo ſo diſtracting their Commanders, that they could not tell which way to March againſt them; you may hence obſerve (that next to the Providence, and Mercy of God,) nothing but the extraordinary Valour and Conduct of thoſe Kings, whoſe Great and Noble Actions we ſhall here relate, could have preſerved this Nation from being totally ſubdued long before; nor could they ever bring it under their Power, till they met with a Prince, who fell very ſhort of his Anceſtors, as well in Prudence and Valour, as (in the chiefeſt thing of all) the love of his Subjects.

But as for the cauſes, which provoked the wrath of God to bring this dreadful Judgment upon the *Engliſh* Nation, the ſame Authour gives us this probable account, *viz.* ' That in the Primitive Church of ' *England*, Religion ſhined with ſo great a Luſtre, that divers Kings and ' Queens, together with many of the Great Men and Biſhops undertook ' Monaſtick Vows, (as you have already heard;) but in proceſs of time ' all Virtue and Piety ſo far declined, that the *Engliſh Saxons* ſuffered no ' Nation to exceed them in deceit, and all manner of wickedneſs; ' which chiefly appears in the precedent, as well as following Hiſtory of ' the *Northumbrian* Kings, in which you will find, that all Orders and ' Degrees of Men were guilty of ſo great Treachery and Rebellion, ' that nothing was a greater diſgrace than Piety and Innocence, which ' was looked upon as a juſt occaſion to be made away; wherefore it ' was no wonder if God thought fit to ſend upon them whole ſwarms of ' cruel Nations, which deſtroyed all before them, (to wit) the *Danes* or ' *Norwegians* together with the *Swedes* and *Vandals*.

Theſe from the latter end of the Reign of King *Egbert* to the beginning of the Reign of *William* the Firſt, being above Two Hundred and Thirty Years, never gave this Iſland any long reſpite from their Invaſions. So that it ſeems it was not the ~~Nation of the~~ *Danes* alone, (properly ſo called) who were the cauſe of this Deſtruction, but a mixture of divers of theſe Northern Nations, who joyning together, propoſed at firſt to themſelves no other deſign but Plunder and Spoil: But of this we ſhall ſpeak more in due time; and ſhall now proceed in our Hiſtory, where we left off in our laſt Book.

Egbert, the only ſurviving Prince of the Blood Royal of the *Weſt Saxon* Kings, as being Great Nephew to *Ina*, by his Brother *Inegilds*, being now arrived in *England*, was *Elected* and *Crowned* King by the *general conſent* of the Nobility and People, as *Ethelward* and *Florence* of *Worceſter* expreſly relate; thô the latter begins his Reign One Year after our *Saxon* Annals, and thoſe aſcribed to *Aſſer*, place it, under *Anno* 802.) But it ſeems the very day he came to the Crown, (according to *Ethelward* and the ſaid Annals, or the ſame Year as it is in *Florence*,) *Ethelmund*, Ealderman of *Wiccon*, (that is *Worceſter-ſhire*) or elſe of the *Mercians* according to *Florence*, paſſed over the River *Severne* at *Cyneſmereford*, (ſuppoſed to be *Kempſford* in *Glouceſter-ſhire*,) and there met *Weocton* the Ealderman with the *Wilt-ſhire* Men, where there was a great Fight, and both the Ealdermen were ſlain, but the *Wiltſhire* Men gained the Victory.

I cannot find in any Authour the occaſion of this quarrel, only that it was fought between two Earls; one of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and another of the *Mercians*; but ſuch blind Accounts we often meet with in theſe Monkiſh Writers.

Alſo about this time, as appears from the ancient Regiſter of St. *Leonard's* Abbey in *York*; it is cited in * *Monaſt. Anglican. viz.* ' That *Anno Dom.* ' 800, *Egbert* King of all *Britain* in a Parliament at *Wincheſter*, by the conſent of his People, changed the Name of this Kingdom; and commanded it to be called *England*.

* 1. *Vol. P.* 367.

Now, thô by the Word Parliament here uſed, it is certain that this Regiſter was writ long after the Conqueſt; yet it might be tranſcribed from ſome more ancient Monument, ſince *Will.* of *Malmesbury* tells us of this King, (thô without ſetting down the time) that by the greatneſs of his Mind, he reduced all the Varieties of the *Engliſh*

Saxon Kingdoms to one uniform Empire, or Dominion, which he calle *England*; though others perhaps more truly refer it to the latter End o his Reign.

This Year *Eardulf*, King of the *Northumbers* lead his Army againſt *Kenwulf*, King of *Mercia*, for harbouring his Enemies, who alſo gatherin together a great Army, they approached to each other; when by th Advice of the Biſhops and Noblemen of *England*, as alſo by the Interceſſion of the Chief King of the *Engliſh*, (by whom is meant Kin *Egbert*; for as Supream King of *England* he then paſſed under that Title They agreed upon a laſting Peace; which was alſo confirmed by Oath on both ſides. This we find in *Simeon* of *Durham*'s Hiſtory of tha Church, and in no other Authour.

Vid. *Monaſt. Anglican.* Tom 1. p. 191.

About this Time alſo St. *Alburge*, Siſter to King *Egbert*, founded Benedictine Nunnery at *Wilton*, which was long after rebuilt by Kin *Alfred*, and augmented by King *Edgar*, for Twenty Six Nuns, and a Abbeſs.

Anno Dom. DCCCII.

'This Year the Moon was Ecclipſed on the 13 *Kal. Jan.* and *Beor* '*mond* was Conſecrated Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

Anno Dom. DCCCIII.

About this Time, in Obedience to a Letter from Pope *Leo* III: (wh at the deſire of *Kenwulf* King of the *Mercians*, had Two Years ſinc reſtored the See of *Canterbury* to its ancient Primacy,) was held the Thir Synod at *Cloveſhoe*, by Arch Biſhop *Ethelward*, and 12 Biſhops of his Province whereby the See of *Canterbury* was not only reſtored to all its ancien Rights and priviledges; but it was alſo forbid for all times to come upo pain of Damnation (if not repented of) for any Man to violate th Rights of that ancient See, and thereby to deſtroy the Unity of Chriſt's Holy Church; Then follow the Subſcriptions of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and of Twelve other Biſhops of his Province, together with thoſ of many Abbots and Presbyters, who never Subſcribed before, but without the Subſcriptions of the King, or any of the Lay Nobility: which plainly ſhews it to have been a meer Eccleſiaſtical Synod, and no great Council of the Kingdom, as you may ſee at large in Sir *H. Spelman*'s 1. *vol.* of Councils, the Decree of which Synod alſo ſhews, that the Church of *England* did not then conceive the Authority of the Pope alone ſufficient to diſanul what had been ſolemnly Decreed in a great Council of the Kingdom, as was the Removal of the Primacy from *Canterbury* to *Litchfield*. But it ſeems Arch-Biſhop *Ethelward* did not long ſurvive this Council, for our Annals tell us, That the next Year

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Anno Dom. DCCCIV.

'*Ethelward* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed, and *Wilfrid* was conſe'crated Arch-Biſhop in his ſtead; and *Forther*, the Abbot, dyed; alſo '*Higbert* Biſhop of *Lindisfarne* now dyed, and *Egbert* ſucceeded him, 'and then *Wilfrid* the Arch-Biſhop received his Pall.

Anno Dom. DCCCV.

'*Cuthred* King of *Kent* deceaſed, as did alſo *Ceolburge* the Abbeſs, and '*Heabyrht* the Ealderman.

This *Cuthred* here mentioned, was (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* informs us) he whom *Kenulph* King of the *Mercians* had made King of *Kent*, inſtead of *Ethelbert*, called *Pren*.

Anno Dom. DCCCVI.

'This Year the Moon was Eclipſed on the *Kal.* of *September*, and '*Eardwulf*, King of the *Northumbers*, was driven from his Kingdom 'and *Eanbryht* Biſhop of *Hagulſtad* deceaſed. Alſo this Year (2° *Nones Junij*) the ſign of the Croſs was ſeen in the Moon upon *Wedneſday* in the 'Morning; and the ſame Year on the Third *Kal. Septemb.* a wonderful Circle was ſeen round the Sun.

This

Anno Dom: DCCCVI.

This *Eardwulf* above-mentioned is related by *Simeon* of *Durham* to have been the Son of *Eardulf*, the firſt of that Name, King of *Northumberland*, and after Ten Years Reign, to have been driven out by one *Ælfwold*, who Reigned Two Years in his ſtead.

During theſe Confuſions in the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* with great probability ſuppoſes (in his *Antiquitat. Britan. Eccleſ.*) that the *Picts* and *Scots* Conquered the Countries of *Galloway* and *Lothian*, as alſo thoſe Countries called the *Lowlands* of *Scotland*, as far as the *Friths* of *Dunbritain* and *Edenburgh*. And that this City was alſo in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh Saxons*, about an Hundred Years after this, I ſhall ſhew in due order of time; and that our Kings did long after maintain their claim to *Lothian* ſhall be further ſhewn, when I come to it: But that all the *Lowlands* of *Scotland*, as far as the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue was ſpoken, were anciently part of the *Bernician* Kingdom, the *Engliſh* Language, as well as the Names of places, which are all *Engliſh Saxon* (and neither *Scotiſh* nor *Pictiſh*) do ſufficiently make out.

Anno Dom: DCCCVII.

The Sun was Eclipſed on the 7th *Kal.* of *Auguſt*, about the Fifth Hour of the Day.

This year Arthen ap Seyssill King of Cardigan deceased. Chron: Wal: of whom there is no more than that now Wales was divided into different Kingdoms or principalities.

Anno Dom: DCCCVIII.

This Year (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle relates) King *Eardulph* (above-mentioned) being expelled his Kingdom, and coming for Refuge to the Emperour *Charles* the Great, was by his Aſſiſtance reſtored thereunto; but ſince neither the *Saxon* Annals, nor *Florence*, nor yet any of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians do mention it, I much doubt the Truth of this Relation; thô it muſt be alſo acknowledged, that it is inſerted in the ancient *French* Annals of that time, and recited that this King's Reſtitution was procured by the Interceſſion of the Pope's and Emperour's Legates, who were ſent into *England* for that purpoſe.

This Year (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, marching in an Hoſtile manner into *Cornwal*, abſolutely ſubdued it, and added it to his own Kingdom, many being there ſlain on both ſides.

The ſame Year alſo (according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle) *Run*, King of *Dyvet*, and *Cadhel*, King of *Powis*, deceaſed.

Anno Dom: DCCCIX.

'*Charles* the Emperour made Peace with *Nicephorus* Emperour of *Con*'*ſtantinople*.

This Year alſo (according to the ſame *Caradoc*) *Elbode*, ~~Arch~~-Biſhop of *North Wales*, (*i. e.* of St. *Aſaph*,) deceaſed, before whoſe Death was a great Eclipſe of the Sun: But as the Reverend Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*, in his Catalogue of the *Welſh* Kings, which he has been pleaſed to communicate to me, well obſerves, That Eclipſe falling out *Anno* 810, the Biſhops Death muſt do ſo likewiſe, and therefore in this the Chronicles muſt needs be miſtaken.

Chron: Wal.

as allso the King Arthens above mentioned.

Alſo (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) *Ælfwold*, King of *Northumberland*, dying, *Earnred* ſucceeded him, and held it for 32 Years; which is alſo confirmed by *Simeon* of *Durham*, thô this can by no means agree with the Chronicle of *Mailroſs*, which ſays, That *Eardulf* being expelled his Kingdom, it continued without any King for many Years; but *William* of *Malmesbury* makes this Anarchy to have begun from the murther of King *Ethered*, *Anno* 794, (as hath been already obſerved in the laſt Book,) and that this Confuſion laſted for about 33 Years, during which time that Province became a Scorn to its Neighbours: But it ſeems they ſtill had Kings, thô very obſcure, and but of ſmall Account.

Hiſt. Dun. Eccles. col. 13.

Anno Dom. DCCCX.

But of greater certainty is that which *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates under this Year, *viz.* That King *Egbert* ſubdued the Northern *Welſh-men*, and made them Tributary to him.

M.

But it is wholly incredible what *Buchanan*, in his *Scotiſh* Hiſtory, relates in the Year following, to wit, That *Achaius*, King of *Scots*, having reigned 32 Years, and had formerly aided (but in what Year of his Reign he tells us not) *Hungus*, King of the *Picts*, with 10000 *Scots* againſt one *Athelſtan*, then waſting the *Pictiſh* Borders; and that *Hungus*, by the Aid of thoſe *Scots*, and the Help of St. *Andrew* their Patron, in a Viſion by Night, and the Appearance of a Croſs by Day, routed the aſtoniſhed *Engliſh*, and ſlew this *Athelſtan* in Fight. But who this *Athelſtan* was, I believe no Man knows; *Buchanan* ſuppoſes him to have been ſome *Daniſh* Commander, on whom King *Alured*, or *Alfred*, had beſtowed *Northumberland*: Yet of this, I find no Foot-ſteps in our ancient Writers; and if any ſuch Thing were done in the time of *Alfred*, it muſt be above 60 Years after, for King *Alfred* began not to Reign till *Anno* 871. And *John Fordun*, in his *Scotiſh* Hiſtory, is alſo as much miſtaken, making this *Athelſtan* to be the Son of King *Ethelwulf*, who then governed the *Northern* Provinces under his Father, which alſo fails almoſt as much in point of time; this Prince *Athelſtan* here mentioned being (as appears by the *Saxon* Annals) alive, and engaged in a Sea-Fight againſt the *Danes* above 4[illegible] Years after, as you will find in its due place ſet down. This *Athelſtan* therefore, and this great Overthrow, ſeems rather to have been a meer Fancy of ſome idle Monk.

Anno Dom. DCCCXI.

And this Year, (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*,) as King *Egbert* had the Year before ſubdued the *Welſh-men*, ſo (it ſeems upon ſome freſh Rebellion of theirs) he again entred their Borders, and laid them waſte from North to South with Fire and Sword, and then returned home Victorious.

But notwithſtanding the Wars the *Welſh* had from abroad, it ſeems they had alſo time enough for Civil Wars at home; for now (according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle) *Conan*, Prince of *Wales*, and his Brother *Howel*, could not agree, inſomuch that they tried the Matter by Battle, where *Howel* had the Victory; to which Dr. *Powel* hath here added this Obſervation.

That this *Howel*, the Brother of *Conan*, King or Prince of *North Wales*, did claim the Iſle of *Mon*, or *Angleſey*, for part of his Father's Inheritance, which *Conan* refuſing to give him, thereupon they fell at Variance, and conſequently made War the one againſt the other.

And here (ſays he) I think fit to ſay ſomewhat of the old Cuſtom and Tenure of *Wales*, from whence this Miſchief grew, that is, the Diviſion of the Father's Inheritance amongſt all the Sons commonly called *Gavel kind*. *Gavel* is a *Britiſh* Term, ſignifying a *Hold*, becauſe every one of the Sons did hold ſome portion of his Father's Lands, as his lawful Son and Succeſſour. This was the Cauſe, not only of the Overthrow of all the ancient Nobility of *Wales*, (for by that means the Inheritance being continually divided and ſubdivided amongſt the Children, and Children's Children, it was at length brought to nothing,) but alſo of much Bloodſhed, unnatural Strife, and Contention amongſt Brethren; as we have here an Example, and many others in this Hiſtory. This kind of Partition is very good to plant and ſettle a Nation in a large Country, not inhabited, but in a populous Country already furniſhed with Inhabitants;

Anno Dom. DCCCXI.

bitants; it is the utter Decay of great Families, and (as I ſaid before) the cauſe of conſtant Strife and Debate But ſome Years after, *Howel* gave his Brother *Conan* another Defeat, and ſlew a great many of his People.

Whereupon *Conan* levied an Army in the Year 817, and chaſed his Brother *Howel* out of the Iſle of *Angleſey*, compelling him to flee into that of *Man*; and a little after died *Conan*, chief King of the *Britains*, or *Welſh-men*, leaving behind him a Daughter named *Eſylht*, who was married to a Nobleman, called *Mervyn Vrych*, the Son of *Gwyriad*, who was afterwards King in her Right.

This Year alſo, as the Manuſcript Annals of the Abbey of *Winchelcomb* relate, the Charter of this Monaſtery was granted by King *Kenulph*, as appears by a Copy there inſerted; which ſhews, what Orders of Men were ſummoned by that King to be preſent at the Council, in which this Charter was confirmed, *viz. Merciorum optimates, Epiſcopos, Principes, Comites, Procuratores meoſque* (i. e. *Regis*) *Propinquos*; which Terms having already been explained in the Introduction to this Book, I need not here repeat. There were alſo preſent *Cuthred* King of *Kent*, his tributary, and *Suthered* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, with all others, who ſhould be preſent at thoſe Synodal Councils: Then follow the Subſcriptions of K. *Kenulph*, as alſo of both the ſaid Kings, and of *Wilfred* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with the reſt of the Biſhops and Ealdermen there ſtiled *Duces*.

* Bib. Cotton. Tib. E. 4.

Anno Dom. DCCCXII.

'This Year, according to our Annals, the Emperour *Charles* the *Great* 'departed this Life, (when he had Reigned Forty Five Years;) alſo '*Wilfred* the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Wigbright* the Biſhop of the '*Weſt-Saxons* went to *Rome*:] But here our Annals are miſtaken, for this Emperour dyed not till the Year 814 *Mat. Weſtminſter* alſo adds, that theſe Biſhops above-mentioned went to *Rome* about the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church.

Anno Dom. DCCCXIII.

'Arch-Biſhop *Wilfred* having received the Benediction of Pope *Leo*, 'returned again to his Biſhoprick, and the ſame Year King *Egbert* waſted the *Weſtern Welſh* from the South to the *Weſt*.] This ſeems but to have been the ſame Invaſion mentioned by *Mat. Weſtminſter* under *An.* 811.

This Year *Leo*, that worthy and Holy Pope, deceaſed; and *Stephanus* ſucceeded in the Popedome; but *Florence* of *Worceſter* more rightly places the Death of this Pope Two Years later.

Anno Dom. DCCCXIV.

'Pope *Stephanus* deceaſed, and *Paſcalis* was conſecrated Pope in his 'ſtead; and the ſame Year the School or College of the *Engliſh* Nation '(at *Rome*) was burnt.

Anno ~~Dom.~~ ~~DCCCX~~VI.

But *Mat. Weſtminſter* does more rightly place the Death of Pope *Stephanus* the Year following.

Anno Dom. DCCCXVI

At this time was held the Synod at *Calcuith*, under *Wilfred* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Kenulph* King of the *Mercians*, who was there preſent; but the Decrees being wholly Eccleſiaſtical, I paſs them by, and refer the curious to Sir *H. Spelman*'s 1. Volume of Councils: only ſhall here take notice of this one paſſage, that now Biſhops, Abbots, and Abbeſſes were firſt forbid by the Seventh Canon of this Synod, to alien their Lands committed to their truſt, in Fee, or for longer time then one Life; and⁁ that with the conſent of the Houſe. ⁁

⁁An. Dom. DCCCXVII. The welsh [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] agree that Conan King of the Welsh deceased this year, and was succeeded by Mervyn surnamed Frych in right of his wife Esylt Daughter to Conan.

Anno Dom. DCCCXIX.

Cenwulf King of the *Mercians* deceaſed, and *Ceolwulf* began to Reign in his ſtead, alſo *Eadbyrht* the Ealderman dyed.

But the *Saxon* Annals do here omit, that which is very remarkable that not *Ceolwulf*, but *Kenelm*, Son to King *Kenwulf* being a Child of Seven

Years

Anno Dom. DCCCXIX.

Years Old, ſucceeded his Father under the tutelage of his Siſter *Quendride*, who being tempted by a wicked Ambition of Reigning, was by her made away, and thereby he obtained the Name of a Martyr: The manner of which (thô it is certainly but a Legend) I ſhall, to divert the Reader, relate out of *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, and *Mat. Weſtminſter*.

This young Prince was committed by his Siſter to an Attendant, on purpoſe to be made away; who carrying him into a Wood under pretence of Hunting; cut off his Head, and threw his Body into a Thicket of Buſhes; his Siſter preſently ſeizing the Kingdom, ſtraitly forbad all inquiry to be made after her loſt Brother: But ſure it was Miraculous, That a thing done ſo privately in *England*, ſhould be firſt known at *Rome*: but ſo it came to paſs by Divine Revelation; for upon the Altar of St. *Peter*, a White Dove let fall a certain Paper, which diſcovered both the Death of King *Kenelm*, and alſo the place of his Burial; which being Written in Golden Letters was thus:

In Clent Cow-batch, Kenelme King Bearne, lieth under a Thorne, headed bereaved.

Which being in *Saxon*, may be thus Tranſlated into *Engliſh* Rhime.

In Clent-cow-paſture under a Thorne,
Of Head bereft, lies Kenelme *King Born.*

But it ſeems the Characters were ſo hard to be read, that all the *Roman* Clerks there preſent, attempted in vain at the Pope's Command to read this writing; but an *Engliſh* Man by chance ſtanding by, (whom, to make the Miracle the greater, *Mat. Weſtminſter* (reading *Angelus* inſtead of *Anglus*) calls an *Angel*, and Tranſlating this writing into *Latin*, cauſed the Pope by an Epiſtle ſent by him on purpoſe to give notice to the *Engliſh* Kings of their Martyr'd Country-man; whoſe Body being thus Miraculouſly diſcovered, was in a great Aſſembly of Clerks and Nobles, taken out of the hole where it was laid, and carried to *Winchelcombe*, in *Glouceſter-ſhire*; and there buried in the Church of that Abbey, which his Father had founded; which after ſome time brought no ſmall profit to that Monaſtery, by frequent Pilgrimages made to the Tomb of this little Saint.

Will. Malmesbury, lib. 2.

But now my hand is in, pray take all the reſt of the Story.

When the Body of this Young Prince was brought home, the Murdreſs his Siſter, being vexed with the Singing of thoſe Clerks and Laicks that attended the Corps, and looking out of her Chamber Window in pure Spite, repeated the Pſalm backward which they then Sung, thereby to diſturb the Harmony of the Chorus; but (as the ſame Authour adds,) whileſt ſhe was thus ſinging, both her Eyes fell out of her Head upon the Pſalter ſhe held in her Hands, and the Pſalter it ſelf ſet in Silver, and beſmeared with the Blood of her Eyes, (being then to be ſeen) gave a pregnant Teſtimony of her Crime, as well as puniſhment; yet it ſeems *Will.* of *Malmesbury* knew nothing of this Legend of the finding the Body, but only ſays, it was diſcovered by Miraculous Rays of a vaſt Light, which ſhining all Night over the place where it lay, was the occaſion of its being found out; but no matter for the manner, both of them being alike credible. This is enough, (if not too much) of this Boy, King and Martyr: And this is certain, that his unnatural Siſter did not enjoy the Fruits of her wicked Ambition long; for *Ceolwulf* Brother to King *Kenwulf*, ſucceeded in the Kingdom; thô he likewiſe Reigned but little more than one Year:

Anno Dom. DCCCXX.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXI. For the next Year he was deprived of his Kingdom (as *Ingulphus* relates) by one *Bernulph*, an Ambitious Man, of great Riches and Power, thô no way related to the Blood Royal.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXII. ‘ This Year Two Ealdermen were ſlain, *Burkelm*, and *Muca*, (but who theſe were our Annals do not acquaint us :) There was alſo this Year held a Synod at *Cloveſhoe* under King *Beornwulf*, and Arch-Biſhop *Wilfred*; whoſe Conſtitutions relating wholly to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, you may find in Sir *H. Spelman*'s 1. *Vol.* The only Civil Buſineſs, was that of the Abbeſs *Cendrythe*'s being forced to make ſatisfaction to Archbiſhop *Wilfred*, by rendering 100 Manſes or Farmes, for the wrongs which King *Cenwulf* her Father had done to the Church of *Canterbury*.

This *Cendrythe* is the ſame with *Quendrithe*; or *Quendrida* (as ſhe was called by our *Latin* Authors,) who made away her Brother K. *Kenelme*, (as you have already heard ;) and who, to Expiate for the Death of her Brother, (ſince ſhe could not be a Queen) had profeſſed her ſelf a Nun, and was now an Abbeſs.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXIII. ‘ There was a Fight between the *Britains* and *Devonſhire* Men at *Gafulford*, now *Camelford*, in *Cornwall*; and *Florence* of *Worceſter* tells us, ‘ That the *Britains* were ſlain by thoſe of *Devonſhire*.

‘ The ſame Year alſo, (according to our Annals,) *Ecbriht* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Beornwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, fought at *Ellendune*, (ſuppoſed to be *Wilton* near *Salisbury*;) where *Ecbriht* obtained the Victory, a great ſlaughter being there made; after which King *Ecbright* ſent *Æthelwulf* his Son, and *Ealſtan* his Biſhop, and *Wulfheard* his Ealderman, with a great Army into *Kent*, where they forced King *Baldred* to Fly over *Thames* into the *Northern* parts ; then the *Kentiſhmen*, and thoſe of *Surry*, together with the *South-Saxons*, and *Eaſt-Saxons*, ſubmitted themſelves to King *Egbert*; which laſt Nation had been unjuſtly wreſted from his Family, and had (as *Florence* relates) for the ſpace of ſeveral Years been ſubject to Kings that were ſtrangers; the ſame Year alſo the King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, together with the whole Nation beſeeched King *Ecbriht* to grant them Peace, and be their Protector, for fear of the *Mercians*.] And the ſame Year the *Eaſt-Angles* ſlew *Beornwulf* King of the *Mercians*, becauſe (as *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates) he challenged their Kingdom as his own, ever ſince the time that King *Offa* took it, but now the *Mercians* tried to recover it by Force.

The ſame Year was alſo held another *Synodal* Council at *Cloveſhoe*, for the Kingdom of *Mercia*, under K. *Beornwulf* and *Wilfred* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with all the Biſhops and Chief Men of that Kingdom, wherein ſome diſputes about Lands between *Heabert*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and a certain Monaſtery called *Weſtburgh*, were determined.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXV. ‘ This Year *Ludican* King of the *Mercians* and five of his Ealdermen were ſlain; and *Wiglaf* began to Reign in his ſtead.] *Ingulf* and *Will.* of *Malmesbury* tell us, That this *Ludican* was Kinſman to the laſt mentioned King *Beornwulf*, and leading an Army againſt the *Eaſt-Angles* to revenge his Death, was there overcome and Slain, and that both theſe Tyrants were juſtly removed, who had not only made Kings without any Right, but had alſo by their imprudence been the occaſion of the deſtruction of the Military Forces of that Kingdom, which had till then proved Victorious ; and that thereupon one *Withlaf* being before Ealderman of *Mercia*, was by the conſent of all the People created King ; whoſe Son *Wimond* had Married *Alfleda* the Daughter of *Ceolwulf*, the late King.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXVII This King *Withlaf* Reigned thirteen Years, as Tributary to King *Egbert*, as ſhall be further related anon.

'The Moon was Eclipſed on *Chriſtmaſs* day at Night, and the ſame 'Year King *Egbryht* ſubdued the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and all the Country 'that lay South of *Humber*: He was the Eighth King, who Ruled over all '*Britain*; but the Firſt, who had ſo great a Command, was *Ælla* King of 'the *South Saxons*; the Second was *Ceawlin*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; the 'Third was *Æthelbryght* King of *Kent*; the Fourth was *Redwald* King of 'the *Eaſt Angles*; the Fifth was *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*; the Sixth 'was *Oſwald*, who ſucceeded him; the Seventh was *Oſwi* the Brother of '*Oſwald*; and the Eight was *Egbryght*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; who not 'long after led an Army againſt the *Northumbers*, as far as *Dore*; which 'place is ſuppoſed to have been in *York-ſhire* beyond the River *Humber*; but 'the *Northumbers* offering him Peace, and due Subjection, they parted Friends.

From which paſſage in the *Saxon* Annals it is apparent, that this Supream Dominion of one *Engliſh* King over all the reſt was no new thing, *Bede* having taken notice of it long before; yet did they not therefore take upon them the Title of Monarchs, any more than *Egbert*, who now ſucceeded them in that Power, thô moſt of our Hiſtorians, who have written the *Saxon* Hiſtory in *Engliſh*, have (but without any juſt reaſon) given them that Title, which could not properly belong to Kings, who had divers others under them, with the like Regal Juriſdiction within their own Territories; not but that King *Egbert* was in a more peculiar manner the Supream King of *England*, becauſe by his Abſolute Conqueſt of the Kingdoms of *Kent*, and of the *South* and *Eaſt Saxons*, he was the greateſt King who had hitherto Reigned in *England*; all the reſt of the Kings that remained, Reigning by his permiſſion, and paying him Tribute; a power which never had been exerciſed by any other King before him.

But to return to our Hiſtory; it ſeems that King *Egbert* was ſo highly diſpleaſed with the *Mercians* for ſetting up a King without his conſent, that *Ingulf* and *Florence* of *Worceſter* tell us, That as ſoon as ever *Withlaf* was made King, before he could raiſe an Army, he was expell'd his Kingdom, which *Egbert* added to his own; but *Withlaf* being ſearch'd for by *Egbert*'s Commanders through all *Mercia*, he was by the induſtry of *Seward* Abbot of *Croyland*, concealed in the Cell of the Holy Virgin *Etheldrith*, Daughter of King *Offa*, and once the Spouſe of *Ethelbert*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*; where King *Withlaf* found a ſafe retreat for the ſpace of Four Months; until ſuch time as by the Mediation of the ſaid Abbot *Seward*, he was reconciled to King *Egbert*; and upon promiſe of the payment of an Yearly Tribute, permitted to return to his Kingdom in Peace; which is by him acknowledged in that Charter of his, that *Ingulf* hath given us of his *Confirmation* of the Lands and priviledges of the Abbey of *Croyland*. 'It was made in the Great Council of the whole Kingdom in the preſence of his Lords, Egbert *King of* Weſt-Saxony, *and his Son* Ethelwulf, *and before the Biſhops and Great Men of all* England, *Aſſembled at the City of* London, *to take Counſel againſt the* Daniſh *Pyrats, then infeſting the* Engliſh *Coaſts*: And in the Year 833, as you ſhall ſee when we come to that Year.

This Reſtoration of King *Withlaf* to his Kingdom is alſo mentioned in the *Saxon* Annals of the next Year, where it is ſaid

Anno Dom. DCCCXXVIII. 'That *Withlaf* again obtained the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, and Biſhop '*Ethelwald* deceaſed; alſo the ſame Year King *Egbryht* led an Army againſt 'the *Northern Britains*, and reduced them abſolutely to his Obedience: For it ſeems they had again rebelled.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXVIII.

Now likewiſe, as *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates, King *Egbert* vanquiſhed *Swithred*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and drove him out of his Kingdom; upon whoſe expulſion, the *Weſt Saxon* Kings ever after poſſeſt ~~that Kingdom~~.

S.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXIX.

Now (according to the ſame Authour) King *Egbert* having ſubdued all the *South* Parts of *England*, led a great Army into the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, and having grievouſly waſted that Province, made King *Eanred* his Tributary; which is alſo confirmed by *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, who relates that the *Northumbers*, who ſtood out the laſt, fearing leaſt this King's anger might break out upon them; now giving Hoſtages, ſubmitted themſelves to his Dominion; but they continued ſtill under Kings of their own as you will further find.

About this time ~~[illegible]~~ Egylla King of northwales deceased and Meravird his son by Egylt succeeded him (~~[illegible]~~ next with years?

To this Year I think we may alſo refer that great Tranſaction, which the Annals of the Cathedral Church of *Wincheſter* (printed in* *Monaſt. Angl.* from an ancient Manuſcript in the|| *Cottonian* Library) place under the Year following, *viz.* That King *Egbert* having thus ſubdued all the Kingdoms above-mentioned, and forced them to ſubmit to his Dominions, called a great Council at *Wincheſter*, whereto were ſummoned all the Great Men of the whole Kingdom; and there by the General Conſent of the *Clerus & Populus*, (*i. e.* the *Clergy* and *Laity*,) King *Egbert* was crowned King of *Britain*: And at the ſame time he Enacted, That it ſhould be for ever after called *England*; and that thoſe who before were called *Jutes*, or *Saxons*, ſhould now be called *Engliſh men*. And this I could not omit, becauſe thô *William* of *Malmesbury*, and other Hiſtorians, agree of the Matter of Fact; yet I think this the trueſt and moſt particular Account of the Time, and manner when it was performed.

* 1. Vol. P 32.

|| Domit. *A.* 13.

'Alſo this Year *Wilfred*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, deceaſed; and '*Feologild* the Abbot was Elected Arch-Biſhop, (7 *Kal. Maij.*) and was 'Conſecrated (5 *Id. Junij.* being *Sunday*,) and dyed the 3. *Kal. Sept.* after. But here is certainly a miſtake in this Copy of the Annals, for it was not *Feologild*, but *Ceolnoth*, who was then choſen Arch-Biſhop; for in the next Year it is thus corrected, *viz.*

S. C.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXX.

'This Year *Ceolnoth* was Elected, and Conſecrated Arch-Biſhop, and '*Feologild* the Abbot deceaſed.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXI.

'And the Year following *Ceolnoth* the Arch-Bp received his Pall from *Rome*.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXII.

'This Year certain Heathens or Pagans waſted *Sceapige* (now the Iſle 'of *Sheppey* in *Kent*.]

But ſince this is the firſt time, that theſe *Heathens* are mentioned in the *Saxon* Annals, it is fit we ſhould tell you a little more exactly who they were, and from whence they came; for they were indeed no other than that Nation which was before in our *Saxon* Annals, called *Northmanna*, and ſometimes *Deanſcan* (i. e. *Danes*;) the Etymology of which Name, ſince I find writers are ſo divided about, I will not take upon me to determine; not that all theſe People came out of that Country, which is at this day called *Denmark*, for it is impoſſible, that ſo narrow a Region (thô you ſhould likewiſe include whatſoever that Kingdom did then, or does now enjoy upon the Continent of *Swedeland* and *Jutland*) could ever ſend out ſuch vaſt Shoales of People, as for near Two hundred ~~Thouſand~~ Years before the *Norman* Conqueſt over-ran and deſtroyed *France*, the *Low Countries*, and alſo this Iſland; but you may, from what has been already ſaid, obſerve, that *H. Huntington*, in the Prologue to his Book above cited, does beſides

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXII. the *Danes*, add alſo the *Norwegians*, together with the *Goths*, *Swedes* and *Vandals*, to have been thoſe Nations which for ſo many Years waſted *England*; and that he did not deliver this without Book, but had ſufficient Authority for what he wrote, I ſhall further make out from the Teſtimony of thoſe Writers, who lived in that very Age, when theſe Nations firſt infeſted thoſe parts of *Europe*: For *Eginhart*, who was Son-in-Law and Chancellour, to *Charles the Great*, thus writes in his Hiſtory of that Prince, which I ſhall here faithfully Tranſlate.

' In like manner the *Danes* and *Sweones*, with thoſe whom we call *Normans*, do poſſeſs the *Northern* Shore of *Scandinavia*, together with all
' the Iſlands adjoyning to it, whil'ſt the *Sclavi* with divers other Nations
' inhabit the *Southern* Coaſts; but the *Norwegans*, or rather *Northern* Men,
' (for ſo they are called by the *Swedes*, becauſe they lye more *Northerly*
' than the greater part of that Nation,) and indeed all thoſe that inhabit
' *Scanzia*, are (by thoſe People of *Europe*, that lye more remote,) with
' very good reaſon called in the *German* Tongue (*i.e.*) Northland Men.

Next to *Eginhart*, *Adam* of *Bremen*, (who lived about Two Hundred Years after) does not only inſert theſe very words of the aforeſaid Authour, but alſo adds this further, that the *Danes* and *Swedes* with the other Nations, beyond the River *Danubius*, are by the *French* Hiſtorians all called *Normans*; ſo likewiſe *Albertus*, Abbot of *Stade*, who wrote about the Year 1250, ſays likewiſe, that the *Danes* and other Nations, who lived beyond *Denmark*, are all called *Normans*; from which Authorities the learned *Grotius* in his *Prolegomena* to his *Gothic* Hiſtory, lays it down as an undeniable Truth, that whatever we find among any writers of that Age concerning the *Normans*, does rightly belong to the *Swedes*, who were then one of the greateſt and moſt powerful of thoſe *Northern* Nations, that were all then called by one general Name of *Normans*.

But as for their Religion, I need ſay no more of it, ſince I have already told you in the beginning of the Third Book, that all thoſe Nations had the ſame common Deities, (*viz.*) *Woden*, and *Thor*, *&c.* whoſe Names I have there already ſet down, to which laſt Deities, as *Ubbo Emmius* relates, they before any great exepedition, ſacrificed a Captive, by knocking out his Brains, and ſmearing their Faces in his Blood, immediately marched againſt their Enemies; but that they were extreamly given to Witchcraft and Inchantments, all their own Authours relate, which would be too tedious here to repeat, ſince you will meet with ſome Inſtances of it in the following Hiſtory. But to return again to our Annals.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXIII. ' This Year is very remarkable, for King *Egbert* encountred Thirty
' Five Ships of *Daniſh* Pyrates at *Carrum* (now called *Charmouth* in *Dorſetſhire*,)
' where there was a great ſlaughter, but the *Danes* kept the Field,

whereby we may gueſs that they had the advantage; yet it ſeems before this time, (even in this very Year) the *Danes* had been vanquiſhed, and put to flight at *Dunmouth*, (now called *Tinmouth*, from whence (having now ſpoiled the Iſle of *Sheppey*) they Sail'd to *Charmouth* above-mentioned.

This ſhews us (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* well obſerves) the Inſtability of all Worldly grandeur; for now King *Egbert* being arrived at the height of Empire, met with this unlooked for Enemy, who harraſſed him and his Poſterity for divers Generations: And thô in this Sea Fight laſt mentioned, he had the better for the greater part of the Day, yet towards Night he loſt the Victory, thô by the help of it he retreated, and ſo ſaved the diſgrace of an entire defeat; this was the only time that Fortune ceaſed to favour King *Egbert*'s Undertakings.

‘ This Year alſo (according to our Annals,) *Herefrith* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Wigen* (or *Sighelm*) Biſhop of *Scirborne*, and alſo Two Ealdormen, *Dudda* and *Oſmund* deceaſed.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXIII.

The ſame Year was held that General Council of the whole Kingdom at *London*, at the Feaſt of St. *Auguſtin* the *Engliſh* Apoſtle, *Egbert* King of *Weſt Saxony*, and *Withlaf* King of the *Mercians*, with both the Arch-Biſhops, and all the other Biſhops and Chief Men of *England* being preſent; at which, (beſides a Conſultation how to reſtrain the Invaſion of the *Danes*,) the Privileges, and Conceſſions of the ſaid King *Withlaf* to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, were alſo confirmed by the ſaid Council; and were ſubſcribed to by King *Withlaf*, and both the Arch-Biſhops, and moſt of the Biſhops of *England*.

Vid. Sir H. Spelman's *Council*, 1. *vol.*

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXV.

‘ The next Year a great Fleet of *Danes* landed amongſt the *Weſtern Welſh*, (i. e. *Corniſhmen*,) who being joyned with them in a League againſt King *Egbert*; offered him Battle, which he accepting of, ſtreight ways marched againſt them with his whole Army, and at *Hengeſtdune*, (now *Hengſton* in *Cornwal*,) put both the *Britains* and *Danes* to flight; and as *Mat. Weſtminſter* adds, freed his Kingdom at this time from the Invaſion of thoſe barbarous Enemies.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXVI.

‘ King *Egbryht* departed this Life, having Reigned Thirty Seven Years, and Seven Months;] but the Annals muſt needs be miſtaken, either in the time of his Reign, or elſe in the Year of his Death; for if he began to Reign *Anno Dom.* 800, and Reigned Thirty Seven Years and an half; it is evident he muſt have dyed *Anno Dom.* 838; the Printed Copy of *Will.* of *Malmeſbury* places his Death, *Anno Dom.* 837, and another reading in the Margin, in 838; but *Florence* of *Worceſter* places it according to the Annals in 836.

This King as the ſame Authour relates, governed his Subjects with great Clemency, and was as terrible to his Enemies, and for Nine Years Reigned Supream King over all *Britain*: Before his Death he is ſaid (by *Will.* of *Malmeſbury*) to have told his Son *Ethelwulf*, whom he left his Succeſſour, ‘ That he might be happy if he did not permit the Kingdom, which he had now laid together with great Induſtry, to be ſpoiled by ſloathfulneſs, to which this Nation had been too much addicted.

There is little mention of this King's Children, except *Ethelwulf*, only it is ſaid by *John* of *Tinmouth*, that he had alſo a Daughter called *Edgithe*, who being firſt bred up under an *Iriſh* Abbeſs, called *Modwina*, was made Abbeſs of the Nunnery at *Poleſworth*; but this, ſince we have no better Authority than modern hands for it, I cannot be certain of; but as for the Wiſe of King *Egbert* who was (according to the late *Weſt-Saxon* Law,) never called Queen, her Name was *Redburge*, and ſhe is mentioned, by *John Beaver* to have procured that Law from her Husband, that no *Welſhman* ſhould without leave paſs over *Offa*'s Ditch upon pain of Death.

Vid. Sir H. *Spelman's* Council, 1 vol.

But the ſame Year that King *Egbert* dyed, was held a Common Council of the whole Kingdom at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, where were preſent *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *Ceolnoth* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Biſhops and Chief Men of *England*, where among other things the manner of *Mallings* in *Suſſex* having been beſtowed by *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, on *Chriſt* Church *Cant.* and being afterwards taken away from it, becauſe the great Men of that Kingdom would not ratifie the Donation, it was now by the conſent of the King and all his Chief, and Wiſe Men again confirmed.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXII. the *Danes*, add alſo the *Norwegians*, together with the *Goths*, *Swedes* and *Vandals*, to have been thoſe Nations which for ſo many Years waſted *England*; and that he did not deliver this without Book, but had ſufficient Authority for what he wrote, I ſhall further make out from the Teſtimony of thoſe Writers, who lived in that very Age, when theſe Nations firſt infeſted thoſe parts of *Europe*: For *Eginhart*, who was Son-in-Law and Chancellour, to *Charles the Great*, thus writes in his Hiſtory of that Prince, which I ſhall here faithfully Tranſlate.

'In like manner the *Danes* and *Sweones*, with thoſe whom we call *Normans*, do poſſeſs the *Northern* Shore of *Scandinavia*, together with all 'the Iſlands adjoyning to it, whil'ſt the *Sclavi* with divers other Nations 'inhabit the *Southern* Coaſts; but the *Norwegans*, or rather *Northern* Men, '(for ſo they are called by the *Swedes*, becauſe they lye more *Northerly* 'than the greater part of that Nation,) and indeed all thoſe that inhabit '*Scanzia*, are (by thoſe People of *Europe*, that lye more remote,) with 'very good reaſon called in the *German* Tongue (*i.e.*) Northland Men.

Next to *Eginhart*, *Adam* of *Bremen*, (who lived about Two Hundred Years after) does not only inſert theſe very words of the aforeſaid Authour. but alſo adds this further, that the *Danes* and *Swedes* with the other Nations, beyond the River *Danubius*, are by the *French* Hiſtorians all called *Normans*; ſo likewiſe *Albertus*, Abbot of *Stade*, who wrote about the Year 1250, ſays likewiſe, that the *Danes* and other Nations, who lived beyond *Denmark*, are all called *Normans*; from which Authorities the learned *Grotius* in his *Prolegomena* to his *Gothic* Hiſtory, lays it down as an undeniable Truth, that whatever we find among any writers of that Age concerning the *Normans*, does rightly belong to the *Swedes*, who were then one of the greateſt and moſt powerful of thoſe *Northern* Nations, that were all then called by one general Name of *Normans*.

But as for their Religion, I need ſay no more of it, ſince I have already told you in the beginning of the Third Book, that all thoſe Nations had the ſame common Deities, (*viz.*) *Woden*, and *Thor*, *&c.* whoſe Names I have there already ſet down, to which laſt Deities, as *Ubbo Emmius* relates, they before any great exepedition, ſacrificed a Captive, by knocking out his Brains, and ſmearing their Faces in his Blood, immediately marched againſt their Enemies; but that they were extreamly given to Witchcraft and Inchantments, all their own Authours relate, which would be too tedious here to repeat, ſince you will meet with ſome Inſtances of it in the following Hiſtory. But to return again to our Annals.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXIII. 'This Year is very remarkable, for King *Egbert* encountred Thirty 'Five Ships of *Daniſh* Pyrates at *Carrum* (now called *Charmouth* in *Dorſetſhire*,) where there was a great ſlaughter, but the *Danes* kept the Field,] whereby we may gueſs that they had the advantage; yet it ſeems before this time, (even in this very Year) the *Danes* had been vanquiſhed, and put to flight at *Dunmouth*, (now called *Tinmouth*, from whence (having now ſpoiled the Iſle of *Sheppey*) they Sail'd to *Charmouth* above-mentioned.

This ſhews us (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* well obſerves) the Inſtability of all Worldly grandeur; for now King *Egbert* being arrived at the height of Empire, met with this unlooked for Enemy, who harraſſed him and his Poſterity for divers Generations: And thô in this Sea Fight laſt mentioned, he had the better for the greater part of the Day, yet towards Night he loſt the Victory, thô by the help of it he retreated, and ſo ſaved the diſgrace of an entire defeat; this was the only time that Fortune ceaſed to favour King *Egbert*'s Undertakings.

‘ This Year alſo (according to our Annals,) *Herefrith* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Wigen* (or *Sighelm*) Biſhop of *Scirborne*, and alſo Two Ealdormen, *Dudda* and *Oſmund* deceaſed.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXIII.

Vid. Sir H. Spelman's *Council*, 1. *vol.*

The ſame Year was held that General Council of the whole Kingdom at *London*, at the Feaſt of St. *Auguſtin* the *Engliſh* Apoſtle, *Egbert* King of *Weſt Saxony*, and *Withlaf* King of the *Mercians*, with both the Arch-Biſhops, and all the other Biſhops and Chief Men of *England* being preſent; at which, (beſides a Conſultation how to reſtrain the Invaſion of the *Danes*,) the Privileges, and Conceſſions of the ſaid King *Withlaf* to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, were alſo confirmed by the ſaid Council; and were ſubſcribed to by King *Withlaf*, and both the Arch-Biſhops, and moſt of the Biſhops of *England*.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXV.

‘ The next Year a great Fleet of *Danes* landed amongſt the *Weſtern Welſh*, (i. e. *Corniſhmen*,) who being joyned with them in a League againſt King *Egbert*; offered him Battle, which he accepting of, ſtreightways marched againſt them with his whole Army, and at *Hengeſtdune*, (now *Hengſton* in *Cornwal*,) put both the *Britains* and *Danes* to flight; and as *Mat. Weſtminſter* adds, freed his Kingdom at this time from the Invaſion of thoſe barbarous Enemies.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXVI.

‘ King *Egbryht* departed this Life, having Reigned Thirty Seven Years, and Seven Months;] but the Annals muſt needs be miſtaken, either in the time of his Reign, or elſe in the Year of his Death; for if he began to Reign *Anno Dom.* 800, and Reigned Thirty Seven Years and an half; it is evident he muſt have dyed *Anno Dom.* 838; the Printed Copy of *Will.* of *Malmesbury* places his Death, *Anno Dom.* 837, and another reading in the Margin, in 838; but *Florence* of *Worceſter* places it according to the Annals in 836.

This King as the ſame Authour relates, governed his Subjects with great Clemency, and was as terrible to his Enemies, and for Nine Years Reigned Supream King over all *Britain*: Before his Death he is ſaid (by *Will.* of *Malmesbury*) to have told his Son *Ethelwulf*, whom he left his Succeſſour, ‘ That he might be happy if he did not permit the Kingdom, which he had now laid together with great Induſtry, to be ſpoiled by ſloathfulneſs, to which this Nation had been too much addicted.

There is little mention of this King's Children, except *Ethelwulf*, only it is ſaid by *John* of *Tinmouth*, that he had alſo a Daughter called *Edgithe*, who being firſt bred up under an *Iriſh* Abbeſs, called *Modwina*, was made Abbeſs of the Nunnery at *Poleſworth*; but this, ſince we have no better Authority than modern hands for it, I cannot be certain of; but as for the Wiſe of King *Egbert* who was (according to the late *Weſt-Saxon* Law,) never called Queen, her Name was *Redburge*, and ſhe is mentioned, by *John Beaver* to have procured that Law from her Husband, that no *Welſhman* ſhould without leave paſs over *Offa*'s Ditch upon pain of Death.

Vid. Sir H. *Spelman's* Council, 1 vol.

But the ſame Year that King *Egbert* dyed, was held a Common Council of the whole Kingdom at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, where were preſent *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *Ceolnoth* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Biſhops and Chief Men of *England*, where among other things the manner of *Mallings* in *Suſſex* having been beſtowed by *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, on *Chriſt* Church *Cant.* and being afterwards taken away from it, becauſe the great Men of that Kingdom would not ratifie the Donation, it was now by the conſent of the King and all his Chief, and Wiſe Men again confirmed.

King Ethelwulf, with his Son King Athelstan.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXVI.

No ſooner was King *Egbert's* Body buried at *Wincheſter*, but King *Ethelwulf* ſucceeded to the Throne, and though none of our Hiſtorians mention any former Election or Coronation of this King, yet it is certain he came to the Crown by Vertue of his Father's Teſtament; *Henry Huntington* and *Roger Hoveden* telling us expreſly, That he left his Two Sons *Ethelwulf* and *Athelſtan* his Heirs, which though it be in part a miſtake, (ſince this *Athelſtan* was not Son, ~~but Brother~~ to King *Ethelwulf*) yet that concerning the King's bequeathing the Crown is very probable, it being according to the Cuſtom of that time, but that this alone would not have been ſufficient ſhall be ſhewn in another place.

to King [illegible]

This Prince (as *Thomas Rudborn* in his Hiſtory of the Church of *Wincheſter* relates) had been during the Life of his Elder Brother (whoſe Name we know not) educated in the Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*, under the Tuition of *Helmeſtan* Biſhop, and *Swithune*, *Præpoſitus*, or Dean of that Church, and had there taken the Order of a Subdeacon, with an intent (as is ſuppoſed) to have profeſſed himſelf a Monk, not that he was ever made Biſhop of that Church, thô it is ſo related by *H. Huntingdon* and other Writers.

But King *Egbert* having no other Son living, he was diſpenced with to Marry; and returning very early to a Secular Life, helped his Father in his Wars; after whoſe Death he was advanced to the Throne, yet he always retained a great deal of the Monk, loved his eaſe, and had very little Ambition; and therefore not caring to trouble himſelf with the Governing of many Provinces, he reſted contented with his Paternal Kingdom of *Weſt Saxony*, and made over the Kingdoms of *Kent*, and of the *South* and *Eaſt Saxons* (being his Father's Conqueſts) to *Athelſtan*, his Son (as the *Saxon* Annals and *Will.* of *Malmesbury* expreſly call him,) and which is more, *Ethelwerd* in his Chronicle gives us the Names of Five Sons of King *Ethelwulf*, of which (ſays he) *Athelſtan* who Reigned together with his Father was the Eldeſt, that *Alfred* the Fifth Son Reigned after them all; yet moſt of the other Hiſtorians going directly contrary to thoſe Authorities, will needs have him to be his Brother, I ſuppoſe to ſave this Pious Prince's Reputation; but *Mat. Weſtminſter* ſays, That he was his baſe Son, which is moſt probable, ſince he had not any Legitimate Son then old enough to Govern a Kingdom as this *Athelſtan* at that time was, and whom we ſhall often find mentioned in this Hiſtory; thô when, or how he dyed, all our Writers are ſilent.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXVII.

'This Year, according to the *Saxon* Annals, *Wulfheard* the Ealdorman 'fought at *Hamtun*, (i. e. *Southampton*,) with a Fleet of Thirty Three '*Daniſh* Pyrates, and there making a great ſlaughter of them obtained 'the Victory.

'The ſame Year this *Wulfheard* deceaſed: Alſo *Æthelm*, another 'Ealdorman, fought with the *Daniſh* Army at *Port*, (now called *Portland*,) 'where he being aſſiſted by the *Dorſet-ſhire* Men, ſoon put them to flight; 'but how this can conſiſt with what follows I know not, *viz.* That the '*Danes* notwithſtanding kept the Field where the Battle was Fought, and 'ſlew the Chief Commander being an Ealdorman; unleſs it relate to the 'Year following; when

'*Herelryht* the Ealdorman was killed by the *Danes*, and many others 'with him in *Merſcwarum*, (that is *Mercia* ;) alſo the ſame Year in *Lindiſſe*, 'as alſo among the *Eaſt Angles*, and in *Kent* many were Slain by their Forces ; for there (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) the above ſaid Earl or Ealdormen was ſlain ; the *Danes* obtaining the Victory, deſtroying all places with Fire and Sword : And (the ſame Year according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*) *Wiglaf* King of *Mercia* dying, *Bertulf* ſucceeded him.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXVII

'There was this Year a great ſlaughter made by the *Danes*, about '*London*, *Cantwic* (i. e. *Canterbury*, and *Hroſceſter*,) that is *Rocheſter*.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXIX

So that now it ſeems the *Danes* had entred farther into the Land, making havock of all where ever they came.

'This Year King *Ethelwulf* fought at *Carrum*, (i. e. *Charmouth*) againſt '35 *Daniſh* Ships, who kept the Field where the Battle was fought.

Anno Dom. DCCCXL.

'So that according to *H. Huntington*, they here obtained the Victory ; 'for though the number of their Ships were but ſmall, yet they were 'very large and full of Men.

'This Year alſo the Emperour *Lewis* (the Pious) dyed.

Nor can I here omit what the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians place under the former Year, but ours under this, *viz.* The total Conqueſt of the *Picts* by *Kened* the firſt King of *Scotland*, after many fierce Battles ; in the laſt of which *Druſken*, King of the *Picts*, being Slain, that Kingdom was totally deſtroyed, and as *H. Huntington* long ſince obſerved, not only their Laws, but alſo their very Language, (except what remains in the Names of places) is now totally loſt, and that Nation being long ſince incorporated with that of the Antient *Scots* and *Saxons*, ſhews us that even whole Kingdoms and Nations have both their Originals, and fatal periods, as well as particular Perſons.

But thô the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians do juſtly date the Empire of their Kings over all *Scotland*, from this Total Conqueſt of the *Picts* by King *Kened*, according to that old Verſe:

Primus in Albania fertur regnaſſe Kenedus,

Yet when thoſe Hiſtorians will by this Conqueſt extend the limits of this King and his Succeſſour's Dominions, ſo far beyond *Edenburgh*, *Southward*, making him to have Reigned from the River *Tyne*, (and ſo would take in all the County of *Northumberland*, lying between *Tine* and *Tweed*,) to the utmoſt *Orcades*, this is by no means to be admitted ; ſince as the Lord *Primate Uſher* learnedly obſerves, That Country had long after not only *Engliſh*, but *Daniſh* Kings, as ſhall in the purſuit of this Hiſtory be clearly made out ; and after thoſe were extinct, we may read in *Turgot*'s Chronicle of the Biſhops of *Durham*, the Earls, appointed by the Kings of *England*, under them Governed that Country ; For as *Roger Hoveden*, in the Year 953, expreſly relates after *Eric*, to whom the *Northumbers* had ſworn Allegiance, that Province was committed by K. *Edred* to Earl *Oſwald*, who afterwards in the Reign of King *Edgar*, had one *Olſac* aſſigned him as a partner in that Government, the former Commanding all that lay on the North ſide of *Tyne*, and the latter all *York-ſhire* ; there alſo follow all the Succeſſours of theſe Earls, as low as the Time of *Edward* the Confeſſour, under whom *Toſti* Governed it ; who looſing his Earldom by reaſon of his Tyranny, it was by King *Edward* committed to Earl *Morchar*, but he being taken up with great Imployments, committed the Government of that part of it beyond *Tyne* to one *Oſwulf*, who afterwards by the Gift of K. *William*, enjoyed the Government of the whole Country ; But that *Loden* and the other Low-Land Countries of *Scot-*

Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquitat. P. 374.

land, as far as ***Edinburgh***, were long after in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, ſhall be ſhewn when we come to the Reign of King ***Edgar***.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLI. About this Time ***Eanred*** King of ***Northumberland*** dying, ***Ethelred*** his Son ſucceeded him, as ***Simeon*** of ***Durham*** and ***Mat.*** of ***Weſtminſter*** relate, thô the latter places this the Year before.

But to give ſome account of the Affairs of ***Wales***, from *Caradoc's* Chronicle.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLIII. About this time was fought the Battle of ***Ketell***, betwixt ***Burthred*** King of ***Mercia***, and the ***Britains***; wherein (as ſome do write) ***Mervyn Vrych***, King of the ***Britains*** was Slain, leaving behind him a Son afterwards called ***Rodri Mawr***, that is to ſay, ***Rodoric*** the Great; yet according to *Nennius*, this King ***Mervyn*** was alive ***Anno Dom.*** 854, which was the Twenty Fourth Year of this Kings Reign, and in which that Authour in his Preface ſays, He wrote his Hiſtory; but I believe, there is either an errour in ***Nennius***'s Account, or elſe in the Tranſcribers; ſince all the *Welſh* Chronicles agree, that about this time ***Mervyn*** dyed, and *Rodri* ſucceeded him. *

* for Dr Gales [illegible] Chronicon makes this Mervyn to have been onely King of Man or Anglesey, and was onely for some time (& that in his wives Right) King of all north wales

This Prince, Commonly called ***Rodoric*** the Great, began his Reign over ***Wales*** this Year; it was he who divided all ***Wales*** into three Territories of ***Aberfraw***, ***Dineuawr***, and ***Mathraval***, he had great Wars with ***Burhred***, King of ***Mercia***, who by the aid of King ***Ethelulph*** entred *North Wales* with a great Power, and deſtroyed ***Angleſey***, and fought with the ***Welſhmen*** of ***Northwales*** divers times, and ſlew ***Meyric***, a great Prince among them.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLIV. This Year, (according to **Mat. Weſtminſter**) ***Æthelred*** King of *Northumberland* was driven from his ***Kingdom***, (I ſuppoſe by a Rebellion, the uſual method in that unquiet Country,) and one ***Redwald*** ſucceeded him, who, as ſoon as ever he was made King, fought a Battle with the ***Danes***, at a place called ***Aluethelie***, where the King and Earl ***Alfred*** were ſlain, with the greateſt part of their Army, and that then K. ***Ethelred*** was again reſtored to the Throne; but this Authour does not tell us by what means, nor is the Year expreſſed; and thô this Action is found in no other Authour, yet is it likely enough to be true, for ***Simeon*** of ***Durham*** in his Hiſtory of that Church; thô he does not mention this Kings Expulſion and Reſtitution to the Throne, yet he there expreſly mentions King *Ethelred* to have about this time ſucceeded his Father ***Eandred***. *Cap.* 5.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLV. This Year, according to our Annals, ***Eanwulf*** the Ealdorman, with the *Somerſet-ſhire*) Men, and ***Ealſtan*** the Biſhop and ***Oſric*** the Ealdorman, with the ***Dorſet-ſhire*** Men, fought with the ***Daniſh*** Army at the mouth of ***Pedidan*** (called by ***Hoveden***, ***Pendred***'s ***Mouth***, and was indeed the River *Parret* in *Somerſet-ſhire*;) where they made a great ſlaughter of them, and obtained the Victory over the ***Danes***; after which the Kingdom enjoyed Peace for divers Years.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLVIII. But the ***Northumbers*** ſtill continued their old cuſtom of driving out, or killing their Kings, for about 3 Years after, as ***Florence*** of ***Worceſter***, and *Simeon* of ***Durham*** relate, ***Ethelred*** King of the ***Northumbers*** being Slain, *Oſbert* Reigned in his ſtead Eighteen Years; and the ſame Year there was an Eclipſe of the Sun, about the Sixth Hour of the Day, on the *Kal.* of *October*; this is that King *Osbert*, who was afterwards killed by the *Danes*.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLIX.

According to *Florence*, and *Mat. Weſtminſter* a Son called *Ælfred*, was now Born to King *Ethelwulf* at *Wanating* (now *Wantige* in *Berk-ſhire*,) his Mother was *Osberge* the Daughter of *Aſlat*, or *Oſlac*, chief Butler to King *Æthelwulf*, who was related to *Stuffe* and *Whitgar*, firſt Princes of the Iſle of *Wight*; ſhe was a Woman as remarkable for her Piety, as her Birth, and deſerved to be the Mother of him, who was afterwards to prove ſo great a Prince.

The ſame Year alſo (from the ſame Authours) *Berthferth* the Son of *Bertwulf*, King of *Mercia*, wickedly ſlew his Couſin *Wulſtan*, who was Nephew to both the late Kings of *Mercia*; but his Body was buried at the Famous Monaſtery of *Rependun* (now *Repton* in *Darby-ſhire*,) in the Tomb of *Wiglaf* his Grandfather, and, if we may believe our Hiſtorians, a Pillar of Light reaching up to Heaven, ſtood over the place for Thirty Days, which procured him the Title of a Saint.

Anno Dom. DCCCLI.

'This Year the Pagan *Danes* returned hither, and *Ceorl* the Ealdorman, 'together with the Forces of *Devonſhire*, fought with their Army at '*Wicganbeorch* (ſuppoſed to be *Wenbury* in *Devon-ſhire*;) and there obtain'ed the Victory: And the ſame Year alſo King *Æthelſtan*, and Duke '*Ealcher*, fought with them a Sea ~~Fight~~, and routed a great Fleet of them 'near *Sandwic*, (now *Sandwich*, in *Kent*) took 9 Ships and put the reſt to Flight; 'now alſo the *Danes* Wintered in the Iſle of *Thanet*, (or as *Aſſer* in his Annals 'relates in the Iſle of *Sheppy*;) and the ſame Year came 300 of their Ships 'into the Mouth of *Thames*, and the *Danes* landing took *Canterbury* and '*London*; and routed *Beorthwulf* King of the *Mercians*, with his whole 'Army, who had come out to Fight with them; after which the *Danes* 'marched Southward beyond *Thames* into *Surry*, and there K. *Æthelwulf*, 'and his Son *Æthelbald*, with the Forces of the *Weſt-Saxons*, fought a'gainſt them at *Aclea*, (now called *Oakley* in *Surry*,) where they made a 'greater ſlaughter of the Pagan Army, than had been heard of at any 'time before; ſo that the greateſt part of them were deſtroyed.

The ſame Year alſo (according to Sir *H. Spelman*'s 1. Vol. of Councils) was held the Council of *Kingsbury* under *Berthwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, *Ceolnoth*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* with the other Biſhops and Wiſe Men of the Province being preſent, wherein, beſides the publick buſineſs of the Kingdom, ſeveral grievances of the Monks were redreſſed, and the Charter of that King to the Abby of *Croyland* is confirmed under the Rule of St. *Benedict*, and is ſuppoſed by Sir *H. Spelman* in his Councils to be a great Council of that Kingdom; becauſe it bears date in the Week of *Eaſter*, when they were Aſſembled about the publick Affairs of the Kingdom, at which time as alſo at *Whitſontide* and *Chriſtmaſs*, the great Men of the Kingdom were wont of courſe to attend at the King's Court, to conſult, and ordain, what ſhould be neceſſary for the common Good, when alſo the King uſed to appear in State with his Crown upon his head; which cuſtom of holding great Councils, was alſo continued after the *Norman* Conqueſt, to the middle of the Reign of *Henry* the Second, as Sir *H. Spelman* learnedly obſerves in his Notes at the end of this Council.

Anno Dom. DCCCLII.

This Year (according to the *Peterburgh* Copy of the *Saxon* Annals) *Ceolred* Abbot of *Medeſhamſtead*, and his Monks leaſed out to one *Wulfred* the Land of *Sempigaham* (perhaps *Sempingham* in *Lincoln-ſhire*,) on Condition, That after his Death it ſhould again revert to the Monaſtery, he paying in the mean time a Yearly Rent of ſo many Loads of Wood, *Anno Dom.* DCCCLII.

Coals and Turf, and ſo many Barrels of Beer and Ale, and other Proviſions, with Thirty Shillings in Money, as is there ſpecified; at which Agreement *Burherd* King of the *Mercians*, who had (now ſucceeded *Beorthwulf*) was preſent, together with *Ceolred* the Arch-Biſhop, with divers other Biſhops, Abbots and Ealdormen.

I have inſerted this, to let you ſee the form of Leaſing out the Abbey Lands in thoſe Days, and which it ſeems required the Solemnity of the Common Council of that Kingdom to confirm it.

The ſame Year alſo, (according to *Florence*) *Berthulph* King of the *Mercians* deceaſed, and *Burhed* ſucceeded him,

Anno Dom. DCCCLIII.

‘ Who this next Year together with his *Wites*, (that is the Wiſe ‘ Men of his Great Council,) deſired King *Æthelwulf* that he would ‘ aſſiſt them to ſubdue the *Northern Welſhmen*, which he performed, and ‘ marching with his Army through *Mercia*, made the Men of **North-Wales* Subject to King *Burhed*; but of this, the *Welſh* Chronicles ‘ are ſilent.

‘ This Year alſo, King *Æthelwulf* ſent his Son *Ælfred* to Pope *Leo* to ‘ *Rome*, who there anointed him King, and adopted him for his Epiſcopal ‘ Son. It is much diſputed among ſome of our Modern Hiſtorians, of what the Pope anointed *Alfred* King, whether of any preſent, or elſe future Dominions; But ſince, an ancient Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library (containing an Hiſtory of the Kings of *England*) ſays expreſly, That he was anointed *In Succeſſorem Paterni Regni*, and that we do not read of any Territories King *Alfred* enjoyed till after the Death of his Brethren; it is moſt reaſonable to underſtand it in the plain Literal Senſe, as it is here ſet down, not only in theſe Annals, but in *Aſſer*'s Account of this King's Life and Actions, that the Pope anointed him King as a Prophetical Preſage of his future Royal Dignity.

* Florence, *and* Math. Weſtminſter, *call them the* Midland Welch, *or* Britains: *and if their Copies of the Annals are true, the Men of* Powiſland *are here meant.*

‘ And the ſame Year *Ealcher* with the *Kentiſh-men*, and *Huda* with the ‘ *Surrey-men*, fought with the *Daniſh* Army in the Iſle of *Thanet*, and at ‘ firſt had the better of them, but there were many killed and drowned ‘ on both ſides, and both the Ealdormen or Chief Commanders periſhed.

‘ Alſo *Burhed* King of the *Mercians* now married the Daughter of ‘ King *Ethelwulf*. *Aſſer* relates the Marriage to have been kept with great Solemnity at a Town of the King's, called *Cippenham* (now *Chipnam*) in *Wiltſhire*.

[illegible]

Anno Dom. DCCCLIV.

‘ This Year the *Danes* winter'd in *Scepige*, (or *Sheppie*;) and the ſame ‘ year King *Æthelwulf* diſcharged the Tenth part of his Land through‘ out his whole Kingdom of all Tribute or Taxes for the Honour of God ‘ and his own Salvation.

This being the famous and ſolemn Grant of King *Æthelwulf* concerning Tythes, requires a more particular Relation, and therefore I ſhall here give you the Words of the ſaid Grant at large. ——— “ I *Æthelwulf*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, with the Councel (or Conſent) of my “ Biſhops and Chief Men, *&c.* have conſented, That a certain Hereditary Part of the Lands heretofore poſſeſs'd by all Orders and Degrees “ of Perſons, whether Men or Women, Servants of GOD, (*i. e.* Monks “ or Nuns,) or meer Laicks, ſhall give their Tenth Manſion, and where “ it is leaſt, the Tenth Part of all their Goods, free and diſcharged of all “ Secular Servitude, and particularly of all Royal Tributes or Taxations, “ as well the greater as the leſs, which they call *Wittereden*, (*which ſignifies a certain Fine or Forfeiture*;) “ and that they be free from all other “ Things, *Anno Dom.* DCCCLIV

"Things, as Expedition, building of a Bridge, or fortifying of a Caſtle, *&c.* And that they may the more diligently pour out their Prayers to GOD for us without ceaſing, we do in ſome part diſcharge their other Service. Theſe Things were done in *Wincheſter*, in the Church of St. *Peter*, in the Year of our LORD's Incarnation 855, the Third Indiction, on the *Nones* of *November*, before the great Altar, in Honour of the Glorious Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of GOD, St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel, and St. *Peter* Prince of the Apoſtles, as alſo of our bleſſed Father Pope *Gregory*, all the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops of *England* being preſent, and ſubſcribing to it; as alſo *Beorhed* King of *Mercia*, together with the Abbots, Abbeſſes, Earls, and other chief Men of the whole Kingdom, with an infinite multitude of other Believers, who all of them have witneſſed, and conſented to the Royal Grant; but the Dignitaries have thereunto ſubſcribed their Names.

But, as *Ingulph* relates, King *Æthelwulf*, for the greater firmneſs thereof, offered this Charter at the Altar of St *Peter* at *Rome*; but that the Biſhops received it in the Faith of God, and tranſmitted it to be publiſhed throughout all the Churches in their ſeveral Dioceſſes.

Thô this Grant of Tithes is mentioned by the Annals, as to be made before the King's going to *Rome*, yet it appears by the Date, as alſo from *Aſſer* and *Ingulph*, not to have been done till after his Return from thence; which makes Sir *H. Spelman* conjecture, (and not without good Grounds,) that this Grant was twice made; once before his going to *Rome*, it being there confirmed by the Pope, and was alſo regranted by a Great Council of the Kingdom after his Return, as appears by the Charter here recited.

I have been the more exact in reciting this Law concerning Tythes, both becauſe it gives us the form of paſſing an Act in the great Council of the Kingdom at that time, and who were the Parties to it, as alſo becauſe this was the firſt general Law that was ever made in a Mycel Synod of the whole Kingdom for the payment of Tythes, thô I do not deny but there had been before ſome particular Laws of King *Ina* and King *Offa* to the ſame effect; yet thoſe could only oblige the *Weſt Saxon* and *Mercian* Kingdoms.

Anno Dom. DCCCLV.

The next Year alſo (according to *Florence* and *Aſſer*'s Chronicle) K. *Æthelwulf* went to *Rome*, carrying *Ælfred*, his youngeſt and beſt beloved Son along with him, but to what intent, having been ſo lately there before, we know not, any more than what the King did there, unleſs to repair the *Engliſh* School or Colledge for Youth, that had been lately burnt; but it is certain, he ſtayed abroad near a Year, and in his Return home, *Charles*, (Sirnamed *The Bald*,) King of the *Franks*, gave him his Daughter to Wife, who was called *Leotheta*, (in French *Judith*,) and ſo, together with her, he returned into *England*.

But as *Aſſer* relates, there was in the mean time an infamous Conſpiracy framed in the Weſtern Parts of *England*, for Prince *Æthelbald*, the King's eldeſt Son, and *Ealchſtan* Biſhop of *Scirborne*, and *Æanwulf* Earl of *Somerſet*, had plotted together, that King *Æthelwulf*, at his Return Home, ſhould never be received into his Kingdom; moſt Men laid this to the Charge of this Biſhop and Earl only, thô many do chiefly attribute it to the Perverſeneſs of this young Prince, who was alſo very obſtinate in other Wickedneſs. So the King his Father returning from

Rome;

Anno Dom. DCCCLV.

Rome, Prince *Ethelbald*, together with his Councellors, contrived this great Villany, *viz.* to expell the King from his own Kingdom, thô God would not permit it to take effect, neither did all the Noblemen of *England* conſent to it; yet leſt ſo great a Miſchief ſhould happen, that the Father and Son making War on each other, the whole Nation ſhould be engaged in mutual Slaughter, by the wonderful Clemency of the King, and with the Conſent of all his Nobility, the Kingdom, which was before united, became now divided between the Father and the Son, the *Eaſtern* Countries being allotted to the former, and the *Weſtern* to the latter; but where the Father ought indeed by Right to have Reigned, there Ruled this Rebellious and Undutiful Son, for the *Weſtern* part of *England* was always accounted before the *Eaſtern.* King *Ethelwulf* therefore coming back from *Rome*, the whole Nation (as it ought) highly rejoyced at his return, and would, if he had pleaſed, have expelled his wicked Son *Æthelbald*, with all his Adherents, out of the Kingdom; but the King would by no means ſuffer it, uſing great Clemency and Prudence, leſt the Kingdom might thereby be endangered.

All this Diſturbance ſeems to have been raiſed by his Son and his Faction, becauſe of his marrying this new Wife, whom notwithſtanding having now brought over with him, he placed by him on the Royal Throne as long as he lived, without any Diſpute or Oppoſition from his Nobles; thô (ſays this Author) the Nation of the *Weſt Saxons* did not permit the Queen to ſit by the King, or to be called *Queen*; which Cuſtom our Anceſtors relate to have proceeded from a certain wicked Queen, called *Eadburga*, the Wife of King *Bryhtric*, whoſe Story, *Aſſer* in his Annals, as alſo in his *De Geſtis Alfredi*, hath given us at large, where ſpeaking of the Occaſion of this ſevere Law, he tells us, it proceeded from the wicked Carriage of that Queen, (already mentioned at the end of the former Book,) who abuſing her Husband's Affections by untrue Accuſations, took away many Men's Lives; and being hated by the *Engliſh* after that King's Deceaſe, they made that Law now mentioned.

William of *Malmesbury* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* do aſſure us, That King *Ethelwulf* lived but two Years after his return from *Rome*, during which time he thought not only of the World to come, but alſo what ſhould happen in this after his Deceaſe; and therefore, leſt his Sons ſhould quarrel among themſelves after his Death, he commanded his Teſtament to be written, (*Aſſer* calls it an *Hereditary*, or *Commendatory* Epiſtle,) in which he ordained, his Kingdom ſhould be divided between the two eldeſt Sons, as alſo his own proper Inheritance between all his Sons and Daughters, and near Kinſmen; but for his Money, he ordered it to be divided between his Sons and his Nobles, and what was left, to be employed for the good of his Soul; to which end he ordained, That his Succeſſours throughout all his own Hereditary Lands, ſhould maintain out of * every Ten Families one Poor Perſon, (either Native or Stranger,) with Meat, Drink, and Apparel; always provided, that the Land did not then lie waſte, but was cultivated by Men and Cattle: It is alſo to be noted, That this Grant was wholly different from that of Tythes, thô *Bromton*'s Chronicle hath confounded them together, and made them all one; he alſo ordered to be ſent every Year to *Rome* 300 *Mancuſes*, which *William* of *Malmesbury* renders *Marks*, thô what the Sum was is uncertain: but it was to be equally diſtributed between the Churches of St. *Peter* and

* *From whence came the* Corrodies, *that ſtill remain in divers places.*

Anno Dom. DCCCLV.

St. *Paul*, to provide Lights on *Eaſter* Eve; and of this 300 *Marks*, the Pope was to have 100 to himſelf. Theſe Grants are ſuppoſed by Sir *Henry Spelman* to have been made in a general Council of the whole Kingdom, but after this time we find no more of them for many Years, by reaſon of the frequent Invaſions of the *Danes*. But not long after King *Ethelwulf* died, and was buried at *Wincheſter*, having reigned 20 Years and 5 Months; for the *Saxon* Annals, which allow him but 18 Years and an half, are certainly miſtaken.

This Year alſo, (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*,) *Humbert* the Biſhop anointed that Glorious Martyr, *Edmund* King of the *Eaſt Angles*, being then but 15 Years old, at a Town called *Buram*, being then the Royal Seat.

But having no Account of King *Edmund*'s Pedigree, or of the Place of his Birth from any of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, you muſt be content with what *Johannes Anglicus* of *Tinmouth* hath told us, or in his Legend of Saints, (called *Sanctilogium*,) of this King and Martyr, *viz.* That he was the Son of one *Alemond*, a Nobleman of the Blood Royal of the *Eaſt Angles*, who having fled for fear of King *Offa* into *Old Saxony*, out of which his Family firſt came, had there by his Wife called *Cywara* a Son, whom he named *Edmund*, the pretended Miracles of whoſe Birth I purpoſely omit. This Prince having been inſtructed in all Chriſtian and Moral Duties, lived in *Germany* to the 14th Year of his Age, and upon his return into *England* was ſo acceptable to the *Eaſt Angles*, that he was by them Elected *King*, and, till his Death, continued in the quiet Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, without any oppoſition of King *Ethelwulf*, or any of his Sons, then Kings of the *Weſt Saxons*, to whoſe Dominions that Kingdom of the *Eaſt Angles* had lately been made ſubject; and hence it may be reaſonably inferred, that it was by King *Ethelwulf*'s Conſent, that *Edmund* being returned out of *Germany*, took Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom.

Being thus made King, and, by reaſon of his tender Age, not eſteeming himſelf capable of managing the Affairs of the Nation, he willingly ſubmitted them and himſelf to the Direction of the ſaid Biſhop of the *Eaſt Angles*, by whom he was Crowned, and by whoſe Councel and Direction he behaved himſelf as became a Prince, endued with all Kingly Virtues; ſo that during his Reign, his principal Care was to repair the Ruines which the *Mercian* Arms and Tyranny had brought upon the Churches of the *Eaſt Angles*, reduced by War to extream Poverty, and conſequently to a Neglect of Piety and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. And thus he Reigned 14 Years in Peace, with the Affection of all his Subjects, till GOD was pleaſed, by ſending the Pagan *Danes* as a Scourge to his Country, to render this Prince a high Example of Chriſtian Fortitude and Conſtancy.

BERT.

King *ETHELBALD*, and King *ETHEL~~RED~~*.

Anno Dom. DCCCLVII.

After the Death of *Ethelwulf* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, his two eldeſt Sons divided their Father's Kingdom according to his Will: *Ethelbald*, his eldeſt Son, ſucceeded him in *Weſt Saxony*, whilſt his younger Brother *Ethel~~red~~* Reigned in *Kent*, as alſo over the *Eaſt* and *South Saxons*. And now (according to our Annals) the Pope hearing of the Death of King *Ethelwulf*, anointed *Alfred* to be King, and alſo delivered him to a

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Anno Dom. DCCCLVII.

Biſhop to be Confirmed: If this was ſo, the King his Father muſt have left him behind at *Rome*; for *Aſſer* ſays expreſly, That he went thither with him; but over what Kingdom the Pope ſhould Anoint him, I know not, unleſs foretold by way of Prophecy, he would be King after his Brothers.

But as for King *Ethelbald,* above-mentioned, both *Ingulph* and *Will.* of *Malmesbury* give him a very bad Character, That he married *Judeth,* his Father's Widow, and was alſo beſides both Lazy, and Perfidious; but * *Thomas Redborne,* in his larger Hiſtory of *Wincheſter,* ſays, That by the Admonition of *Swithin,* Biſhop of that Church, he repented of his Inceſt, and put away *Judeth* his Mother-in-Law, and obſerved all Things that the Biſhop enjoyned him. This Author farther relates from one *Gerard,* of *Cornwal*'s Hiſtory of the *Weſt Saxon* Kings, not now extant that I know of, That he died in a few Years after, without doing or ſuffering any thing that deſerves to be mentioned; for we do not find that the *Danes* troubled this Kingdom all his Reign, concerning the Length of which there is very different Relations amongſt our Hiſtorians; the *Saxon* Annals, and *William* of *Malmesbury,* making him to have reigned 5 Years, whereas *Aſſer* and *Ingulph* allow him but Two and an half, which ſeems to be the truer Account, for if King *Ethelwulf* returned from *Rome* in the Year 855, and lived above Two Years after, it is plain King *Ethelbald* could not Reign above Two Years and an half; for the *Saxon* Annals tell us, that in the next Year but one, *viz.*

* Edit. in 1. Vol. Angl. Sacr.

Anno Dom. DCCCLX.

'King *Ethelbald* deceaſed, and that his Body was buried at *Scire-* '*borne.*

King ETHELBERT alone.

About that time (as the welsh Chronicles rel.) Anarawd King of Northwales deceasing Ro: (rather Roderic) ~~another~~ his Son or rather Grandson succeeded him.

'Then *Æthelbryght,* his Brother took the Kingdom, and held it in great 'Concord and Quiet.

I ſuppoſe our Author means, from Domeſtick Commotions; for he immediately tells us, That in this King's time there came an Army (of *Danes*) from the Sea, and took *Wincheſter*; with whom (in their return to their Ships) *Oſric* and *Æthelwulf* the Ealdormen, with the *Hampſhire* and *Berkſhire-men,* fought, and put the *Danes* to flight, and kept the Field of Battle, but the Annals do not tell us in what Year of his Reign this Invaſion happened.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXI.

'This Year deceaſed St. *Swithune* Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

Now concerning this holy Biſhop, as alſo *Alſtan* Biſhop of *Shirborne,* * *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us this Character, which omitting all the Bedroll of Miracles that follow, I ſhall here ſet down.

* De Pontif. l.1.

King *Æthelwulf* bearing a great Reverence to St. *Swithune,* whom he calls his Teacher and Maſter, deſiſted not till he had honoured him with the Government of the ſaid Biſhoprick, ſo that he was Conſecrated with the Unanimous Conſent and Joy of all the whole Clergy of that Dioceſs, by *Ceolnoth* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; hereby Biſhop *Swithune*'s Authority encreaſing, his Councels, for the Good of the Kingdom, proved of greater weight; ſo that by his Admonitions, both the Church and State received great Benefit: And indeed he was a rich Treaſure of all Virtues; but thoſe in which he took moſt Delight, were Humility and Clemency; and in the diſcharge of his Epiſcopal Function, he omitted nothing belonging to a True Paſtor.

By

Anno Dom. DCCCLXV.

By his Aſſiſtance principally, together with that of the Prudent and Couragious Prelate *Alſtan*, Biſhop of *Shirborne*, King *Æthelwulf* was enabled to ſupport the Calamities his Kingdom ſuffered by the frequent Irruptions of the *Danes*, for theſe two were his principal Councellours in all Affairs. Biſhop *Swithune*, who contemned Worldly Things, informed his Lord in all Matters which concerned his Soul, whilſt *Alſtan* judging that Temporal Advantages were not to be neglected, encouraged him to oppoſe the *Danes*, and provided Money for his Exchequer, and alſo ordered his Armies; ſo that thô this King was of a ſlow, unactive Nature, yet by the Admonitions of theſe two worthy Councellours, he Governed his Kingdom prudently and happily: Many noble Deſigns for the good of the Church and State being well begun, were proſperouſly executed in his Reign.

‘This Year the *Daniſh* Army landed in *Thanet*, and wintering there, ‘made a League with the *Kentiſh-men*, who promiſed them Money, provided they would keep the Peace; under pretence of which, and of the ‘Money promiſed, the *Danes* ſtole out of their Camp, and waſted all the ‘Eaſt part of *Kent*.] For, as *Aſſer* well obſerves, they knew they could get more by Plunder, than by Peace.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXVI.

‘Now, according to the ſame Annals, King *Æthelbryht* died, to the ‘great Grief of his Subjects, having governed the Kingdom 5 Years with ‘a general Satisfaction, and was buried at *Scyreburne*, near to his Brother. This Prince is ſuppoſed to have had a Son call'd *Ethelwald*, whom you will find in this Hiſtory to have raiſed a Rebellion againſt King *Edward* the elder many Years after.

King *ETHELRED*.

‘Then (according to the Annals) *Æthelred*, Brother to the late King, ‘began his Reign; and the ſame Year a great Army of *Danes* landed in ‘*England*, and took up their Winter Quarters among the *Eaſt Angles*, and ‘there turned Horſemen, and that Nation was forced to make Peace ‘with them.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXVII.

‘Then the *Pagan* Army ſailed from the *Eaſt Angles*, and went up the River ‘*Humber* to the City of *York*, where was at that time great Diſcord between the People of that Nation.] I ſhall here give you *Aſſer*'s Account of this Tranſaction, being to the ſame effect (thô more particular than that) in the Annals themſelves. For (ſays he) the *Northumbers* had now expelled *Osbright*, their lawful King, and had ſet up a Tyrant or Uſurper, one *Ælla*, who was not deſcended of the Royal Line; but now when the *Pagans* invaded them by the Interceſſion of the great Men, and for the Common Safety, the two Kings joyned their Forces, and ſo marched to *York*; at whoſe coming the *Danes* preſently fled, and endeavoured to defend themſelves within the City; which the Chriſtians perceiving, reſolved to follow them to the very Walls, and breaking in, and entering the Town with them; (for it ſeems, that City had not in thoſe Times ſuch ſtrong Walls, as they had when *Aſſer* wrote his Hiſtory;) therefore when the Chriſtians had made a Breach in the Wall as they deſigned, and that a great part of them had entred the City, the *Pagans* being compelled by Neceſſity and Deſpair, broke out upon them, and killed, routed, and put to flight the whole Army, as well within as without the Town; ſo that both the Kings were ſlain, together with many Noblemen, and a vaſt number of Common Souldiers; and a great many were

Anno Dom. DCCCLXVII.

taken Priſoners, and thoſe that remained alive were forced to make Peace with the *Danes*, who (according to the Chronicle of *Mailroſs*,) made one *Egbert* King over the *Northumbers* that were left, thô under the *Daniſh* Dominion; but it ſeems, it was only over thoſe that lay on the North ſide of the River *Tine*, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, in his Hiſtory of that Church, relates.

'The ſame Year alſo died *Æalhſtan* the Biſhop, after he had held his 'See of *Scireborne* 50 Years, whoſe Body was buried in that Town.

*Vid. X Script. Col. 802.

But ſince the Chronicle that goes under the Name of Abbot * *Bromton* undertakes to give ſome probable Account how the *Danes* came to invade the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, thô it looks ſomewhat like a Romance, yet I ſhall here give it you, ſince it is found in no other Author that I know of, being thus. *Osbriht*, King of *Northumberland*, going one day a hunting, as he returned home went privately to the Houſe of one of his Noblemen, called *Bruern Brocard*, to refreſh himſelf; *Bruern* knowing nothing of the King's coming, was gone to the Sea ſide, according to his Cuſtom, to ſecure the Shoar againſt Pirats; but his Wife, a Woman of great Beauty, entertained the King at Dinner very ſplendidly. The King having dined, took her by the Hand and led her to her Chamber, telling her, He muſt ſpeak with her in private; and there removing all out of the way, but ſuch as were privy to his Secrets, he by Force and Violence lay with her. Having thus had his Will, he ſpeedily returned to *York*, whilſt ſhe ſo lamented, and wept, that her Face was extremely altered; which cauſed her Husband at his return to ask the cauſe of ſo ſudden a Change, and ſuch an unuſual Sadneſs: Whereupon ſhe told him the whole Matter, how the King had forced her; which having heard, he comforted her, bidding her not to afflict her ſelf, ſince ſhe was not able to reſiſt a Man ſo potent; aſſuring her, becauſe ſhe had told him the Truth, he would not love her leſs than he had done before; and if GOD gave him leave, he would Revenge both himſelf, and her, upon him that had committed the Crime. Then did *Bruern*, being a Man both Noble and Powerful, call his Kindred together, to whom he revealed the Affront put upon him, and his Intention ſpeedily to Revenge it; To which they all conſenting, and approving his Purpoſe, he with them took Horſe and rode to *York*. The King, upon ſight of him, called him to him very civilly, but he having all his Relations at his Back, defied him, renouncing his Allegiance, giving up his Land, and whatſoever elſe he held of him. This ſaid, without any more Words he withdrew, making no ſtay at all at Court.

So his Friends conſenting, he went ſtraitways over to *Denmark*, where he made a great Complaint to the King of the Affront offered to him and his Wife by K. *Osbriht*, deſiring his ſpeedy Relief and Supplies to put him into a Capacity to revenge himſelf. At this News, *Godrin* and his *Danes* conceived very great Joy, having now ſome Reaſon to induce them to invade the *Engliſh*, and revenge the Injury offered to *Bruern*, who was deſcended of his Blood; whereupon he ſpeedily prepared a great Army, over which he made Captains, two Brothers, called *Inguar*, and *Hubba*, moſt valiant Souldiers; and to them he gave a Navy, furniſhed with all Neceſſaries, to tranſport an innumerable Company of Men. Theſe Adventurers landing in the Northern Parts, and taking their way through *Holderneſs*, deſtroyed all the Towns, with their Inhabitants; and coming to *York*, provoked *Osbriht* to come out and fight them, where he and his Brother-King were both ſlain, as you have already rd.

This Year the *Daniſh* Army marched into *Mercia* as far as *Snotinga-m*, (now *Nottingham*,) and there took up their Quarters; but *Burh-d*, King of the *Mercians*, with his Great or Wiſe Men, entreated *Æthel-d*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, and *Ælfred* his Brother, to help them to ght againſt the *Pagans*; whereupon they likewiſe marched to the ſame ace, where finding the *Daniſh* Army ſtrongly fortified, they only be-eged *Nottingham*.] But (as *Aſſer* and *Ingulph* relate) the Chriſtians t being able to take either the Town or Caſtle, there was very little hting; ſo that the *Mercians* were forced to make Peace with the *Pa-ns*; whereupon the *Danes* marched back again into the Kingdom of rthumberland. & this year also [illegible]

Anno Dom. DCCCLXVIII.

The ſame Year *Aſſer* (in his Life of K. *Alfred*) tells us, That the ing married the Daughter of *Æthelred* the Ealdorman of the *Gaini*, *i.e.* of e Country about *Gainesburrough* in *Yorkſhire*.

[illegible] places his death in 870.

'But the next Year, the *Daniſh* Army returned again to *York*, and there ſtayed Twelve Months; and now there was alſo a great Mortality oth of Men, and Beaſts.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXIX.

But we cannot here omit the Relation of *Mat. Weſtminſter* under this ear, concerning what the *Danes* did before they left the North of *Eng-nd*, where he ſays, they ſlew both Old and Young, not ſparing the ives or Chaſtities ſo much as of the Nuns, where he gives us a ſtrange xample of an Heroick (if not too Great a) Love of Chaſtity; for *Ebba*, (afterwards Sainted,) then Abbeſs of *Coldingham* Nunnery ~~in York-~~*ire*, being more afraid of the loſs of her Virginity, than her Life, cal-ing her Nuns into the Chapter-houſe, there made a Speech to them, ſet-ing forth the Luſt and Cruelty of the *Danes*, and alſo exhorting them o follow her Example in avoiding it; which they all promiſing to obſerve, he then took a Razour and cut off her own Noſe and upper Lip, in which ſhe was immediately followed by all the Siſters; which being done, thoſe cruel Tyrants, *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, coming thither the next day, together with their Forces, and ſeeing ſo horrible a Spectacle, they not only ran out of the Monaſtery and left them, but alſo gave order to their Followers, that they ſhould ſet the Houſe on fire, which they forthwith did; ſo it was burnt to Aſhes, together with the Abbeſs, and all her Nuns, who thought themſelves happy in thus ſuffering Martyrdom for the preſervation of that which was dearer to them than their Lives. Nor did they diſcharge their Fury upon this Nunnery alone, but upon all the reſt of the Monaſteries of the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, having not long before deſtroyed the Monaſteries and Church of *Lindiſfarne*, with thoſe of *Girwy* and *Weremuth*, beſides the famous Nunneries of *Streanſhale* and *Tinmuth*; moſt of which were never rebuilt, and thoſe that were, not till ſeveral Ages after. But to proceed with our Annals. In the *Peterborough* Copy, it follows thus:

'Then the *Danes* quitting the North, and mounting themſelves on 'Horſeback, marched through *Mercia* into *Eaſt England*, and took up 'their Winter Quarters at *Theodford*; the ſame Winter King *Eadmund* 'fought with them, but the *Danes* gained the Victory, and ſlew that holy 'King, and deſtroying all the Monaſteries that lay in their way, they 'wholly conquered that Kingdom. The Names of the Princes who 'ſlew him were *Higwais* and *Ubba*, (whom other Writers call *Hinguar*

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‘ and *Hubba.*) At the ſame time alſo they came to *Medeſhamſtead*, which ‘ Monaſtery they burnt and deſtroyed, killing the Abbots and Monks, ‘ with all the Men they found there, carrying away all the rich Spoil of ‘ that place.

But ſince the *Saxon* Annals are very ſhort in this Relation, I ſhall give you from *Ingulph* a more particular Account of what they did this Year in their march into *Eaſt England*, who further adds; That Winter being ended, the *Danes* took Shipping and went into *Lindiſſe* in *Lincolnſhire*, and landing at *Humberſtan*, ſpoiled all that Country, at which time that famous and ancient Monaſtery of *Bardney* was deſtroyed, the Monks and all others being ſlain in the Church without Mercy; and when they had there ſtayed, waſting the Country for the whole Summer: About *Michaelmas* they did the like to the Country of *Keſteven*, in the ſame Province, where they committed the ſame Murders and Deſolations.

The ſame Year, in the Month of *September*, Count *Algar* drew together all the Youth of *Hoyland* (now called *Holland*) in *Lincolnſhire*, with two Knights his Seneſcals, *Wibert*, and *Leofric*, who marched in the Head of them, together with a brave Body of 200 Men belonging to *Croyland* Abbey, who being all ſtout Fellows, were led by one *Toly*, then a Monk, but formerly a famous Souldier among the *Mercians*; theſe taking with them about 300 ſtout and warlike Men more from *Deping*, *Lanioft*, and *Boſton*, to whom alſo joyned *Morchar*, Lord of *Branne*, with his ſtrong and numerous Family, and being met by the Sheriff of *Lincoln*, a valiant and ancient Souldier, with the *Lincolnſhire* Forces, all which muſtering together in *Keſteven* on St. *Maurice*'s Day, they joyned Battle with the *Pagans*, where GOD gave them the Victory, three Kings being ſlain, with a very great multitude of Souldiers; the Chriſtians purſued the Pagans to their very Camp, where finding a ſtout Reſiſtance, Night at laſt parted them, and the Earl drew back his Army.

But it ſeems there returned that Night to the *Daniſh* Camp all the reſt of the Princes of that Nation, who dividing the Country among them, had marched out to plunder; their names are Barbarous, and too long to be repeated, but their chief Kings were *Godrum* and *Baſſeg*, and their Earls or Leaders, *Hingar* and *Hubba*, with others, who then returned with great Forces, and a multitude of Captives, and a great deal of Spoil; and their coming being known, the greateſt part of the Chriſtians ſtruck with terrour fled away; whil'ſt thoſe that were left, early in the Morning, after hearing Divine Service, and receiving the Sacrament, being reſolved to dye for Chriſt, and in Defence of their Country, marched into the Field againſt their Enemies; but the Earl perceiving his Forces to be too much weaken'd appointed Fryer *Toly* with his Five Hundred Men to Fight in the Right Wing, becauſe they were the ſtrongeſt; and Earl *Morchar* with thoſe who followed him, as alſo the Sheriff of *Lincoln* making other Five Hundred in the Left Wing; whileſt he with his Seneſcals kept the main Body, as ready to help either Wing if there were occaſion; but the *Danes* being now enraged at the ſlaughter of their Men, having buried their Three Kings at a place, which is thence called *Trekingham*; afterwards 2 Kings and 8 Counts marched out, whilſt the reſt guarded the Camp, and Captives; but the Chriſtians, becauſe of their ſmaller Number, drawing themſelves up in one Body, made with their Shields a ſtrong *Teſtudo* againſt the force of their Enemies

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Arrows, and kept off the Horſe with their Pikes; and thus being well ordered by their Commanders, they kept their Ground the whole day: But thô they remained unbroken till night, and had ſtill withſtood the force of their Enemies Arrows, but their Horſes being then tired, began to flag; the Pagans feigning a Flight, on purpoſe ſeemed to quit the Field, which the Chriſtians perceiving, althô their Commanders forbad and oppoſed it, yet nevertheleſs breaking their Ranks, were all diſperſed through the Plain without any Order or Command; but the Pagans returning like Lions upon a Flock of Sheep, made a great Slaughter amongſt them; whilſt the ſtout Count *Algar*, and Frier *Toly*, with ſome Souldiers, getting upon a riſing Ground, and being drawn up into a round Body, did for a long time endure the Pagans Inſults; and when the ſaid Earl and other Captains ſaw the ſtouteſt Men of their ſmall Army ſlain, they got upon the thickeſt heaps of the Chriſtian dead Bodies, and there being reſolved to ſell their Lives as dear as they could, they fell down dead, having received many Wounds; only a few young Men of *Sutton* and *Gedeney* flinging away their Arms, fled into a Neighbouring Wood, and ſo eſcaping, came the Night following to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, and there related the ſlaughter of the Chriſtians, and the loſs of their whole Company: which when they had told at the Church door with great lamentations, the Abbot and Monks, being extreamly confounded at this ill news, reſolved to keep only with them the Elder Monks, and ſome few Children, to provoke compaſſion, and ſo ſent away all the Younger Men, together with the Reliques, Jewels, and Charters of their Monaſteries, by Boat to the Wood of *Ancarig*, adjoining to their Iſland; where they ſtaid with one *Foret* an Anchorite Four days, being Thirty in number, whereof Ten were Prieſts: But the Abbot having hid the reſt of the Plate; with the rich Table of the Altar, and put on his Sacred Veſtments, and had with his Brethren ſaid Maſs, and communicated; they had ſcarce finiſhed all this when the Pagans breaking into the Church, ſlew Abbot *Theodore* at the Altar, who periſhed by the hands of their King *Oketule*, all the reſt as well Old Men as Children, being alſo ſlain, except one handſome Boy of about Ten Years Old, who (being intended for a Monk) was ſaved by Count *Sidroc* the Younger, and ſtripping him of his Habit, put on him a *Daniſh* Coat, ordering him to follow him where ever he went, and ſo the Boy ſticking cloſe to him, his Life was ſaved, and he alone eſcaping, gave a relation of what he had ſeen; but the *Danes*, when they had broke open the Tombs of St. *Guthleak*, and the Princes there buried, and finding no more Plunder, ſet the Church on Fire, and burnt the dead bodies that were in it together.

So likewiſe of the deſtruction of the Monaſtery of *Medeſhamſtead*, this Author hath given us a larger account than what we find in this Copy of the Annals, *viz.* That four days after the deſtruction of *Croyland*, the *Danes* march'd towards that Monaſtery, where finding the Gates lock'd, they began to make an aſſault upon it; but receiving a Repulſe, at the ſecond Aſſault, *Tuba* the Brother of Count *Hubba* being knocked down with a Stone, was carried off for Dead, whereat *Hubba* was ſo enraged, that breaking into the Monaſtery he ſlew all the Monks that came in his way, whileſt the reſt of them deſtroyed the others, till at laſt all periſhed, ſo that in ſhort, the Monaſtery was wholly deſtroyed, and the Church, *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXX. together with a noble Library of Books, and all its Charters were reduced to Aſhes.

But the fourth day after this the Pagan Army having got together all the ſpoil they could, marched toward *Huntington*; but in their way thither, as the two Counts *Sidrocs* brought up the Rear of the Army, which had now paſſed the River *Nene*, two Waggon loads of rich moveables happened to be ſunk in the Ford, as alſo the Beaſts that drew them, in getting out of which, whileſt *Sidroc* and his Men were buſied, the Boy *Turgar* ſlipped away into the next Wood, and walking all Night about break of Day he got to *Croyland*, where he found the Monks returned again, and buſie in quenching the Fire, as well as they could; to whom he related all that had happened, and diſcovering where the body of the Abbot and moſt of the Monks lay, they removed the rubbiſh, and buried them, and then having choſen *Godric*, one of the Monks that eſcaped, for their Abbot, they were reſolved to go and do the like Pious Office for the late Prior and Monks of *Medeſhamſtead*, where arriving, they buried the Bodies of above fourſcore Monks in one Grave in the Church-yard, placing over them a Pyramidal Stone of about a Yard high, whereon were carved the Images of the Abbot and Monks about him, which was then to be ſeen in *Ingulph*'s time.

In the mean time the *Britains* ſpoiling the Country as far as *Grant-bridge* (now *Cambridge*,) they then fell upon, and burnt the famous Nunnery of *Ely*, killing all that were therein both Men and Women, and carrying away a great deal of Riches, which had been brought thither from all parts for their better ſecurity; from whence they paſſed over into the Country of the *Eaſt-Angles*, where they ſlew Earl *Wulketule* coming againſt them, and making a ſtout reſiſtance with his ſmall Forces, from whence they marched againſt King *Edmund* himſelf, of whoſe Life and Martyrdom, I ſhall out of *Aſſer*'s Annals, give you a particular account; and thô I will not paſs my word for the truth of all his Relation, being written after the manner of the Legends of thoſe times, yet the ſubſtance of it is no doubt true, and the reſt may ſerve, if not to inſtruct, yet at leaſt to divert the Readers.

But before I proceed to the Story of the Martyrdom of this King, it may not be amiſs to relate the occaſion, why the *Danes* invaded the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and put King *Edmund* ſo cruelly to Death, which ſtory thô it be not very probable; yet ſince it is found in *Mat. Weſtminſters Flores Hiſtoriarum*, I will from thence repeat it in as few words as I can, being to this effect; That in the Kingdom of *Denmark* there was one *Lothbrook*, who being deſcended from the Royal Family, had by his Wife two Sons, *Inguar* and *Hubba*: *Lothbrook* going to Sea by himſelf, in a Boat, with only a Hawke on his Fiſt, to ſeek for Game in a Neighbouring Iſland, being taken by a ſudden and violent Storm, was toſſed up and down for ſeveral Days, till at laſt he was by the Wind and Tide driven upon the Coaſt of that Country, we now call *Northfolk*; where being found alone with his Hawk, he is preſented to *Edmund* the King, and being kindly received for the comlineſs of his Perſon, continued in his Court, and told the King the Tale of his ſtrange Fortune, and often went out in the Field for his Recreation, with *Beorn* the King's Huntſman, being extraordinarily dexterous both in Hunting and Fowling; for this Reaſon, this Huntſman greatly envied him, Anno Dom. DCCCLXX.

and as they two were hunting together alone, he ſecretly murdered him, and hid his Body in a Wood. Now *Lothebroc* kept a Greyhound, which was exceedingly fond of him, and the Huntſman being gone away with the reſt of the Dogs, he ſtayed there alone by his Maſter's Body; next day, when the King asked for *Lothebroc*, *Beorn* anſwered, *That the day before he ſtayed in the Wood, and ſince that he had not ſeen him.* But behold, the Greyhound comes to Court, and fawning upon the King, as well as others, as ſoon as he had filled his Belly, again departed; till doing this often, he was followed to the place by ſome of the King's Servants, who there found out the Body, and brought the Relation of it to the King: The Matter being examined, and found out, the Huntſman is ſentenced to be put into the ſame Boat in which *Lothebroc* arrived, without any Oars or Tackling; in which, after a few days, (ſurely the Boat knew its way,) he was caſt upon the Coaſt of *Denmark*, where being brought to *Lothebroc*'s Sons, and by them examined what was become of their Father, whoſe Boat they ſufficiently knew, he affirmed, That he was killed by *Edmund*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*; Whereupon they prepare a Navy, and paſſing into *England*, landed firſt in the *Northern* Parts, and, as was ſaid before, they grievouſly haraſs'd the Country of the *Northumbers*, and having brought it under Subjection, *Hinguar* quits his Company, and with a great Fleet ſailed to *Eaſt England*, where King *Edmund* Reigned.

But *Saxo Grammaticus* gives us quite another Account of the Death of theſe Prince's Father, whom he calls *Regner*, *viz.* That he was taken Priſoner in *Ireland*, and there killed in Priſon by Snakes, where none, you muſt know, ever were, a Story altogether as probable as the former; ſo I have here given you, from ſeveral Authors, two different Accounts of the Reaſon of the *Danes* invading *England*, and ſhall leave it to the Reader to believe one, or neither, ſince as they cannot both be true, ſo neither of them ſeem very probable.

This King *Edmund* had now Reigned five Years with great Affection of his Subjects, for, being a Prince of great Hopes, he ~~was~~ by the *Unanimous Favour*, and *Conſent of the People* of that Province, not only Elected, but rather forced to Rule over them. He had a Majeſtick Meen that became a King, and in his Countenance appeared a certain Air of Piety mixed with Meekneſs and Devotion. It was indeed but a ſhort time he Reigned, but in that time he did by his Charity to the Poor, and his Care over Widows and Orphans, perform all the Duties of a Pious Man, as well as of a Good King.

But to come to the Story it ſelf: The *Danes*, having now ſpoiled the Country, and routed the King's Army, as you have heard, came on a ſudden upon a certain City, and taking it by Surpriſe, they killed the Inhabitants, and raviſhed the Women, ſparing neither Age nor Sex; but when they had pretty well ſatiated their Fury, *Hinguar* their Captain examined ſome of the ordinary People that were left alive, where their King uſed to reſide; but here our Author ſuppoſes the King to have never yet reſiſted them, and therefore that they would firſt ſeize on him, to prevent him from raiſing any Forces againſt them; which is not at all likely, eſpecially ſince the *Saxon* Annals tell us expreſly, that King *Edmund* had already fought againſt him, and been put to flight: But this ſeems more probable, that the King being then fled to one of his Houſes in the Country, called *Hegleſdune*, was by the *Danes* diſcovered: Whereupon *Hinguar* ſent one of his Servants on a Meſſage to him, the Subſtance

Anno Dom. DCCCLXX. ſtance of which was, ‘ That Earl *Hinguar*, his Lord, commanded him to ‘ deliver up all his Treaſures, and that he ſhould ſubmit himſelf and his ‘ Kingdom to his Power, which if he refuſed to do, he ſhould then be ‘ deprived both of his Kingdom and Life. To which the King anſwered, *That he would never renounce the Vow he had made in Baptiſm, and being made King by the General Conſent of the whole People, he was reſolved never to do any thing to the Prejudice of the Common-weal of the* English *Nation, nor ever to ſubmit his Neck to any Yoke but that of Chriſt, whoſe Example he now intended to imitate, and by his Grace would Suffer for his Name:* And ſo he bid the Meſſenger return, and tell this to his Maſter. It ſeems the King had no ſooner finiſhed what he had to ſay, but as the Meſſenger was going back with this Anſwer, *Hinguar* himſelf met him, to whom having told what the King had ſaid, he immediately commanded his Men to enter the Palace, and to lay hold of none but the King, and He, being there ſoon found, was immediately tied, and brought before the Captain, who commanded him firſt to be cruelly beaten, and then bound to a Neighbouring Tree, to be inhumanly whipped; all which he manfully endured, ſtill calling on the Name of Chriſt: Whereat his Enemies being enraged, in a moſt barbarous manner ſhot his Body ſo full of Arrows, that it ſeemed capable of receiving no more; yet none of the Wounds killing him outright, *Hinguar* at laſt commanded one of his Souldiers to cut off his Head; which our Author deſcribes with a great deal of Monkiſh Eloquence: This being done, and leaving his Body there, they carried away the Head along with them, that ſo it might not be buried with it; but at laſt they flung it into a Wood, (which *John* of *Tinmouth*, in his *Hiſtoria Aurea*, calls *Heglesdun*;) but the People, after they were gotten out of their Hiding-places, began to look for it, and having long ſearched up and down the Wood, they at length heard the Head when they cried out to one another, *Where are you?* Anſwer (in *Engliſh*,) *Here, here:* Nor ceaſed repeating thoſewords, till they came where it lay. As for this part of the Story, it ſounds ſo like a Legend, that I ſhall leave it to be ſwallowed by thoſe who are apt to be taken with ſuch Things. I have no more to add, but that King *Edmund* Suffered on the 12th of the *Kal.* of *December*, in the Year above-mentioned: But enough in Conſcience, if not too much, of this King's Martyrdom, who had afrerwards a Church and Monaſtery erected to his Memory, as you will find when you come to it; for it is certain, the *Engliſh Saxons* attributed as great Sanctity to this, as to any of their ancient Saints, and had as great a Belief of his Miracles, his Body being preſerved uncorrupt (whether by Art or Miracle I ſhall not determine) for many Ages after.

I have no more to Remark under this Year, ‘ but that now *Ceolnoth* the ‘ Arch-Biſhop deceaſed, and *Ethelred* Biſhop of *Wiltun-ſcire* was Elected ‘ Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* in his ſtead.

Alſo that the Town of *Dunmoc*, being now deſtroyed by the *Danes*, *Helmham* in *Norfolk* continued to be the ſole Biſhop's See for the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Angles*, till it was long after removed to *Norwich*.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXI. This Year (as both *Aſſer* and the *Saxon* Annals relate) the Army of the *Danes* leaving the *Eaſt Angles*, marched into the *Weſt Saxon* Kingdom, and came to a Town of the King's called *Reading*, lying on the South ſide of *Thames*, in that County which was then called *Bearrockſhire*, (now *Berkſhire*;) and the third Day after their coming, divers of

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXI.

their Commanders rid out with great part of their Forces to Plunder, whilſt the reſt remained behind to caſt up a Trench between the two Rivers, *Thames* and *Kynton*, on the right ſide of the Town, whom Earl *Æthelwulf* with his Forces met at *Englefeild* in that County, where it was ſtoutly fought on both ſides; but after a long Battle, one of the Counts *Sydrock* being ſlain, and a great part of his Army routed, the reſt eſcaping by flight, the Chriſtians got the Victory, and kept the Field. And four Days after, King *Æthered* and *Ælfred* his Brother joyning their Forces together, marched to *Reading*, and when they came to the Caſtle, they killed and deſtroyed all the *Danes* whom they found without the Gates; but they within did not make a leſs obſtinate Reſiſtance, for ſallying out, the Fight became very ſharp on both ſides, in ſo much that the Chriſtians were at laſt forced to turn their Backs, and the Pagans gained the Victory, and there Earl *Æthelwulf* above-mentioned was ſlain amongſt the reſt; with which the Chriſtians being much provoked, 4 days after they fought with them again at a place called *Æſceſdune* (now *Aſton*) in *Berkſhire*, when the Pagans divided themſelves into two equal Bodies, for they had then two Kings, beſides many Earls; ſo they allotted one part of the Army to the two Kings, and the other to the Earls; which the Chriſtians perceiving, they likewiſe did the ſame with their Army: But *Elfred* came ſooner into the Field with his Men, than did the King his Brother; for (as *Aſſer* tells us) he had heard from thoſe that were there, that the King was then in his Tent hearing Maſs, and poſitively affirming, that he would not depart thence till it was finiſhed, which he made good; and this Piety of the King's was thought to prevail much with God, for the Chriſtians had reſolved that King *Ethered* with his Forces ſhould maintain the Fight againſt the two Pagan Kings, whilſt *Ælfred* his Brother, with his Detachment, ſhould oppoſe the Earls. And now both Armies being drawn up in Battle Array, whilſt the King ſtayed ſomewhat long at his Prayers, Prince *Ælfred*, then his Brother's Lieutenant, was not ſtrong enough alone to ſuſtain all the Pagan Forces, for thô he ſaw he muſt either Retreat, or elſe Engage the Enemy before his Brother's coming up, which ſtill the King delayed, yet the Prince (truſting on the Divine Aſſiſtance, and) having put his Men in good Order, preſently marched againſt the Enemy, who had much the Advantage of him, by reaſon of the higher Ground they had got. There was alſo in the ſame Field a ſingle Thorn Tree, (which *Aſſer* ſays he himſelf had ſeen,) about which the Enemies Troops were all drawn up; but when they had both bloudily fought for a long time, the Pagans being no longer able to withſtand the Chriſtians Arms, a great part of their Troops was ſlain, and the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight, leaving behind them dead upon the place one of their Kings called *Bachſeg*, and ſeveral other great Men, with many Thouſands of common Souldiers, needleſs here to be particularly mentioned; but this King here called *Bachſeg*, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory names *Ivar*, the Son of *Reynere*; ſo the reſt of their Army fled that night to the Caſtle of *Reading* above-mentioned, whither the Chriſtians following killed them as long as day-light would permit.

But thô *Aſſer*, the Writer of King *Alfred's* Life and Actions, hath for his Honour attributed the whole Succeſs of this Battle to that Prince; yet it is more probable what the Manuſcript, called *Scala Chronica*, (cited by Mr. *Speed*,) relates, That when Prince *Ælfred's* Men, being now ſpent, *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXI.

were ready to Retreat, King *Ethered* came into the Battle from his Prayers; and ſo well ſeconded his Brother with freſh Forces, that renewing the Fight, the Victory (the greateſt they had ever yet obtained) was chiefly owing to their Valour.

But Fifteen Days after this, King *Æthered*, with his Brother *Ælfred*, marched again towards *Baſing* to fight the Enemy, where another Battle happened, and the Pagans, making there an obſtinate Reſiſtance, obtain'd the Victory, and kept the Field; after which Fight, a freſh Army of Pagans coming from beyond Sea, joyned themſelves to the former.

But here the *Saxon* Annals further add, 'That about two Months after 'this, King *Æthered* and *Ælfred* his Brother, fought again with the Pagans 'at *Meretune* (~~now~~ nr Berks *Merton*, in *Surrey*) where the Army being divided into 'two Parts, at firſt put the Enemy to the Rout, and had the better for 'a great part of the day; yet at laſt, after a mighty ſlaughter, the *Danes* 'kept the Field, and there was ſlain Biſhop *Heamund*, with abundance 'of brave Men.

After this Battle, during the whole Summer following, the *Danes* remained in quiet at *Reading*; but the ſame Year King *Æthered*, having now for five Years ſtoutly and nobly Govern'd his Kingdom, thô with many Troubles, deceaſed, and was buried in the Monaſtery of *Winburne* in *Dorſetſhire*. But thô the Chronicle that goes under the Name of Abbot *Bromton*, (from I know not what Authority,) relates this King to have died of the Wounds which he had received in a Fight againſt one *Somerled*, a *Daniſh* King, who had newly deſtroyed the Town of *Reading*; and the Inſcription on this King's Tomb at *Winborne*, (cited by * Mr. *Camde* in his *Britannia*,) relates him to be ſlain by the *Danes*; yet ſince neither *Aſſer*, *Ingulph*, the *Saxon* Annals, nor *William* of *Malmesbury*, mention any ſuch thing, and that the Inſcription it ſelf is but Modern, I rather ſuppoſe him to have died a natural Death of the Plague, which then reigned.

* Tit. *Dorſetſhire.*

This King is ſaid, by the Annals of *Ireland*, to have had a Daughter named *Thyra*, married to *Gormun*, King of the *Danes*, who on her begat *Sweyn*, the Father of King *Cnute*. This *Ethered* had alſo ſeveral Sons, as *Alfred*, ſuppoſed to be Grandfather to *Ethelwerd*, called *Quæſtor* the Hiſtorian; as alſo *Oſwald*, who his Father mentions in his Charter to the Abbey of *Abingdon*.

King *ÆLFRED*, otherwiſe called *ALFRED*.

Immediately after King *Ethered*'s Death, (as *Aſſer* relates,) Prince *Alfre* (who, during the Lives of his three Brothers, had been only their Deputy, or Lieutenant,) now by the General Conſent of the whole Kingdom took the Government upon him, which he might have had if he pleaſed during their Life-time, ſince he exceeded them all both in Wiſdom and Courage; ſo that indeed he Reigned almoſt whether he would or no. But before the firſt Month of his Reign was at an end, he, truſting on the Divine Aſſiſtance, marched his Army (thô but few in compariſon of the Pagans) to *Wilton*, lying on the South ſide of the River *Willie*, (from which both the Town and Country take their Names, where it was valiantly fought on both ſides for great part of the day, till the Pagans not being able any longer to endure the Force and Valour of the *Engliſh*, began to turn their Backs, but then finding the Number of the Purſuers to be ſmall, they rallied, and obtaining the Victory, kept the Field.

N

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXI.

Nor let this ſeem ſtrange to any, that will but conſider how ſmall the Number of the Chriſtians were, in compariſon of the Pagans; for the *Engliſh* had in the ſpace of one Year fought 8 or 9 Battles againſt them, beſides innumerable Skirmiſhes which King *Alfred*, or his Commanders, had with them, wherein thô they loſt one King and nine Earls, or Principal Commanders; yet receiving ſuch frequent Recruits from beyond Sea, whilſt the *Saxons* every day grew weaker, it is no Wonder if they prevailed; yet notwithſtanding *Aſſer*, and the *Saxon* Annals, tell us, That this Year there was a Peace made with the *Danes*, upon condition that they would depart the Kingdom; which they for the preſent obſerved, but to little purpoſe.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXII.

For the next Year, (as the ſame Author tells us,) the *Danes* having landed again, marched from *Reading* to *London*, and there took up their Winter-Quarters; and the *Mercians* were forced to make Peace with them.

Alſo this Year, (according to the Chronicle of *Mailroſs*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*,) the *Northumbers* expelled *Egbert* their King, and *Wulſher* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who both (as *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates) flying to *Bertulph* King of the *Mercians*, were by him honourably received.

About the ſame time (according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle) alſo died *Gwgan*, King or Prince of *Cardigan*, who, as ſome *Britiſh* Chronicles relate, was drowned by misfortune; and at the ſame time the *Danes* deſtroyed the Town of *Alcluid* in *Scotland*.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXIII.

'This Year the *Daniſh* Army leaving the Countries about *London*, 'marched into the Kingdom of the *Northumbers*, and there Wintered in a 'place called *Turſige* (now *Torſwick*) in *Lindſey*, (which was then part of 'the *Northumbrian* Kingdom;) ſo that the Neighbouring Nations were 'again forced to renew their League with them.

And now alſo (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Egbert*, King of *Northumberland*, dying, one *Ricſige* ſucceeded him, and Arch-Biſhop *Wulſher* was now reſtored to his Biſhoprick.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXIV.

'The next Year the Pagan Army leaving *Lindiſſe*, marched into *Mer*'*cia*, and wintered in a place called *Hreoptun* (now *Repton*) in *Derby*'*ſhire*, where they forced *Burhred*, King of the *Mercians*, to deſert his 'Kingdom, and paſs the Seas ~~to go~~ to *Rome*, where arriving, he lived 'not long, but there dying in the 22d Year of his Reign, he was honou'rably buried at the *Engliſh* School or College in the Church of St. *Mary* 'thereunto belonging. The *Danes*, after his Expulſion, brought the 'whole Kingdom of *Mercia* under their Dominion, and then delivered it 'to one *Ceolwulf*, an inconſiderable Fellow, and Servant of the late King, 'upon this miſerable Condition, That he ſhould deliver it up to them 'again whenſoever they required it; and for this he gave Hoſtages, 'ſwearing to obey them in all Things.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXV.

'Now the *Daniſh* Army leaving *Hreoptun*, became divided into two; and '*Halfden* their Commander marched with one part of it into the King'dom of *Northumberland*, and there took up his Winter-Quarters near the 'River *Tine*, where they conquered the whole Country, and alſo ſpoiled 'the Country between the *Picts* and the *Stræcled Welſh-men*, (who then 'inhabited part of *Galloway* in *Scotland*,) whilſt another party of the~~m~~ Danes, un'der the Command of *Godrun*, *Oskytel*, and *Amwynd*, (three of their 'Kings,) marched to *Grantbridge*, and there Wintered: And the ſame Sum'mer King *Ælfred* fought at Sea againſt ſeven of their Ships, and took one 'of them, the reſt eſcaping. ; this year also [illegible] King of Cornwall was drowned, but the welsh Chronicle but relates [illegible] not telling us how it happened. This

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVI. This Year (as *Aſſer* and the *Saxon* Annals relate,) *Rollo*, the *Dane* or *Norman*, waſted *Neuſtria*, (afterwards called *Normandy*,) and, in ſome time after, made an entire Conqueſt of it: *Aſſer* alſo ſays, that this *Rollo* having had a Dream of a Swarm of Bees flying towards the *South*, he choſe to leave *England*, and go over into *France*; though, as other Authours affirm, it was becauſe he was ſo warmly received by King *Alfred*, that he did not like to ſtay here, but rather choſe to paſs into another Country of eaſier Conqueſt, as *Normandy* indeed proved, for he reigned there fifty Years.

The ſame Year (according to the Chronicle of *Mailroſſe*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*,) *Ricſig*, King of *Northumberland*, dying, another *Egbert* ſucceeded him; but we have no account of his Actions, more than that he reigned beyond *Tyne* as a Tributary to the *Danes*, who poſſeſſed all the reſt of the Country, as you will find by the *Saxon* Annals

For The ſame Year, (~~accordingly~~) the *Danes* ſtealing away by 'Night from *Grantbridge*, (where they had long encamped,) marched 'to *Werham*, (now *Warham* in *Dorſetſhire*,) being then a ſtrong Caſtle of 'the *Weſt-Saxons*; this place they took, and deſtroyed, together with the 'Nunnery there; then paſſing higher, as into a ſecure Harbour, they 'drew up all their Ships, ſo that now King *Alfred* was reduced to ſuch 'great ſtreights, that he was forced to make Peace with him; and they 'gave the King for Pledges ſome of the Nobleſt Perſons in their Army, 'and took an Oath upon a ſacred Bracelet they had, (which Oath they 'would never take to any Nation before,) that they would preſently 'depart the Kingdom; but in the mean while, that part of the Army, 'which had Horſes, ſtole away to *Exanceaſter*, (now *Exeter*,) whereupon the King put all their Hoſtages to Death.

'The ſame Year in the Month of *Auguſt*, *Healfden* the *Daniſh* King 'divided the Kingdom of the *Northumbers* among his People, who now 'ſettling there, ploughed and ſowed; from whence the *Danes* date their 'Reign over that Kingdom. But the Year following,

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVII The *Danes* having left *Werham*, and come to *Exeter*, (as you have already heard,) their Fleet in the mean time fetching a compaſs, ſailing towards the *Weſt*, (I ſuppoſe to *Exmouth*) there aroſe ſo violent a Storm, as that 120 of their Ships were caſt away near *Swanawic*, (now *Swanwick* in *Hampſhire*;) then King *Ælfred* followed that part of the Army as far as *Exeter*, thô he could not overtake them, till they had got into the Caſtle, which proved ſo ſtrong, that no body could come at them; but he ſtreightning them there, they gave him what Hoſtages he required, and took freſh Oaths, and for a ſmall time obſerved the league they had made; yet nevertheleſs in the Month of *Auguſt* following, the ſame *Daniſh* Army marched into the Province of the *Mercians*, where, dividing part of it between themſelves, they left the reſt to *Ceolwulf* above mentioned.

About this time alſo, according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle, the Engliſh, having entred *Wales* the Year before, fought a Bloody Battel with the *Welſhmen*, though this Authour neither tells who were the Commanders, nor who had the Victory; and the Year following there was another Battel between them, wherein *Rodorick*, Sirnamed *The Great*, King or Prince of *Wales*, and *Gwyriad* his Brother, or (as ſome ſay,) his Son, were ſlain.

This *Rodorick* had, by his Wiſe *Engharaud*, the Daughter of Prince *Myric* ſeveral Sons, as *Anarawd* his Eldeſt, to whom he gave *Aberffraw*, with *North Wales*: *Cadelh* the ſecond, to whom he left *Dynevowr*, with *South-Wales*; who alſo took by force *Marthraval* and *Powyſland*, after the Death of *Mervyn* the third Son; to whom their Father *Rodorick* had given the ſame; To which Dr. *Powel* likewiſe adds, That this *Rodorick* is eſteemed by all Writers, to be ſole King of all *Wales*; *North-Wales* deſcending to him from his Mother *Eſylcht* the Daughter and ſole Heir of *Conan Tindaethwy*; but *South-Wales* he had in Right of his Wife, the Daughter and Heir of *Meyric ap Dyſnwal*, King of *Cardigan*; *Powis* he had by *Neſt*, the Siſter and Heir of *Congen ap Cadhel*, King of *Powis*, his Father's Mother: Theſe three Dominions he appointed under their Meeres and Bounds, with a Princely Houſe in each of them. Theſe he had named *Ytair Talaeth*, and left them unto three of his Sons, *Anarawd*, *Cadhel*, and *Mervyn*, who were called *Ytrit Twyſoc Talaethioc*, that is, the three Crown'd Princes, becauſe each of them did wear upon his Bonnet, or Helmet, a Coronet of Gold, being a broad Lace or Head-band indented upwards, ſet and wrought with precious Stones; which, in the *Britiſh* or *Welſh* Speech, is called *Talaeth*; and to which Mr. *Vaughan*, in his Additional Notes to *Caradoc*'s Hiſtory hath added, out of an ancient *Welſh* Manuſcript, That this *Rodorick* is ſaid to have corrected ſome of the old *Britiſh* Laws, and to have appointed new ones: He alſo ordained, that his Eldeſt Son ſhould have the Crown, or Coronet of *Aberffraw*, with the Fifteen *Cantreds* thereunto belonging. This *Aberffraw* is now a ſmall Village in the Iſle of *Angleſey*; and was anciently the chief Seat of the Princes of *Guyneth*, or *North-Wales*: He left to his ſecond the Crown or Coronet of *Dinevowr* or *Cardigan*, with its fifteen *Cantreds*, extending from the Mouth of the River *Devi* to the Mouth of *Severne*; and alſo that his Son ſhould have the Crown, or Coronet of *Mathraval*, with the Fifteen Cantreds of *Powis*, from the mouth of the River *Dee*, to the bridge over *Severne* at *Glouceſter*.

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DCCCLXXVII.

He ordained alſo, That his Eldeſt Son, and his ſucceſſours ſhould continue the payment of the ancient tribute to the King of *London*, (*i. e.* King of *England*) and that the other two, their Heirs and Succeſſours, ſhould acknowledge his Sovereignty, and pay the like tribute to him and his Succeſſours; and that upon the Invaſions of Strangers, they ſhould all ſend him aid, and be alſo ready to protect them, when there ſhould be need.

Moreover he ordained, That when any difference ſhould ariſe between the Princes of *Aberffraw*, and *Cardigan*, the Three Princes ſhould meet at *Bwlchy Pawl*, and after hearing of Council on both ſides, the Prince of *Powis* ſhould be Umpire between them.

And if the difference were between the Kings of *Aberffraw*, and *Powis*, that they ſhould likewiſe all Three meet at *Dolhrianedd*, (perchance *Morvarhianed*, on the Bank of the River *Dee*) where the King of *Cardigan* was to end the Controverſie.

And if there ſhould be any difference between the Kings of *Powis*, and *Cardigan*, the meeting ſhould be at *Llyſwen*, upon the River *Wy*, and the King of *Aberffraw* to decide it.

This, thô it ſeems to have been as wiſe a courſe as could be taken to maintain amity in a divided Kingdom, yet did prove of no effect; for it ſeems the Princes of theſe Countries did not long obſerve this Conſtitution of their Anceſtour King *Rodoric*, but perpetually weakned each other with Civil Wars; ſo that the *Engliſh* taking advantage of their mutual diviſions, by aſſiſting the weaker Prince againſt the ſtronger; they

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they at laſt by degrees reduced them all under the *Engliſh* Dominion, ſhall be further ſhewn in its proper place.

About this time *Anarawd*, the Eldeſt Son of *Rodorick* above mention began his Reign over *North-Wales*.

This Year (according to *Aſſer*) the *Danes* ſtealing away privately af the Feaſt of *Epiphany* came to *Cypenham*, and having now got Horſes, march through all the Country of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and there began to fix th Quarters; forcing many of the Inhabitants beyond Sea, and ſubjecting t reſt of their Dominion, in ſo much that King *Alfred* was forced with few of his Nobles, and with ſome Souldiers and Vaſſals, to lu among the Woody and Boggy parts of *Somerſet-ſhire*, where he led very uneaſie Life, in great Trouble and Scarcity, having no Proviſion but what he could take away by frequent incurſions from the Enemies or elſe thoſe Chriſtians who had ſubmitted themſelves to their Dominion and it is found in the Life of St. *Neot*, as he lay hid with a certai Cow-herd, it happened one day, that as his Wife was making of Cakes the King ſate by the Fire, fitting up his Bow and Arrows, and othe Weapons; but when the Woman ſaw the Cakes which lay before th fire begin to burn, ſhe preſently ran and removed them, and chiding th King, (whom ſhe did not know,) ſaid thus, "Doeſt thou, Fellow think "much to turn theſe Cakes, which thou can'ſt eat faſt enough when they "are baked? At which the King laughing, took all in good part; but be the Story true or falſe, this much is certain, that the King lay at this time ſo private, that neither his Friends nor Enemies could tell where he was; in ſo much that all this while the Royal Patrimony became a prey, as well to the revolting *Engliſh*, as to the *Danes* themſelves.

But the Monkiſh writers of theſe times, (according to their uſual Cuſtom of interpreting all misfortunes to be God's Judgments) will needs have this to be a judgment upon this King, becauſe that in the beginning of his Reign, being taken up with the deſire of Learning, or elſe diverted by Hunting and other Juvenile Pleaſures; he had too much neglected the publick affairs; and that being admoniſhed by St. *Neot*, and refuſing to amend, the Holy Man foretold, there would be a time, when he ſhould be driven from his Kingdom, and from his own Houſe.

But be this as it will, whileſt King *Alfred* was thus over-powered by the great multitude of *Danes* that daily entred the Kingdom, he was forced to retreat; yet even then, being followed by a ſmall band of Stout and Loyal Souldiers, he often ſet upon the Enemies by ſurprize, and with ſo good ſucceſs, that he let them ſee, though he was overcome by numbers, yet he was not vanquiſhed, ſince he remained formidable even in his flight; but to this Retreat, the then Woody and Bogy parts of *Somerſetſhire*, between the Rivers *Thone* and *Parret* chiefly contributed, which were then almoſt an Iſland, and not to be enter'd without a Boat, unleſs by one narrow way, (as *Leland* in his *Itinerary* hath rightly obſerved) but *Will.* of *Malmesbury* tells us, That it is to no purpoſe to relate all the little Skirmiſhes and Adventures of this King, during his Retreat; only one paſſage will not be unpleaſant, whether it be true or falſe, it happen'd one Day that whil'ſt King *Alfred* lay private in a little Caſtle, or Fort, in the Wood *Athelney*, it being Winter time, and the Waters frozen up, he ſent out his followers to ſeek for ſome Fiſh or Fowle, whereby they might ſuſtain Nature, ſo that none were left at home, but himſelf

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ſelf and his Mother, (for it ſeems the Queen his Wife was either dead, or elſe lay concealed ſome where elſe;) but the King having to paſs away the time taken up a Book, and began to read, (as his cuſtom was, when he had nothing elſe to do) a certain poor Man knocked at the door, and begged an Alms; whereupon the King calling to his Mother, deſired her to ſee if there was any thing for him to eat; but ſhe told him, that there was no more than one Loaf left, and this would not be enough for the whole Company when they returned home; the King hearing this, ſaid no more, *but let God be bleſſed for all his gifts,* then praying his Mother, to beſtow half of it upon this poor Chriſtian, further added, that he who had fed 5000 Men with Five Loaves and Two ſmall Fiſhes, could alſo, if he pleaſed, make half a Loaf ſuffice their neceſſities; whereupon his Mother complying with his deſire, and the poor Man having got more than he looked for, went his way, but the King having read till he was tired, happened to fall aſleep, and dreamt that he ſaw St. *Cuthbert* (formerly Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*) coming to him, and telling him, that he was ſent from God to let him know, that he was now reſolved to put an end to the long and grievous puniſhments which the *Engliſh* had hitherto ſuffered for their Sins; and that the Alms which he had juſt now beſtowed, was ſo acceptable in his ſight, that he would reſtore him to his Kingdom, and ſaid, as a ſign of this, his Servants, who were then gone out a Fiſhing, thô with very ſmall hopes of catching any thing, ſhould return home ſo loaded, that he ſhould look upon it with wonder; but that which is more ſtrange, his Mother fell alſo a ſleep, and dreamed the like Dream at the ſame time, as ſhe told the King her Son when he awaked her; but whilſt they with great aſtoniſhment diſcourſed of this Miracle, his followers returned home, bringing Fiſh enough with them to have ſerved a little Army, if there had been occaſion.

Hist. Reg. Claid.

But be this Story true or falſe, it is certain that not long after, the King received news,*that *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, returning out of *Wales*, (where having made a great ſlaughter of the *Britains*, they had paſt the Winter) and being lately landed in *Devon-ſhire* with Twenty three Ships, there met with ſome of the King's party, by whom their Captain with, 1200 Souldiers were ſlain, near the Caſtle of *Kenwith*, the manner of which was thus; *Odun*, Earl of *Devon-ſhire*, with many others of the King's Subjects, upon the arrival of *Hubba*, had fled hither for refuge; but when the *Danes* knew the Caſtle was but weakly fortified, and they within were not provided of things neceſſary for a Siege; they then reſolved to ſit down before it, ſuppoſing that the *Engliſh* would quickly ſurrender for want of Proviſions; which they being alſo ſenſible of, were endeavouring to prevent, and reſolving either to obtain the Victory or dye; they ſallyed out early one Morning upon the Enemy, who lay Encamp'd without any good Guards, ſo falling upon them at unawares ſlew *Hubba* their Leader, with his whole Army, except a few who were forced to flee to their Ships.

Vid. *Camdens* *Britan. Tit.* Devonſhire.

And this *Hubba* being here buried under a heap of Stones, gave name to the place, being called Hubbeston ~~*Hubbleſtones*~~ to this day; but the *Engliſh* having ſtripped the dead bodies, they there found among the ſpoils, that famous Banner, called *Reafan*, (that is the *Raven*) being the Picture of a Raven embroidered by the Three Siſters of *Hinguar*, and *Hubba*, in one forenoon on purpoſe for this Expedition, and which being Enchanted by their Magic Arts, they put ſo great a confidence in it, that they believed

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if they were to meet with good ſucceſs, this figure would clap its Wings, as if it were alive, but if otherwiſe, would let them fall; but be this Story true or falſe, it ſeems they now loſt their Oracle before they had time to conſult it, and the loſs of it was certainly a great diſcouragement to them.

King *Ælfred* being now much encouraged with the news of this good ſucceſs of the *Devon-ſhire*-men, began to conſider how he might perform ſome worthy action againſt the Enemy; therefore this Year, (as the *Saxon* Annals relate,) 'having firſt fortified with his ſlender Forces a ſmall Caſtle or 'Fort at *Ætheling-gaige* (now called *Athelney* in *Somerſetſhire*) where he had reſided hitherto; he marched from thence the Seventh Week after, and with his Subjects and Vaſſals there, to fight againſt the *Pagans*; and it is alſo about this time, that we may place that memorable action of this King which is thus related by *Ingulph*, and *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, which if true, ſhews not only his great Courage, but Conduct too; for knowing the Enemy to exceed him in numbers, as well as other advantages, and that if he ſhould ſet upon them with open Force he would be able to do them little, or no prejudice, nor could he hope for any better ſucceſs, unleſs he knew in what condition the Enemie's Army was, and not having any one whoſe Sagacity or Fidelity he could well truſt, he was reſolved to go himſelf to ſpy out the Enemie's Camp: ſo taking upon him the Habit of a Country Minſtrel (or Fidler) he went with only one Companion into the *Daniſh* Camp, where he became ſo acceptable, as well for his Singing, as Playing, that at laſt he was introduced to the King's Tent, and when he had there, as well as in the reſt of the *Daniſh* Camp, learnt as much as he had a mind to know, he again returned to his Caſtle at *Athelne*; y where having called together all his chief followers, he related to them the careleſs condition of the Enemies Camp, and with what eaſe they might be deſtroyed: whereat they being extraordinarily ſurpriſed, he then reſolved to muſter up what Forces he could.

Annal.
Asser.
again

So the Seventh Week after *Eaſter*, he march'd to *Ecgbyrth-ſtan* (now ſuppoſed to be *Brixſtan* in *Somerſet-ſhire*,) lying on the Eaſt ſide of *Selwood* Foreſt, where met him all the *Wilt-ſhire*, *Somerſet-ſhire* and *Hamptſhire* Men; who were mightily pleaſed to behold their King after ſo many hazards; but ſtaying there only one night, he marched away to *Iglay*, (where the place was is not very well known,) and there encamped another night, at in which (as *Aſſer* relates) St. *Neot*, who had been formerly his Kinſman, and Friend, appeared to him in a Dream, and bid him not be afraid of the great Army of the *Pagans*, becauſe God would now have mercy upon him and his People; and that what had happen'd to him, was for his too great Arrogance in his Youth, and that God would Fight for him and his People: The King you may be ſure was much rejoyced at this Dream, and failed not to encourage his Men with it; ſo the next Morning removing his Camp from thence, he came in one Day more to *Ethandune*, (but where it is we cannot tell) where the *Danes* lay encamped, and marching againſt them in very cloſe order, he fought their whole Army, and though they did for a long time ſtoutly reſiſt the frequent charges the King's Men made upon them, yet at laſt they gave ground, and beginning to flye he obtained a notable Victory, making a great ſlaughter of the *Pagans*, as they retreated to a certain Caſtle not far off, and at which they lay encamped, where the King beſieged them for Fourteen Days; till being overcome by hunger, they were reduced to

that

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that neceſſity, as to deſire Peace on theſe Conditions, That the King ſhould receive from them what Hoſtages He ſhould name, but He not to return any to them; ſo they made ſuch a Peace with him, as they had never done with any King before; for they ſwore that they would depart his Kingdom, and that *Gythram* (or *Gutrum*) their King ſhould become a Chriſtian, all which was performed, for about Three Weeks after the ſaid King with about Thirty more of his Chief Noblemen came to the King, being then at *Alrey* (the place is now unknown) only that it lay near *Athelney* above-mentioned, where King *Alfred* receiving him from the Font at his Baptiſm, became his Godfather, and took him for his adopted Son: But he did not receive the Chriſme till Eight Days after, at a Town of the Kings called *Wedmore*, where he ſtaid with him for the ſpace of Twelve Days, who preſented him, and all thoſe that accompanied him, not only with Money, but Houſes and Lands, being now reſolved to fix here.

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So this next Year the *Danes* (according to their promiſe) removed from *Cippenham* (i. e. *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire*) to *Cirenceaſter*, and there ſtaid one Year.

But now another Army of *Pagans*, arriving from beyond the Sea, ſailed up the River *Thames*, to whom (notwithſtanding their former Oaths) the Army that was here before alſo join'd, and took up their Winter Quarters at *Fullanham* (now *Fulham*, not far from *London*,) ‘and the ſame Year (according to the Annals) the Sun was Eclipſed for one whole hour; alſo now part of the *Pagans* who had quartered at *Cirenceſter*, (as ſay the Annals and *Aſſer*) marched from thence under the Conduct of King *Gythrum*, into the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*; and dividing the Country among them, began to inhabit it; which, having been in their poſſeſſion ever ſince the Death of King *Edmund*, King *Alfred* now yielded up to their King *Gythram*; ‘but thoſe *Danes* who had before ſtaid at *Fulham*, now ſailed into *Frankland*, and quartered at *Ghent* for one whole Year; from whence you may obſerve, that what we now call *Flanders* was then accounted part of *France*, or *Frankland*.

Vid. *Lambard's Archaionom.*

And to this time we may alſo refer, that League or Agreement made between King *Alfred* and King *Guthram*, which ſets out the Territories of each of theſe Princes.

‘The Firſt Article is, That it is agreed that the Limits of K. *Alfred's* Land are firſt upon the *Thames*, then proceed they to the River *Lee*, as far as his Fountain; then ſtraight to *Bedford*, and then along the River *Ouſe*, as far as *Watling-ſtreet*; which I ſuppoſe, is thus to be underſtood; that K. *Alfred* did hereby grant him *Eaſt-England* and *Eſſex*; ſo that the bounds of theſe Kings Dominions were firſt the *Thames*, then the River *Lee*, as far as *Harford*, whereabouts it ariſes: Then from *Harford* to *Bedford*, all along *Watling-ſtreet*, and then from *Bedford* all along the *Ouſe* to the Sea.

‘The Second Article appoints the value of a Man ſlain, whether *Engliſh* or *Dane*, to be four Marks of pure Gold, and the Redemption of each Four hundred Shillings.

‘But if the King's Servant or *Thane* was accuſed of Man-ſlaughter; the Third Article proceeds, That he then ſhould be tried by Twelve

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‘other of the King's Servants; or in caſe he was not the King's Servant, but belonged to ſome inferiour Lord, he ſhould be tried by eleven of his Equals, and by one of the King's Servants. The ſame Order was taken in all Suits, which exceeded four Marks; but in caſe he refuſed to undergo this Trial, his Fine was to be encreaſed threefold.

‘The Fourth appoints Vouchers for the Sale of Men, Horſes, or Oxen.

‘The Fifth and Laſt Ordains, That none from either Army ſhould paſs to the other without Leave; and in caſe it be by way of Traffick, ſuch ſhall find Sureties for their good Behaviour, that the Peace may not be broken.

‘This was the League it ſelf, with ſome other Articles needleſs to be here recited; the Preface to which declares, That it was made betwixt the two Kings, *Alfred* and *Gythrum*, (ſo the *Saxon* Original,) by Conſent of all the Wiſe Men of the *Engliſh*, and of all thoſe that inhabited *Eaſt England*, and that not only in behalf of themſelves, but of their Poſterity.

This ſufficiently ſhews, that the *Eaſtern* Parts of *England* then belonged to the *Danes*; yet *Polydore Virgil* calling this King by the Name of *Gormon*, vehemently contends, that he had not that Country beſtowed upon him. *Krantzius* alſo denies, that this *Gormon* was converted to the Faith; yet confeſſes, that about this time one *Froto* was converted: But whatever they write, this League ſufficiently evinceth the Diſtinction of their Territories, and the Teſtimony of *Aſſer* is uncontrollable as to his Baptiſm, who lived himſelf at this very time, not to mention that the *Saxon* Annals alſo affirm the ſame thing.

After which follow the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, ſaid in their Title to be made between King *Alfred* and King *Gythrum*, as they are to be found in Abbot *Brompton*'s Chronicle.

The Firſt of which is, That the *Danes* and *Engliſh* ſhould Love and Serve the true GOD alone, and Renounce *Paganiſm*.

And in the next place, That if any ſhould Renounce his *Chriſtianity*, and Relapſe to *Paganiſm*, then he ſhould pay his *Weare*, *Wite*, and *Laſhlite*, according to what he had done.

The Third Law is, That if any in Holy Orders ſhall either Fight, Perjure himſelf, or commit Fornication, let him likewiſe make Amends by the like Penalties above-mentioned; and likewiſe make Satisfaction to GOD according to the Canons of the Church; and alſo give a Pledge or Security to do ſo no more.

Note, That the *Weare*, *Wite*, and *Laſhlite*, above-mentioned, were all of them Fines, or Mulcts, which the *Danes* and *Engliſh* were to pay according to the value of their Heads, as hath been already ſhewn; but as for the laſt of theſe Words, Mr. *Somner*, in his *Gloſſary*, ſuppoſes it to

be

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be purely *Daniſh*, and ſignified no more than the two former Words, but was ſo called in relation to the *Danes* alone, who were to undergo it; after which follow ſeveral Conſtitutions againſt the Offences of Clergymen, againſt committing Inceſt, and with-holding of Tythes, and *Romeſcot* or *Peter-pence*; in all which Offences a *Dane* was to pay the like *Weare*, and *Wite*, with an *Engliſh-man*; as alſo againſt Buying, Selling, and Working on the *Lord's Day*; in which Caſes, if a Freeman wrought upon Holy-days, he was to loſe his Liberty, or pay his *Wite*; but if he were a Servant or *Villain*, he was to ſatisfie it with his Skin, (*i.e.* by Whipping,) or pay his *Head-Gild*; but if a Maſter compelled his Servant to work upon Holy-days, he was to pay his *Laſhlite* as the *Danes*, and his *Wite* as the *Engliſh* did, that is, according as he was a *Dane*, or an *Engliſh-man*; (which ſufficiently juſtifies Mr. *Somner*'s Senſe of that Word:) The reſt of theſe Laws being againſt divers other Offences, as againſt violating the Faſts of the Church, againſt making *Ordeal*, or taking an Oath on Sundays or Faſt-days. Not that this *Ordeal*, or Trial by a hot Iron, or boyling Water, in caſe the Perſon was accuſed of a Crime, was to be uſed, unleſs there was ~~no~~ direct Proof againſt him. / no. The reſt of the Laws are againſt putting any Man to Death upon a Sunday; as alſo againſt Witches, Perjured Perſons, and Common Whores, all which Perſons were to be baniſhed the Country.

But the laſt Law ſaving one, is a ſort of Cruel Mercy; for thereby if a Man had loſt any of his Members for any Crime, and ſurvived the ſame four Nights, it was afterwards lawful with the Licenſe of the Biſhop for any one to give him Help and Aſſiſtance, which it ſeems before that time it was not lawful to do.

But the Reader may further from the Title of theſe Laws obſerve, the Subjection or Dependence which King *Gytrum* then had upon K. *Alfred* at that time; for King *Gytrum* and his *Danes* gave their Conſent to them in a Common-Council of the Kingdom, in the ſame manner as the Kings of *Mercia*, and of the *Eaſt Angles*, were wont to do in the General Council of the *Weſt Saxon* Kingdom, in acknowledgment of its Superiority over them, as may be proved by divers Examples; and if this King *Gytrum* could have made Laws by his own Authority, he might have called a Council of his own to do ſo, which we do not find he ever did, having received his Kingdom wholly from the Bounty of King *Alfred*.

Alſo about the Year laſt mentioned King *Alfred* new built the Town of *Shafts bury*, as appears by an old Inſcription cited by [*] Mr. *Camden*, out of an old Manuſcript Copy of *William* of *Malmesbury*, then belonging to the Lord *Burghley*; which Inſcription was in that Author's time to be ſeen in the Chapter-houſe of that Nunnery, which was built at this place by this King ſome Years after.

[*] Britan. Dorſetſhire.

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‘The Pagans entred further into *France*, where the *French* fought with ‘them, and (as it is ſuppoſed) were routed, for here the *Danes* found ‘Horſes enough to mount the greateſt part of their Men.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXII.

‘This Year the *Danes* ſailed up the *Maeſe* (now the *Meuſe*) into *Frankland*, and there ſtayed another Year. The ſame Year alſo King *Ælfred* ‘ſailing out with his Fleet, fought againſt four *Daniſh* Pirat Ships, and 'took two of their Men, and the other two (the Men being very much 'wounded and tired in the Fight) ſurrendred themſelves.

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'The *Danes* ſailed up the *Skeld* to *Cundoth*, (which was then a Monaſtery, and is now ſuppoſed to be *Conde* upon the River *Eſcaut*) where 'they ſtayed a whole Year. Now alſo *Marinus*, that Religious Pope, 'ſent ſome of the Wood of our LORD's Croſs to *Alfred*, and in Return the King ſent to *Rome* the Alms he had vowed by the Hands of '*Sighelm* and *Ethelſtan*: Alſo he ſent other Alms into *India*, to St. *Thomas*, 'and St. *Bartholomew*, (who being there martyr'd, are accounted the *Indian* Apoſtles.) And about that time the *Engliſh* Army lay encamped 'againſt the *Danes*, who held *London*, where yet (thanks be to GOD) 'all Things ſucceeded proſperouſly.

Alſo this Year, (according to the Chronicle of *Mailroſs*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*,) King *Alfred* having ſlain the two *Daniſh* Captains, *Ingwar* and *Halfdene*, cauſed the waſted Parts of *Northumberland* to be again Inhabited; then *Edred* the Abbot, being ſo commanded by *Cuthbert* in a Viſion, redeemed a certain Youth who had been ſold to a Widow at *Withingham*, and made him King of *Northumberland* by the joynt Conſent both of the *Engliſh* and *Danes*, King *Alfred* himſelf confirming the Election. This King *Guthred*, in Gratitude to St. *Cuthbert*, did alſo beſtow all the Land between the Rivers of *Weol*, ~~and~~ *Tyne*, ~~and ſays~~ upon that Saint, that is, upon the Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, who this Year removed the Biſhop's See from thence to a place then called *Concaceſtre*, now *Cheſter*; and thither they alſo removed the Body of St. *Cuthbert*. But as for the Miracle of the Earth's opening and ſwallowing up a whole Army of *Scots*, who came to fight with King *Cuthred*, I leave it to the Monks to be believed by them, if they pleaſe. This is certain, that thus making this poor Youth King, the Church got all that Country now called the *Biſhoprick* of *Durham*. And who can tell but all this Viſion was a Contrivance of Abbot *Edred*'s, for that very Deſign; yet if it were ſo, it was but a Pious Fraud, which highly tended to the enriching of that Church.

called Guthred

The ſame Year (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*) died *Aſſer*, Biſhop of *Shirburne*; who could not be the ſame with that *Aſſer*, who writ the Life and Actions of King *Alfred*, ſince that Author writ to *Anno* 993, being the 45th Year of King *Alfred*'s Age, as appears by that Work. Arch Biſhop *Uſher* ſuppoſes this *Aſſer* the Hiſtorian to have been he, who was afterwards the Biſhop of St. *David*'s, and was the ſecond of that Name who ſate in that See; but without any good Authority.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXIV

'This Year the *Danes* ſailed up the River *Sunne*, (*i. e. Some*,) as far 'as *Embenum* (now *Amiens*, in *Picardy*, where they remained one whole 'Year. And now alſo deceaſed the worthy Biſhop *Athelwold*.

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The *Danes* being thus employed abroad, did nothing this Year in *England*; but the next we find in *Aſſer*, that the *Pagan* Army divided it ſelf into two Bodies, the one whereof ſailed to the Eaſt Parts of *France*, whilſt the other making up the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, beſieged the City of *Rocheſter*, and having built a ſtrong Fort before the Gates, from thence aſſaulted the City, yet could by no means take it, becauſe the Citizens valiantly defended themſelves, until ſuch times as King *Ælfred* came to their Aſſiſtance with a powerful Army; which when the Pagans ſaw, quitting their Forts, and all the Horſes which they had brought with them out of *France*, together with a great many Priſoners, to the

Engliſh,

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Engliſh, they in great haſt fled away to their Ships, and being compelled by neceſſity paſſed again that Summer in *France*; King *Ælfred* having now reinforced his Fleet, was reſolved to fall upon the *Daniſh* Pyrates, who then ſheltered among their Country Men of *Eaſt England*; upon which he ſent his Fleet that he had got ready in *Kent*, (being very well Mann'd) into the mouth of the River *Stoure*, (not that in *Kent*, but another that runs by *Harwich*, where they were met by Sixteen *Daniſh* Pyrates, who lay there watching for a Prey; and immediately ſetting upon them, after a ſharp reſiſtance the King's Men boarding them, they were all taken, together with great Spoils, and moſt of the Men killed.

'But as the King's Fleet were returning home, they fell among another 'Fleet of *Danes*, much ſtronger, with whom fighting again, the *Danes* 'obtained the Victory; thô with what Loſs to the *Engliſh*, the Annals 'do not ſay.

But the reſt of the *Danes* of *Eaſt England*, were ſo much incenſed at this Victory; as alſo with the ſlaughter of their Country Men, that ſetting out a greet *Fleet* very well Mann'd, they ſail'd to the mouth of *Thames*; where ſetting upon divers of the King's Ships, by ſurprize in the Night, when all the Men were aſleep, they had much the better of them; but what damage the King's Ships received, and how many Men were loſt, our Authour does not tell us.

'The ſame Year, ſomewhat before *Chriſtmaſs*, *Charles*, King of the '*Weſtern Franks*, was killed by a wild Boar, which he was then hunting; 'but his Brother *Lewis* dyed the Year before: They were both Sons to 'that King *Lewis*, who deceaſed the Year of the laſt Eclipſe, and he 'was the Son of that *Charles*, whoſe Daughter, *Ethelwulf* King of the '*Weſt Saxons* had married.

S. C.

'The ſame Year happened a great Sea Fight among the ancient '*Saxons* of *Germany*, but the Annals do not acquaint us with whom they 'fought, However, it is ſuppoſed to have been with the *Danes*; and they 'further add, That they fought twice this Year, where the *Saxons* being 'aſſiſted by the *Friſians*, obtained the Victory.

Here alſo *Aſſer*, as well as our Annals, proceed to give us a further account of the *French* and *German* affairs, with a brief deſcent of their Kings, from *Charles* the Great; as that this Year *Charles* King of the *Allmans* received all the Kingdoms of the *Weſtern Franks*, which lye between the *Mediteranean* Sea, and that Bay, which was between the Ancient *Saxons* and the *Gauls*, by the voluntary conſent of all the People; the Kingdom of *Armorica*, (that is, of leſſer *Britain*,) only excepted: This *Charles* was the Son of *Lewis*, Brother of that *Charles* laſt mention'd; and both the Kings were the Sons of *Lewis*, the Younger Son of *Charles* the Great, who was the Son of King *Pipin*. ^

'The ſame Year alſo the good Pope *Marinus* deceaſed, who freed the '*Engliſh* School at *Rome*, at the entreaty of King *Ælfred*, from all Tax 'and Tribute.

'Alſo about the ſame time the *Danes* of *Eaſt England* broke the Peace, 'which they had lately made with King *Ælfred*.

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'The *Pagans* who had before Invaded the *Eaſt*, quitting that, now 'marched towards the *Weſt* parts of *France*; and paſſing up the River '*Seine*, took their Winter Quarters at *Paris*.

^ and this year King Ælfred by the advice of Ethred Arch Bp. Cant: sent over certain Envoys to the Monastery of St. Bertine in France to invite Grimbald a learned Monk to come over into England to revive the Liberal Arts now almost lost, which he comply'd with and many excellent men were bred up under his tuition, such as were John the Presbyter Asser a bove mention'd and severall others. Vid. Spelmans Collection printed of the Life of Grimbald. vol 1 p. [illegible]

The

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The ſame Year (according to *Aſſer*, as well as the Annals,) King *Alfred*, after ſo many Cities being burnt, and ſuch great deſtruction of People, not only took the City of *London* from the *Danes*, who had it long in their Poſſeſſion; but he now repaired it, and made it habitable; and then committed it to the Cuſtody of his Son-in-Law, *Ethered* Earl of the *Mercians*; and now all the *Engliſh*, (*viz.*) the *Mercians* and *Kentiſhmen*, as alſo the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Saxons*, who had been before diſperſed, or made Priſoners with the *Danes*, being now returned home, put themſelves under King *Alfred*'s Protection ^

^ But these good successes were mixt with some ill ones, for as Alfred in [illegible] this summer a great party of the citizens of London and the inhabitants of some adjoyning [illegible] [illegible] to take [illegible] certain fort or castle the Danes had built in those parts and which [illegible] them, but the Danes made a stout resistance, the English Christians were put [illegible] and four of King Alfred's thanes were there killed.

But theſe *Daniſh* Storms being pretty well blown over, King *Alfred* began now to make ſome uſe of the Learned Men he had ſent for from abroad; for as Mr. *Camden* ſhews us in his * *Britannia*, we have a large account of the Univerſity of *Oxon*. Under the Year of our *Lord*, 886, '*viz.* That in the Second Year of St. *Grimbald*'s coming over into *England*, 'the Univerſity of *Oxford* was founded; the firſt Regents there, and 'Readers in Divinity were St. *Neot*, an Abbot, an Eminent Profeſſor of '*Theology*, and St. *Grimbald*, an Eloquent and moſt Excellent Interpreter of the Holy Scriptures; whilſt Grammer and Rhetorick were 'Taught by *Aſſer* a Monk, a Man of extraordinary Learning; Logick, 'Muſick and Arithmetick, were Read by *John* a Monk of St. *Davids*; 'Geometry, and Aſtronomy were profeſſed by *John* another Monk, and 'Collegue of St. *Grimbald*; one of a ſharp Wit, and Immenſe Knowledge.

* Oxfordſhire.

'Theſe Lectures were often honoured with the preſence of the moſt 'Illuſtrious and Invincible Monarch, King *Ælfred*, which is alſo aſſerted by *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, who tells us a conſtant Tradition of his 'time, that King *Alfred* by the Advice of *Neot* the Abbot, firſt founded 'publick Schools of various Arts at *Oxford*; which is further confirm'd by an Ancient Manuſcript Copy of *Randolph Higden*'s *Polychron*, in *Bayliol College Library*, which in the beginning treating of all the Kings of *England*, when he comes to King *Alfred*, ſays thus, *That he firſt founded the Univerſity of* Oxford. *John Rouſe* in his Manuſcript Treatiſe, *de Regibus Angliæ*, (Lib. 1.) ſeems alſo to have ſeen this paſſage in *Wincheſter* Annals, and adds Three Halls to have been thus built, The one for *Grammar*, near the *Eaſt-Gate*; the Second near the *North-Gate* for *Logicians*; and the Third in the *High-Street*, for *Divines*.

But ſince this only proves that King *Alfred* firſt founded publick Schools here, and not that there was any ſuch thing here before; I ſhall recite alſo what follows, as it is quoted by the ſaid Mr. *Camden*, out of an ancient Copy of *Aſſer de Geſtis Alfredi*, which, I could wiſh may clear this point: 'About this time (ſays he) there aroſe a ſharp and grievous 'diſſention between *Grimbald*, and thoſe learned Men whom he brought 'hither with him, and the old Scholars whom he found here at his coming; for theſe abſolutely refuſed to comply with the Statutes, Inſtitutions and Forms of Reading perſcribed by *Grimbald*; the difference 'proceeded to no great height, for the ſpace of Three Years, yet there 'was always a private Grudge and Enmity between them, which ſoon 'after broke out with the utmoſt violence imaginable; to appeaſe theſe 'Tumults, the moſt Invincible King *Ælfred*, being informed of the 'Faction, by a Meſſage and Complaint from *Grimbald*, came to *Oxford* 'to accommodate the matter, and ſubmitted to a great deal of Pains and

‘Patience, to hear the Cauſe and Complaint of both Parties: The Con‘troverſie depended upon this; The Old Scholars maintain’d, that before ‘the coming of *Grimbald* to *Oxford*, Learning did here flouriſh, thô the ‘Students were leſs in number, than they had formerly been, becauſe ‘very many of them had been Expell’d by the cruel Tyranny of the ‘*Pagans:* They farther declar’d and proved, by the undoubted ‘Teſtimony of their ancient Annals, that good Orders and conſtitu‘tions for the Government of that place had been already made by Men ‘of great Piety, and Learning; ſuch as *Gildas*, *Melkin*, *Ninnias*, *Kenti‘gern* and others; who had there proſecuted their Studies, to a good ‘old Age: All things being then managed in happy Peace and quiet; ‘and that St. *German* coming to *Oxford* and reſiding there half a Year, ‘after he had gone through all *England* to Preach down the *Pelagian* ‘Hereſie, did well approve of their Rules and Orders: The King ‘with incredible Humility and great attention heard both parties, ex‘horting them with Pious and Importunate entreaties, to preſerve Love ‘and Amity with one another; upon this he left them, in hopes that they ‘both would follow his Advice, and obey his Inſtructions: But *Grim‘bald*, reſenting theſe proceedings, retired imediately to the Monaſtery of ‘*Wincheſter*, which King *Ælfred* had lately founded: and ſoon after he ‘got his Tomb to be removed thither to him, in which he had deſigned ‘his Bones ſhould be put after his Deceaſe, and laid in a Vault under the ‘Chancel of the Church of S. *Peters* in *Oxford*; which Church the ſaid *Grim‘bald* had raiſed from the ground, of Stones hewn and carved with great Art.

But ſince it muſt be confeſſed that this paſſage of the quarrel of St. *Grimbald*, and the Old Scholars of *Oxford*, is not to be found in that ancient Copy of *Aſſer*, which Arch-Biſhop *Parker* firſt publiſhed in *Saxon* Characters (like thoſe in which it is written, being ſtill Extant in the *Cottonian* Library) yet ~~though~~ it was publiſhed by Mr. *Camden* in that Edition of *Aſſer*, which was printed at *Frankford*, in 1603. The Original of which the Lord Primate *Uſher* in his *Ant. Brit. Eccleſ.* expreſly tells us, Mr. *Camden* never ſaw; from whence Sir *John Spelman* in his * Hiſtory of the Life of King *Ælfred*, hath made a very hard inferences, as if that clauſe was not to be found in any of the ancient Copies of that Authour, but had been foiſted in either by the Publiſher, or elſe by Mr. *Camden* himſelf; thô this Authour does not ſay ſo in expreſs terms.

I ſhall therefore repeat in ſhort what Mr. *Ant. Wood* hath anſwered to this Objection, in the * Antiquities of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, from a Manuſcript Teſtimonial, under the hand of the learned Mr. *Twyne*; *viz.* That he himſelf, long after diſcourſing with Mr. *Camden* on this Subject, and asking him expreſly about this paſſage, whoſe authority began to be then queſtioned, ‘His Anſwer was, that he very well knew that he had ‘truly tranſcribed, that paſſage from an ancient Manuſcript of *Aſſer*, ‘which he had then by him, and which as the ſaid Mr. *Wood* in his Notes ‘tells us, then belonged to Sir *Henry Savile* of *Banke*, near *Halifax* in ‘*Tork-ſhire*.

But I ſhall not now take upon me to Anſwer the reſt of the Objections which the ſaid Sir *John Spelman* does there produce againſt the validity of the above cited paſſage; which ſuppoſes publick Schools to have been at *Oxford*, before King *Alfred*’s time; for they are all reduceable to theſe two heads; Firſt the expreſs words of the Annals, of the Abbey of *Hyde* above-mentioned, as alſo that of *Polychronicon*, ‘That King *Alfred* was

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* Publiſhed at Oxford in Latine.

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'the firſt King who founded a Univerſity there: all which may be anſwered, by allowing that to be true in reſpect of a Univerſity, endow'd with Priviledges, and diſtinct Halls and Colledges built on purpoſe; and yet there might very well have been before that time a publick *School*, or *Studium*, (as it was then call'd,) where the Liberal Arts were taught; as for the other Objection of the improbability of the old Scholars falling out with the new Profeſſors, in the very firſt Year of the Inſtitution of the Univerſity, (that is, as ſoon as ever they came thither,) this may be alſo anſwered, by ſuppoſing that thoſe Annals were written many Years after the Death of King *Alfred*, from a Common received Tradition, and ſo this tranſaction might have been dated there, or Four Years later than it really happened: as *John Rouſe* in his Manuſcript Hiſtory of the Kings of *England* alſo places it.

I confeſs there is one Objection, which I wiſh I could Anſwer; and that is, How *Gildas* and *Nennius* could ſtudy at *Oxford*, when the latter was not ſo much as Born, till about the Concluſion of this, or Beginning of the following Century, and much leſs the Former; when even by the beſt Accounts of thoſe Times, the *Pagan Saxons* were then Maſters of that part of *England*.

Having ſaid thus much concerning the Antiquity of that Famous Univerſity, to which I owe my Education, I ſhall not trouble my ſelf with enquiry into the Reality of thoſe ſuppoſed Ancient Schools, of *Creeklad* and *Leacklade*; (which the Monkiſh Writers ſuppoſe to have been anciently called *Greeklade*, and *Latinelade*,) the latter of which Derivations, tho Mr. *Camden* juſtly explodes, yet he ſeems to have more Veneration for the former, ſince in the place from whence I have tranſcribed the abovecited Quotations; he alſo tells us, "That the Muſes were tranſported "to *Oxford* from *Creeklade*; (now a ſmall Town in *Wilt-ſhire*.) All the Authority for which (that I know of, beſide uncertain Tradition) depends upon the Credit of a Manuſcript, lately in the Liberary of *Trinity* Hall in *Cambridge*, and is cited by Mr. *Wheelock* in his Notes upon *Bede*; where ſpeaking of *Theodorus*, Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*, he ſays, That he held or maintained Schools in a Village near the Water, which is called *Greekiſlake*; but Mr. *Somner* in his Learned * *Gloſſary*, hath given us a much more likely Derivation of this place, (*viz.*) from the Old *Saxon* Word *Creek*, ſignifying a River, or Torrent, running either into ſome River, or elſe into the Sea; and *Gelad*, which ſignified an emptying, for it was anciently written *Crecca Gelade*, and not *Greeklade*, as ſome would now write it.

Lib. 4. *cap.* 2.

ad fin. X. ſcript.

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'~~This Year~~ the Dane *Pagans* paſſing under the Bridge of *Paris*, and from 'thence by the *Seine* up the River *Meterne*, (now called *Marne*,) as far as '*Cazii*, (now *Choiſy*) and which *Florence* ſays ſignified a Royal Village, 'where, and at *Jona*, (a place we know not,) they ſtaid Two Years; alſo 'the ſame Year Deceaſed *Charles* (the Groſſe) King of the *Franks*, but '*Earnwulf* his Brother's Son had expell'd him out of his Kingdom ſix 'Weeks before his Death; after which it was divided into five Parts, 'over whom were ſet five Kings; but this partition was with *Earnewulf*'s 'good leave, for they all promiſed to Govern under him, becauſe none 'of them was Heir on the Fathers ſide, beſides himſelf alone; therefore '*Earnwulf* fixed the Seat of his Kingdom in the Countries lying on the 'Eaſt ſide of the *Rhine*; whilſt *Rodulf* took the middle, or inward part 'of the Kingdom; and *Odo* (or *Otto*) the *Weſtern* Part; and *Beorngar*, 'and

* This year according
[illegible] Alfred severly the Danish Army
~~harrass'd~~ residing in East England
and Northumberland ~~[illegible]~~
[illegible] the sea
Coasts and [illegible]
[illegible] harrass'd by
country of the West Sax-
ons with their light vess-
els which they had made
several years before:
against these King Al-
fred caused other ships
to be built longer and
nimble than those
which being sent to sea
the king commanded
them to take those Pirates alive, or else if they could not:
at least to kill them
whereupon no less than 20 Danish vessels full of those Pirates were
taken &
some of whom were brought Prisoners to the King, were immediatly hang'd, and thou
we come to France our Annals inform us that the &c.

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‘ and *Witha*, (called in *Latine Beringarius*, and *Wido*) held *Lombardy*, and all the Countries on that ſide the Mountains; all which Kingdoms they held with much Diſcord, Fighting two great Battles, and waſting thoſe Countries, till ſuch time as each of them had expell'd the other from his Kingdom; alſo the ſame Year *Ethelelm* the Ealdorman carried the Alms of King *Alfred*, and the *Weſt Saxons* to *Rome*.

This was the Benevolence, called *Peter Pence*, which is here juſtly termed an *Alms*, and not a *Tribute*, as Modern Popiſh Writers have termed it.

But to return to our own Domeſtick Affairs; *Aſſer* above-mentioned, informs us, that the Kingdom being now pretty well at quiet from the *Danes*, the King began to mind his Civil Government, to repair his Cities and Caſtles, and alſo to build others in the moſt neceſſary places, altering the whole face of the Country into a much better form; and having walled ſeveral Towers and Caſtles, he made them defenſible againſt the *Pagans*: Nor was he leſs careful in the Political Affairs of his Kingdom; for divers of his own Subjects, having, under the name of *Danes*, committed great Spoils and Rapines, theſe the King reſolving to puniſh, and reſtrain from theſe Exceſſes, he firſt of all divided all the Provinces of *England* into Counties, and thoſe again into Hundreds and Tythings; ſo that every Legal Subject ſhould dwell in ſome *Hundred* or *Tything*, whereby if any were ſuſpected of Robbery, and being thereof Condemned, or abſolved by his Hundred or Tything, they ſhould either undergo due puniſhment, or elſe if Innocent be acquitted.

But the Governours of Provinces, who were before called *Vice Domini*, and in *Engliſh Saxon Geriffs*, he divided into two Offices, That is, into Judges, whom we now call Juſtices, and into Sheriffs, who do yet retain that name; and by the Kings care and induſtry in a ſhort time, there was ſo great a Tranquility through out the whole Kingdom, that if a Traveller had happen'd to have loſt a Bag of Money in the High-way, he might have found it again untouched the next day.

And *Bromton*'s Chronicle relates, That thô there were Gold Bracelets hung up at the parting of ſeveral *High-ways*; yet Juſtice was ſo ſtrictly executed, that no Man durſt preſume to touch them.

But in the Diſtribution of his own Family, he followed the Example of King *Solomon*; for dividing it into Three Companies, or Bands, he ſet a Chief over each of them; ſo that every Captain with his Band, performed his Service in the King's Palace for the ſpace of one Month; and, then going with his Company to his own Eſtate, he looked after his private Affairs for Two Months, and ſo did each of them in their Order, which Rotation of Officers this King obſerved all the reſt of his Reign.

And to this Year alſo, Sir *H. Spelman* refers that Great Council wherein King *Alfred* made thoſe Laws that go under his Name; in which, after a Preface, wherein he firſt recites and confirms the Ten Commandments, as alſo divers other Laws, which are ſet down in *Exodus* and *Leviticus*, he concludes to this effect, That whatſoever he found worthy of Obſervation either in the time of K. *Ina*, his Kinſman, or *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, or of *Ethelbert*, the firſt Chriſtened King, he had gathered them all together, and committed thoſe to writing which he thought moſt deſerving, omitting others which he judged leſs convenient; in doing of which he had taken the Advice, and had the Conſent of his Wiſe-

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXVII. Men, and having reviſed the Laws of thoſe Princes, he tranſcribed ſuch of them as he liked into his own; and by the Conſent of the ſaid Wiſe-men he thereof made a Collection, and commanded them to be obſerved by all *Engliſhmen*; under which name the *Saxon* and *Jutes* were then included.

The firſt of his Laws requires (as moſt neceſſary to all his Subjects) that each Man keep his Oath or Pledge, (*i. e.* his promiſe to obſerve the Laws, and keep the Peace) and if any ſhould be compelled to Swear, or depoſite a pledge whereby he may be bound to betray his Lord, or unjuſtly to aſſiſt any Perſon, he ought to break his promiſe, rather than perform it: But in caſe he hath engaged to perform any thing which might juſtly be done, and doth it not, his Arms and all his perſonal Eſtate ſhall be put into the hands of his Friends; and he himſelf kept in the King's Priſon for Forty Days, till he undergo that Pennance which the Biſhop ſhall enjoin him; and alſo his Friends (*i. e.* Relations) require of him: but if he have not wherewith to ſuſtain himſelf in the mean while, if his Kindred are not able to provide him Victuals, the King's Officer ſhall do it; but if he reſiſt and be taken by force, he ſhall forfeit both his Arms and his perſonal Eſtate; and if he be killed, nothing ſhall be paid as the Value of his Head: and in caſe he eſcape before his time, *viz.* of Forty Days be out, and be retaken, he ſhall be returned back again to Priſon for other Forty Days: If he eſcape, he ſhall have no benefit of the Laws, but be Excommunicated from all Chriſts Churches, and if any Man have been ſecurity in his behalf, he ſhall make ſatisfaction for it according to Right, and do Pennance, till he make ſuch ſatisfaction as his Prieſt ſhall appoint.

'The Second bears the Title of the Immunity of the Church, and 'we ſhall ſpeak of it among the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions.

'The Third is, concerning the breach of the King's Surety-ſhip, by 'the payment of a Mulct of Five Pounds of *Mercian*, (*i. e.* larger Money) 'but the Violation of Surety-ſhip, (or the Peace) made to an Arch-'Biſhop by a fine of Three Pounds: and if any one break or forfeit 'the King's Pledge, (or Recognizance,) he ſhall make amends according 'to Right, and the breach of the Surety-ſhip to a Biſhop or Ealdorman, 'by two Pounds.

'The Fourth Law is, concerning the Death of the King, or any other 'Lord; If any one, that, either by himſelf alone, or by any other per-'ſon, ſhall attempt againſt the King's Life, he ſhall loſe his Life and 'Goods; but if he will purge himſelf, let him do it according to the 'valuation of the King's Head; the ſame is alſo ordained in all Judg-'ments concerning other Men, whether Noble or Ignoble: whoſoever 'Conſpires againſt his Lord, ſhall loſe both his Life and Eſtate; or elſe 'pay the Valuation of his Lord's Head.

From which Laws we may obſerve, That according to the cuſtom of thoſe Times, there was a Rate ſet upon every Man's Life, even upon the King's himſelf, if he were killed.

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‘The Seventh Law is, againſt Fighters in the King's Palace; If any Man ſhall Fight, or ſhall draw a Weapon in his Houſe, his Life ſhall lye at the King's Mercy, whether he will Pardon him or not; but if the offender flee, and be taken, he ſhall redeem his Life, with the price of his head, or be fined according to his Offence.

Whereby it appears that the Offender might have redeemed this crime with Money at the firſt, or elſe the laſt Clauſe had been vain.

‘The Ninth Law ordains, What mulct a Man ſhall pay, that Kills a Woman with Child, which was to be according to the Value of her head; and he was alſo to pay for the Child in her Womb, half as much as for a living one, according to the quality of its Father.

‘The Tenth ordains, What fines or amends every Man ſhall pay to a Husband, for committing Adultery with his Wife; which was to be encreaſed according to the Eſtate, or Quality, of him againſt whom the Offence was committed.

The reſt of the Law, being about the quantity of the mulcts appointed for ſeveral Thefts, I omit.

‘The Eleventh appoints, What mulct a Man ſhall pay, that wantonly handles the Breaſts of a Country Man's Wife, or offers her any Violence, as by flinging her down, &c. though he does not lye with her.

This ſhews how careful the ancient *Engliſh Saxons* were of the Perſons and Chaſtity even of the meaneſt Subjects.

I ſhall ſkip over a great many of the other Laws, they only ordaining penalties for ſeveral petty treſpaſſes, and ſmall Offences, and ſhall paſs

‘To the Twenty Sixth Law, Which appoints what mulcts ſhall be paid by thoſe who ſhall Kill in Troops or Companies, and alſo to whom theſe Mulcts were to be paid. If the Slain and Innocent Party were an Ordinary Perſon, (that is, one whoſe head was valued but at Two Hundred Shillings,) he that ſlew him muſt pay the value of his head, and a Fine beſides to his Kindred: Alſo every one that was in the Company, muſt pay Thirty Shillings; which Penalty was ſtill to be encreaſed, according to the Value of the Eſtate of the Party Slain; ſo that as the Penalty for the Death of a Man valued at Twelve Hundred Shillings, every one that was preſent ſhall pay 120 Shillings, and the Man ſlayer himſelf the price of his Head, and a Fine beſides: But in caſe the whole Company ſhall deny that he gave the Mortal Wound, all of them are to be impeached together, and to pay both the Value and the Fine beſides.

Now concerning this Troop, or Company, which our *Saxon* Anceſtors called *Hlothe*, how many Men made up one of them, the Reader may pleaſe to take notice, that by the Laws of King *Ina* they were to be above Thirty.

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‘ The Twenty Seventh appoints, What ſhare of the Mulct, or ſatisfaction a Man's Kindred by the Mothers ſide ſhall receive, in caſe he have no kindred on his Father's ſide; and what ſhare thoſe of his *Guild*, or Fraternity ſhall pay in caſe he have committed Man-Slaughter in a quarrel, (*viz.*) The former ſhall pay a Third part, and the latter one half of the price of the head of the party ſlain.

But whether by thoſe here mentioned of the ſame *Guild*, are meant ſuch as were fellow Contributors to the ſame Pariſh Feaſts in honour of the Saints, as was the Cuſtom of thoſe Times; or elſe (which is more likely) ſuch as were bound together in the ſame Decenary, or Tything, it being very obſcure, I ſhall not take upon me to determine.

‘ The Twenty Eighth Law was made againſt publick defamers, or ſpreaders of falſe news, (whereby is meant ſpreaders of falſe news againſt the Government,) ‘ and Commands that ſuch a one being Convicted, ſhou'd ſuffer no leſs puniſhment, than the cuting out of his Tongue, except he redeem it by payment of the value of his Head, and even then he was afterwards to be eſteemed of no Credit.

‘ The Thirtieth Ordains, That Merchants when they Land ſhall bring ſuch as come on Shore with them, before the King's Officers in *Folcmote*, and there declare their number, that they may be ready to produce them to anſwer any thing that ſhall be demanded of them in the ſaid *Folcmote*; and if it happen that they bring many ſtrangers on ſhore, that they alſo certifie this to the King's Officer in that ſaid Aſſembly; that ſo they may be forth coming.

Now conſidering the Times wherein King *Alfred* lived, when there was ſuch flocking of Strangers, being Enemies, into *England*; this Law was very juſtly and ſeaſonably made.

‘ The Thirty Firſt inflicts upon him that ſhall put a *Ceorles*'s Man (that is an ordinary Country-Man) without any fault into Bonds, *viz.* A Mulct of Ten Shillings; upon him that beats ſuch a one, Twenty Shillings; if he hang him up a-loft, Thirty Shillings; if he cut off his Hair to expoſe him like a Fool, Ten Shillings; if he ſhave his Head like a Prieſt, (yet bind him not) Thirty Shillings; and in caſe he only cut off his Beard, Twenty Shillings; but if he bind him, and ſhave his Hair like a Prieſt, then Sixty Shillings.

Which Law was no doubt made to reſtrain the Tyranny and Inſolence of the *Engliſh* Nobility, who were wont before that Law too much to domineer over poor Country-Men, (here called Ceorles-men;) and therefore it ſeems highly probable, that the Commons of *England* had then Repreſentatives in the Great Council, or elſe it is not likely the Nobility would ever have loſt that Power they then Uſurped over them: Wherefore I ſhall leave it to the Indifferent Reader to Conſider, whether the Common People of *England* were then ſuch Slaves, as ſome late Writers would fain make them; ſince not only ſatisfaction was to be made for their

Lives,

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Lives, but alſo for the leaſt injury, or abuſe, that might be committed againſt their Perſons.

'The Thirty Fourth Law impoſes upon him that ſhall ſtrike or fight in open Court, before the King's Ealdorman, both the value of his own head, and ſuch a Fine beſides, as ſhall be thought fit; and alſo 120 Shillings to be paid to the Ealdorman by him, that by thus drawing his Weapon ſhall make any diſturbance in the *Folcmote*, or County Court; if the Ealdorman were not preſent, but the fact was done before his Subſtitute, or the King's Prieſt, then a *Were* or *Amerciament* of Thirty Shillings.

Here by the King's Prieſt, is meant either the King's Chaplain or Biſhop, I will not determine whether; who as we formerly ſaid in thoſe times preſided alſo in the *Folemotes*, and there diſpatched all buſineſs relating to the Church.

'The Thirty Fifth ordains, What ſatisfaction ſhall be made for breach of the Peace in any other place; as for Example, he that fights in the home-ſtall of a Country-man, ſhall pay the ſaid Country-man Six Shillings; if he drew his Sword, but ſtruck not, half as much; which Penalty alſo was to be encreaſed according to the Eſtate or Quality of him upon whoſe ground the Aſſault was made: So that if he fought in the Houſe of one worth 600 Shillings, he was to pay Three times as much; if of one worth 1200 Shillings, then the Amends was to be twice as much as the former.

'The Thirty Sixth Law of *Burhbrice*, or breach of the Peace, in a Town, confirms that part of King *Ina*'s Law, concerning that matter, in impoſing upon the Offender, for the breach of the Peace in the King's Town or City, by ſetting the Mulct of an Hundred and Twenty Shillings; but if it be done in the Arch-Biſhop's Town, then Ninety Shillings; in that of a Biſhop or Ealdorman, Sixty Shillings; in the Town of a Man valued at 1200 Shillings Eſtate, Thirty Shillings; but half as much if done in a Village of one worth but half that Sum.

From whence we may obſerve, That in thoſe times not only the King and the Great Men, ſuch as Biſhops and Ealdormen, but alſo Gentlemen of ordinary Eſtates, had Villages or Townſhips of their own; and they themſelves received the Mulcts or Penalties impoſed for the breach of the Peace within their Precincts; which priviledge they loſt, I ſuppoſe, after the coming of King *William*. I.

'The Thirty Seventh is, That Law concerning *Bocland*, by vertue whereof he that holds Lands left him by his Anceſtors, was forbid to alienate it from his Kindred to others, in caſe it could be proved by Writing or Teſtimony, before the King, or the Biſhop, his Kindred being preſent, that the Man who firſt granted them, forbid him all Alienation. and laid on him this Condition.

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From the making of this Law Mr. *Selden* informs us, that we may here find an Eſtate in Fee-Tail, much more ancient than the thirteenth Year of *Edward* the Firſt.

The 38th Law is concerning Quarrels, or deadly Feuds, which, ſince it gives a ſtrange Licence for Men to take Satisfaction on their Enemies, even without the Preſence of any Officer, I ſhall likewiſe ſet down:

'First, It forbids any Man to attack his Enemy, if he find him in 'his own Houſe, except he firſt demand of him Satisfaction: But if he 'have force enough, he may beſiege the Houſe for ſeven days, yet he 'ſhall not aſſault him, if he will ſtay within; but if he then ſurrender 'himſelf, and his Arms, into the Defendant's hands, he may keep him 'thirty Days, without hurt, but then ſhall leave him ſo to his Kindred 'or Friends. In caſe he flie to a Church, the Honour of the Church is to 'be preſerved: But if the Demandant have not Strength enough to be'ſiege him in his Houſe, he may deſire the Aſſiſtance of the Ealderman, 'which, if he cannot obtain, he muſt appeal to the King before he can 'aſſault him. If any one by chance light upon his Adverſary, not 'knowing that he keeps himſelf at home, and he will deliver up his 'Arms to him, he ſhall keep him ſafe thirty Days, and then deliver him 'to his Friends: But in caſe he will not deliver up his Arms, then he 'may fight with him; but if he be willing to deliver up himſelf, and 'his Arms, to his Enemy, and any other Man ſets upon him, ſuch a Man 'ſhall pay the value of his Head, if he kills him; or give Satisfaction 'for his Wounds if any be given him, according to the Fact; beſides 'which, he ſhall be fined, and loſe all that may fall to him, by reaſon 'of Kindred.

From whence you may obſerve, that the nature of that Rough and Martial Age, did allow Men a greater Liberty of righting themſelves againſt thoſe that had injured them, than was afterwards thought fit to be allowed in more ſettled and peaceable Times.

The laſt of King *Alfred*'s Laws is concerning Wounds and Maims, which being very long, I ſhall only give you an Abſtract of it. It is, (in ſhort,) to appoint what Satisfaction in Money any Man ſhall pay for wounding or maiming another, or for cutting off any Member or part of his Body, even to the Nail of his little Finger: All which was aſcertained according to the particular Sums there ſet down; and I ſhall leave it to wiſer Judgments to conſider, whether it would not be better if the Law were ſo at this day, ſince it would not only prevent the too great Favour of Juries in ſome Caſes, but alſo their over-Severity in others, by often giving either very ſmall, or elſe exceſſive Damages, according as the Plaintiff or Defendant is more or leſs known to them, or that they have a greater or leſs Kindneſs for them.

There was likewiſe made in the ſame *Synod* divers Eccleſiaſtical Canons, ſome of which, taken from amongſt the Civil Ones, I ſhall here likewiſe ſet down.

The firſt is concerning the Immunities of the Churches, by which it is ordained, That if a Man, guilty of any little Crime, flie to a Church, which does not belong to the King, or the Family of a private Perſon

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXVIII.

Perſon, he ſhall have three Nights to provide for himſelf, unleſs in the mean time he can make his Peace: But if any Man, within that Term, ſhall inflict upon him either Bonds or Blows, he ſhall pay the Price of his Head, according to the Cuſtom of the Country; and alſo to the Miniſters or Officers of the Church 120 Shillings, for violating the Peace thereof.

The next Law but one is likewiſe to the ſame effect, whereby is granted to every Church, conſecrated by the Biſhop, the like Peace, and if any Offender ſhall flie to it, none ſhall take him thence for ſeven Days; if any Man ſhall preſume to do ſo, he ſhall be culpable of breaking the King's and Churche's Peace: If the Officers ſhall have need of their Church in the mean time, he ſhall be put into another Houſe, which has no more Doors than the Church; only the Elder, (*i.e.* Presbyter) of that Church ſhall take Care he have no Meat given him: But if he will ſurrender himſelf, and his Arms, to his Enemies, he ſhall be kept thirty Nights, and then be delivered up to his Kinſmen. Alſo, whoſoever ſhall flie to a Church for any Crime, which he hath not yet confeſs'd, if he ſhall there make Confeſſion of it, in God's Name, half the Penalty ſhall be remitted to him.

From whence you may obſerve the Antiquity and Deſign of Sanctuaries in *England*, which were not then (as they were afterwards,) abuſed, being at firſt only intended for Places where Offenders might ſtay for a time, 'till they could agree with their Adverſaries or Proſecutors, as well as they could; ſince almoſt all Crimes whatever were redeemable with pecuniary Mulcts in thoſe days.

The 5th Law is, that if one ſhall ſteal any thing out of a Church, he muſt reſtore the value, and alſo forfeit as belongs to an *Angild*; the meaning of which you may ſee in the next Law.

The 6th Law is, That if any one ſhall ſteal on the *Sunday*, or on *Chriſtmas*, or *Eaſter*, or *Aſcenſion*-days; the Forfeiture ſhould be as belongs to an *Angild*, (*i. e.*) the whole value of his Head; Alſo the Hand with which he ſtole was to be cut off: But if he would redeem his Hand, it ſhould be permitted him to compound for it, according as it ſhould appertain to his *Were*, (*i. e.*) the Price of his Head.

Beſides which Laws, *Alfred*, Abbot of *Rieval*, in his *Geneal. Regum Angliæ*, mentions another Law of this King's, whereby every Freeman of the Kingdom, having two Hides of Land, was obliged to keep his Sons at School 'till they were 15 Years of Age, that ſo they might become Men of Underſtanding, and live happily; for (ſaid the King in this Law,) a Man Free-born, and unlettered, is to be regarded no otherwiſe than a Beaſt, or a Man void of Underſtanding.

The 12th is concerning the Breach of the Peace by Prieſts: If a Prieſt kill any one, he ſhould be taken, and all his Eſtate confiſcated; and alſo the Biſhop ſhould degrade him, and put him out from the Church, unleſs his Lord would obtain his Pardon by the Price of his Head. The reſt, being concerning the Penalties for the Violation of Nuns, I omit.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXVIII.

I have been the more particular in the reciting of theſe Laws of King *Alfred*, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, that the Reader may ſee the Penalties that were inflicted upon Offenders in that Age; and how different they were from ours. But to return to our Annals,

‘ This Year *Beocca* the Ealderman carried the Alms of the *Weſt-Saxons* as well as the King's, to *Rome*; Alſo Queen *Æthelſwith*, who was the Siſter of K. *Ælfred*, and Widow of *Burhed* King of *Menia*, died in her Journey thither, whoſe Body was buried at *Pavia*: And the ſame Year *Æthered*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Æthelwald* the Ealderman, deceaſed in the ſame Month.

About this time alſo (according to *Aſſer,*) King *Alfred* built two Monaſteries; the one for Men at *Ethelingaie*, (now *Athelney,*) that is, *The Iſle of Nobles*, (where he had before lain ſo concealed;) and the other for Nuns at *Shaftsbury*, where he made *Algiva*, his own Daughter, Abbeſs; endowing them both with great Revenues.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXIX.

‘ This Year none went to *Rome*, unleſs two ordinary Meſſengers, whom the King ſent with Letters;] yet nevertheleſs *Florence* of *Worceſter* affirms, the King Commanded all the Biſhops and Religious Men of *England* to Collect the Alms of the Faithful, in order to ſend them to *Rome*, and *Jeruſalem*: And,

Anno Dom. DCCCXC.

The next Year, (according to the ſame Annals) *Beornhelm*, Abbot of the *Weſt Saxons* carried thoſe Alms to *Rome*; and alſo *Godrun*, (or *Gythrum*) King of the *Normans*, (*i.e.*) *Danes*, deceaſed, and being God-Son to King *Ælfred*, his Chriſtian Name was *Ethelſtan*; this was he who poſſeſſed the Country of the *Eaſt-Angles*, after the Death of King *Edmund*.

Alſo the ſame Year the *Danes* left the River *Seine*, and came to *Sand-Laudan*, which place lyes between the *Bretons* and the *French*; but the *Bretons* fighting with them, obtained the Victory, and drove them into a River, where many of them were drown'd.

This Year alſo the Annals relate, That *Plegmond* was Elected by God and all his Holy Men to the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*, thô *Florence* of *Worceſter* places it, and that more rightly, under the Year before.

Anno Dom. DCCCXCI.

The *Danes* again Invaded the *Eaſtern Franckland*; and *Arnulf* the Emperour, being aſſiſted by the *French*, *Saxons*, and *Bavarian* Horſe, fought with the *Daniſh* Foot, and put them to flight.

Alſo Three *Scots* came now to King *Alfred* from *Ireland* in one Boat made of Hides, having quitted their Country, becauſe they would live the Life of Pilgrims (*i. e.* a Wandring Life) for God's ſake, not being ſolicitous about any place, wherefore they had brought only one Week's Proviſion with them, and after about Seven Days being at Sea, landing in *Cornwall*, they were preſently brought to King *Alfred*; their Names were *Dubſlane*, *Macbeth*, and *Malinmun*; alſo *Swifneh*, who was chief Preacher amongſt the *Iriſh Scots*, deceaſed; The ſame Year after *Eaſter* appeared a Comet.

Anno Dom. DCCCXCIII.

This Year, after Eight Years Intermiſſion, the Kingdom became again infeſted worſe than ever by a freſh Invaſion of the *Danes*; for their Army above-mentioned, being driven by the Emperour *Arnulf* out of *France*, marched *Weſtward* to *Bunnan*, (now *Bologn*) where taking Shiping in Two Hundred and Fifty Veſſels, together with their Horſes, they arrived in the Mouth of the River *Limene*, which then lay from the *Eaſtern* Part of *Kent*, as far as the *Eaſt* End of that great

Wood,

Anno Dom. DCCCXCIII.

Wood, which is called *Andred*; which Wood or Foreſt is in length from *Eaſt* to *Weſt* at leaſt an Hundred and Twenty Miles, and in breadth Thirty; (containing all that which we call the *Weald* of *Kent* to this Day; as alſo the Woodland part of *Suſſex*, as far as *Hamptſhire*;) but up this * River *Limene* they drew their Ships, as far as the ſaid Wood or Foreſt, *viz.* Four Miles from the furtheſt part where the Sea flows up, and there they made a Fort in that Fen, which was raiſed by ~~a few~~ some of their Ceorls, or Villains.

* Note, *That the Mouth of this River than ran into the Sea near* Rumney *in* Kent, *but is now turned.*

And not long after arrived *Hæſtein* the *Dane*, who, entring the Mouth of *Thames* with Eighty Veſſels, Built a Fort at *Middletune* in *Kent*, whil'ſt another part of the Army did the ſame at *Apuldre* or *Apultre* (now called *Apledore* in the ſame County) where as *Ethelward* relates, They took and deſtroyed an Old Caſtle being defended only by a few Country People; he alſo makes *Hæſtein* to have Fortified *Middleton* after *Apuldore*, and his Army to have Winter'd in both places.

Anno Dom. DCCCXCIV. S. C.

'This Year alſo, *Wulfhere* Arch-Biſhop of the *Northumbers* (i.e. of York) deceaſed.]

But to look a little upon the Affairs of *Wales*: The ſame Year *Anarawd* Prince of *North-Wales*, came with a great number of *Engliſh* Men (whom he had got to join with him) and made War upon his Brother *Cadelh*, Prince of *Southwales*, and ſpoiled the Countries of *Cardigan*, and *Iſtradgwy*.

What the *Danes* did immediately after their Landing, our Annals mention not; but we may with great probability hither refer that Action, (touched upon in our Annals, which are very confuſed and obſcure in the Relation of this War) *viz.* That it is moſt likely the Kings Army beſieged *Hæſtein* either at *Middleton*, or *Beamfleot*; where not long after his Landing, he had built a ſtrong Fort on the oppoſite Shore, and being reduced by the King to great Extremities, he was forced to ſurrender himſelf with his Wife, and his Two Sons to the King's Mercy, upon Condition that they ſhould be Chriſtened; which being done, (the King, and *Æthered*, Ealdorman of *Mercia*, being their Godfather;) *Hæſten* gave the King Hoſtages, and ſolemnly ſwore to depart the Kingdom; but as ſoon he got looſe, he broke all thoſe Agreements, and retiring into *Beamfleot* there fortified himſelf a freſh.

And the Spring after *Æthelward* aſſures us, That paſſing along the great *Foreſt* of *Andredeſwood*, they then waſted the adjacent Countries of *Hamptſhire*, and *Berkſhire*; but the *Saxon* Annals affirm, that about a Year after the *Danes* had raiſed that Fort, (I ſuppoſe of *Middleton* above-mentioned), in the Eaſt part of the Kingdom, K. *Alfred* the better to ſecure himſelf, cauſed the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, and *Eaſt England*, to take an Oath to be true to him; and the King alſo compell'd the *Eaſt Angles* to give him Hoſtages: yet nevertheleſs they broke this Peace; for when the *Danes* in *Kent* went out of their Ships in Troops to Plunder, they alſo went with them, or elſe the *Danes* carried the Prey into their Territories; wherefore King *Alfred*, gathering together his Army, and marching forward, Encamp'd between Two Parties of theſe *Daniſh* Robbers, where by reaſon of Woods, as alſo of Water on both ſides, he had a very convenient place for that purpoſe, inſomuch that he could ſet upon either Party whenever they marched into the Country to Plunder; but they Robb'd in Troops, as well on Horſe-back as on Foot, in all Parts where the King's Army was not; yet were repulſed almoſt every Day, as well by the King's Forces, as by the Neighbouring Towns: For the

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~~tho~~

they went ſo altogether in [illegible]

the King had now divided his Forces into two Bodies, ſo that one half of them remained always at home, whileſt the other marched out, except thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to defend the Towns; but the *Danes* oftener ſallied out of their Camp than the King's Men; ~~For the Danes~~ in one Body ~~ſallied not out of their Camp~~, but twice; Once when they firſt Landed, and another time when they were about to Decamp; and then having taken a great Booty, they endeavoured to carry it over the *Thames*, into *Eſſex*, toward their Ships; But the King's Forces prevented them, and fought them near *Fernham*, ~~and~~ put them to flight, and reſcued the Prey; from whence they fled beyond the *Thames*, and thence by the River *Colne*, into a certain Iſland (called by Mr. *Speed*, *Breckleſey*;) where the King's Army beſieged them, as long as their own Proviſions laſted, for they had only Victuals for a ſmall time: Then the King marched thither with the Forces of that Province, whil'ſt the former returned home; but the *Danes* in the mean time remained there, becauſe they could not carry away their King (being then wounded) along with them; but thoſe *Danes* that Inhabited *Northumberland*, and *Eaſt England*, got together an Hundred Ships with which they ſailed about the *South* Parts, whil'ſt with Forty others they did the like in the *North*; with the former they beſieged a certain ſtrong place lying on the *Northern* Coaſt of *Devonſhire*, and then fetching a Compaſs towards the *South*, beſieged *Exanceſter* (now *Exeter*;) which when the King heard, he turned all his Forces toward that place; but the *Danes*, (as *Florence* relates) affrighted at the News of his approach got again to their Ships, carrying their Prey to *Ciſſeanceſter*, (now *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex*,) where they were repulſed by the Citizens, and great part of their Army killed; but in the mean time while one Party of the King's Army remained behind, the other marched on to *London*, and then proceeded Eaſtward with the Citizens of that place, and other Auxiliaries that came from the *Weſt*, as far as *Beamfleot*, (now *South Bemfleet*) in *Eſſex*; whither *Hæſtein* was come with the Forces which had been before quartered at *Middleton*; to which alſo were joined thoſe that firſt arrived at *Apuldre* in the Mouth of the River *Limene*; for *Hæſten* had built a ſtrong Fort at *Beamfleot*, and was from thence marched out to Plunder, whil'ſt great part of his Army remained at home; but when the King's Forces came thither, they ſoon put his Army to flight, and demoliſhed the Fort, taking all that was within it, together with their Goods, Wives and Children, carrying them to *London*; and as for their Ships, part of them they broke to pieces, but carried the beſt of them to *Rocheſter* and *London*, and burnt the reſt; but the Wife of *Hæſten* and his Two Sons being brought to the King, he not long after ſent them back to him at his requeſt, becauſe one of the Boys had been the King's, and the other Earl *Æthered*'s Godſon, (as hath been already ſaid).

H. Huntington places the Siege of *Exeſter* after the taking of *Bemfleet*; whereas the Annals ſuppoſe it to be done about the ſame time; but be it as it will, they all agree that whileſt the King was detained in the *Weſt* at that Siege, both Armies of the *Danes* (*viz.* as well thoſe which had been before routed at *Bemfleet*, as thoſe which were at the Iſle of *Breckleſey*) met at *Sceobyrig* (now *South-Shoebury* in *Eſſex*,) and there built a Caſtle, and then marching along the *Thames*, a great many of the *Danes* of *Eaſt England*, and *Northumberland* joined them; and ſo they marched from the *Thames* as far as the River *Severne*; then *Æthered*, *Æthelm*, and *Æthelnoth* the Ealdormen, and the King's *Thanes* who were left

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left at home in the Gariſons, drew all the Men together they could from every Town on the *Eaſt-ſide* of *Pedridan* (now *Parret* in *Somerſetſhire*,) and on the *Weſt* of *Selwood* (Foreſt) as alſo from both ſides of the *Thames*, even as far as *North Wales*, who when they were all aſſembled, followed the *Pagans* to *Butdigingtune*, on the ſide of *Severne*, (now called *Budington* in *Shropſhire*,) and there beſieged them on all ſides; in a certain Fort they had caſt up; but when they had ſtaid there for divers Weeks Encamp'd on both ſides the River, (the King being then in *Devonſhire* with his Fleet) the *Pagans* preſſed with Hunger, Eat their Horſes, and many of them periſhed with Famine; yet at laſt they broke out upon thoſe who lay on the *Eaſt* ſide of the River; where (as *Æthelwerd* tells us) was a very ſharp Diſpute, thô the Chriſtians got the Victory, and kept the Field; but there *Ordhelm* the King's *Thane* was kill'd, as alſo many others of the ſame Rank; but that part of the *Daniſh* Army which remained alive, eſcaped by flight. And when they were got into their Gariſons and Ships in *Eaſt Saxe*, juſt before Winter, they Muſter'd a great Army from among the *Eaſt Angles* and *Northumbers*; and committing their Wives, Ships and Goods to the keeping of the *Eaſt Angles*, marched Day and Night, till they took up their Quarters at a certain City in *Werheal*, called *Legaceſter*, (now *Cheſter*;) but the Kings Forces could not overtake them before they had got into the Caſtle, which nevertheleſs they beſieged for about Two Days, and took away all the Cattle that were in thoſe Parts, and kill'd all the Men they could find without the place; and partly burnt the Corn, and partly devoured it with their Horſes: This was done about a Twelve Month after the *Danes* arrival here.

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Not long after this the *Pagans* went from *Werheal* into *North Wales*, but they could not ſtay there long becauſe the Cattle and Corn were all drove away and deſtroyed; ſo they were forced to march thorough the Country of the *Northumbers* and *Eaſt Angles* with ſuch ſpeed, that the King's Forces could not overtake them till they came into the *Eaſt* part of *Eaſt Seaxe*, to a certain Iſland ſeated near the Sea, called *Mereſige* (now *Mercey*) in *Eſſex*.

Alſo the ſame Year the *Danes*, who were encamp'd in *Mereſige*, drew their Ships up the *Thames*, and thence up the River *Ligan*, (now called *Lee*) which divides *Middleſex* from *Eſſex*; and there according to *Florence* they began to raiſe a Fort; this happen'd in the ſecond Year after their arrival.

Anno Dom. DCCCXCVI.

The *Pagans* having raiſed the Fortification near *Ligan* above-mentioned, about 20 Miles from *London*; this Summer a great part of the Citizens and others marched thither, and endeavoured to take and deſtroy it, but they were there forc'd to fly for it, and Four of the King's *Thanes* were kill'd on the ſpot.

This Autumn, when the King had pitched his Camp in thoſe Parts about Harveſt time, to hinder the *Danes* from carrying away their Corn, it happen'd one day, as the King rode by the River ſide, that he found a place where the River might be ſo diverted, that the *Danes* ſhould not be able to carry back their Ships; and thô they had built two Caſtles, one of each ſide the River to defend them; yet ſo ſoon as the *Danes* ſaw that (the ſtream being now diverted into ſeveral Channels) they could not carry back their Ships, they quitted them, and marched away on Foot, till

they

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they came to *Quatbrige* (now ſuppoſed to be *Cambridge*, not far from the River *Severne*) where they caſt up a Fort; but the King's Forces purſued them toward the *Weſt* on Horſe-back, whileſt the Citizens of *London* ſeized and broke their Ships, and carried all that was worth any thing to the City, but the *Danes* had left their Wives with the *Eaſt Angles* before they departed from that place; ſo that that Winter they ſtaid at *Quatbridge*, being the Third Year ſince their laſt arrival.

Anno Dom. DCCCXCVII.

But the next Year, according to our Annals, The *Danes* marched part of them into *Eaſt England*, and part into *Northumberland*, becauſe wanting Money, they could only there procure Ships, which having got they ſailed from thence *Southward* to the River *Seine*: Thus by God's Mercy this vaſt Army of *Pagans* did not wholly ruine the *Engliſh* Nation, altho it was very much weaken'd during theſe Three Years, as well by the Murrain of Cattle, as alſo by a great Plague upon Men; by which many of the King's nobleſt *Thanes* that were in the Kingdom dyed, of which number were, *Swithulf* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Beorthulf* Ealdorman of the *Eaſt Saxons*, *Wulfred* Ealdorman of *Hamptſhire*, and *Ethelheard* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, with many others. But I have only noted the moſt remarkable.

The ſame Year, thoſe Robbers reſiding in *Eaſt-England*, and *Northumberland*, very much infeſted *Weſt Saxony*, eſpecially the *Southern* Coaſts, by their ſtolen Booties; chiefly with their Ships which they had got ready long before for that purpoſe; then King *Alfred* (being it ſeems at laſt ſenſible how much damage the want of a Fleet had done his Country) Commanded divers Galleys to be made which were almoſt twice as long as others, ſome whereof had ſixty Rowers; they were alſo ſwifter, higher, and leſs apt to rowle than others formerly built, for they were made neither according to the model of the *Friſian* Veſſels, nor the *Daniſh*, but after ſuch a manner, as was thought might prove moſt uſeful: And ſome time after in this Year, there arrived ſix *Daniſh* Ships at the Iſle of *Wight*, and Sailing along committed great ſpoil in *Devonſhire*, and all up and down that Coaſt. Then the King commanded that they ſhould ſet Sail with the Nine Gallyes newly built, and ſhut up the Enemies Ships from going out of the Harbour where they were; upon which the Pyrats ſailed out with Three Ships againſt them, the other three being left in the entrance of the Harbour upon the dry ground, and the Sea-men gone out of them; But the King's Fleet took two of the *Daniſh* Ships that came out of the Harbour, and ſlew the Men, but the Third eſcaped, though all, except Five, were kill'd: There came alſo other Ships thither, which were ſomewhat more conveniently poſted, Three of them being placed in that part of the Sea, where the *Daniſh* Ships had before taken up their ſtation, but all the reſt in another part, ſo that they could not aſſiſt each other, for the Tide had gone back many Furlongs from the King's Ships: And ſo the *Danes* going out of their Veſſels ſet upon Three *Engliſh* Ships which lay on the dry ground, and Fighting with them, there ſlew *Lucomon* the King's Admiral, and *Wulfherd*, *Æbba*, and *Æthelerd*, being all *Frizelanders*, (who it ſeems then ſerved in the King's Fleet) ſo that of the *Friſons* and *Engliſh* there were ſlain Sixty Two, of the *Danes* One Hundred and Twenty: But the Tide returning, the *Daniſh* Ships got away before the *Engliſh* could have out theirs at Sea, thô they were ſo ſhatter'd, that they could ſcarce reach the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, for two of them were ran on Shore, and the Men being brought to the King at *Wincheſter*, he Commanded them all to be Hang'd: But thoſe who were in the Third Ship, being very much wounded, with great difficulty reached *Eaſt-England*.

The ſame Year there periſhed no leſs than Twenty of their Ships together with the Seamen near the *Southern* Coaſt; and then alſo *Wulfred* Maſter of the King's Horſe Deceaſed, who was a *Britiſh* or *Welſh* Gereſe or Governour.

'*Æthelm Ealdorman* of *Wiltſhire* deceaſed Nine days before *Midſummer*, 'and the ſame Year alſo *Æalhſtan* Biſhop of *London* dyed.]

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This Year (according to the *Welſh* Chronicle) *Igmond* the *Dane*, with a great number of Soldiers Landed in the Iſle of *Man*, or *Angleſey*, where the *Welſhmen* gave him Battle at a place called *Molerain*, or *Meilon*, wherein we may ſuppoſe the *Danes* got the Victory, for their Chronicle ſays nothing to the contrary, and beſides *Merwy* Son to *Rodri* King of *Powis* was there ſlain.

'Alſo now King *Alfred* Deceaſed ſix days before the Feaſt of *All* '*Saints*. He was King over all the *Engliſh* Nation, (except what was 'under the power of the *Danes*.)

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But ſince we are come to the end of this King's Life, I ſhall here give you * *Florence* of *Worceſter*'s Character of him: *viz.* That Famous and Victorious Warriour, King *Alfred*, the Defender of Widows and Orphans, the moſt skilful of all the *Saxon* Poets, who excelled in Prudence, Juſtice, Fortitude and Temperance, being as Diſcreet and Diligent in hearing of Cauſes, and giving Judgments, as he was devout in the Service of God; was alſo moſt Liberal and affable to all Men; ſo that for theſe Vertues he was highly beloved by his Subjects, now died of an Infirmity under which he had long laboured, whoſe Body lies buried in the new Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*, in a ſtately Tomb of Porphyrie.

* Vid. *the MSS. in Bib. Bodleian.*

But I ſhall from * *Aſſer*'s Hiſtory of this King's Life and Actions, give you a larger account of him from his Infancy.

* *De Geſtis Alfredi.*

He was (as you have already heard) born *Anno Dom.* 849, and had been twice at *Rome*, but after his laſt Return together with his Father, He tells us, He was bred up at Court with the great Care and Affection, both of his Father and Mother, who loved him above the reſt of his Brothers, becauſe he was not only more Witty and Handſome, but alſo of a ſweeter Diſpoſition; and it had been well if he could have improved his own excellent Parts by Humane Learning; for to his great regret afterwards, by the extream fondneſs of his Parents, or by the negligence of thoſe who had the care of his Education, he remained till the Twelfth Year of his Age, without ſo much as being taught his Letters; only having an excellent Memory, he learned by heart ſeveral *Saxon* Poems, being repeated to him by others; for he had a great, and natural Inclination to Poetry, as our Authour himſelf had often obſerved; and as an inſtance of the quickneſs of his Parts, gives us this Account, That one Day when his Mother ſhewed him and the reſt of his Brothers a certain fine Book in *Saxon* Verſe, with which they were very well pleaſed, he being taken with the beauty of the Capital Letters, at the beginning of it, ſhe promiſed to give it to him that ſhould ſooneſt underſtand and get it by heart; which *Alfred* undertaking to do, he carried it to his Maſter, and not only learned to Read it, but alſo got it without Book, and ſo repeating it to his Mother, had the Book given him for his pains:

after

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after this he alſo learned the Daily Office, and then ſome Pſalms and Prayers by heart, which being writ together in a Book, he ſtill carried in his Boſome for his daily uſe: But alas! *England,* could not then ſupply him with any fit Tutors in the Liberal Arts, which he often complained was one of the greateſt hindrances in his Life, that at the time when he had moſt leaſure to learn, he had no Maſters that could teach him; and afterwards when he grew more in Years, he was troubled with inceſſant Pains both Night and Day, the cauſes of which were unknown to the Phyſicians, but when he came to be King, he was then taken up with the cares of the Government,and how to reſiſt the Invaſions of the *Danes,* ſo that he had but little time for Study; yet notwithſtanding all theſe impediments from his very Child-hood, to the day of his Death, he never ceaſed to have an inſatiable deſire after knowledge; inſomuch that he did not only at leiſure times learn himſelf,but alſo communicated that learning to others, by tranſlating into the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue *Oroſius*'s Roman, and *Bede*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, the latter of which Verſions is Printed, but the former is ſtill in Manuſcript, in the Library of *Corpus Chriſti* Coll. *Oxon.* as alſo in other places: he had likewiſe begun to Tranſlate the *Pſalms* of *David,* but was prevented by Death, from making an end of it.

But to how low an Ebb Learning was then reduced by the frequent Wars and devaſtations of the *Danes,* King *Alfred* himſelf tells us in his Preface to St. *Gregorie*'s *Paſtoral,* that learning was ſo decay'd in the *Engliſh* Nation, that very few Prieſts on this ſide of *Humber* could underſtand the Common Service of the Church,and he knew none *South* of *Thames,* who could turn an ordinary piece of Latine into *Engliſh,* though things were now ſomewhat better, yet that he himſelf had turn'd this Book into *Engliſh* by the help of Arch-Biſhop *Plegmond,* with *Grimbald* and *John* his Prieſts; and had ſent one of them to every Biſhops See in the Kingdom, with an *Æſtel,* (as the *Saxon* Word is, or *Stilus,* as in the Latin Verſion) upon each Book of fifty *Mancuſes* in value, charging them in God's Name, neither to take away that *Æſtel* from the Book, nor any of thoſe Books out of the Church, ſeeing it was uncertain how long there would continue ſuch Learned Biſhops, as now (God be Thanked) were in all parts of this Kingdom.

But how this can conſiſt with the ſuppoſed Relation out of *Aſſer,* concerning the flouriſhing ſtate of Learning at *Oxford,* before that King's Founding the Univerſity, I do not underſtand.

But in the Twentieth Year of his Age, as ſoon as he was Married, that Diſtemper took him which held him till about his Fortieth Year, the cauſe whereof being unknown to his Phyſicians, it was ſuppoſed by ſome, that he was bewitched, and it was ſo ſharp that he feared the Leproſie or Blindneſs, or elſe ſome worſe Diſtemper, which often makes Men unuſeful or deſpiſed; but by Praying to God in a certain Church in *Cornwal,* (where St. *Neot* lay buried) and near which the King came by chance to Hunt, he was relieved of that Pain, which tho this Authour does not tell us what it was, yet it ſeems to have been ſomewhat proceeding from the ſtoppage of the Humours in the lower Parts, and which our Authour calls the *Ficus,* or *Emerhoids.*

I ſhall now in the next place ſhew you, how this King ſpent his time, as well in his private as publick Affairs, as the ſame Authour hath related it; by which the Reader will be better enabled to frame a true Character of this moſt Pious, Learned, and Magnanimous Prince.

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King *Alfred* (notwithſtanding his frequent hindrances, not only by the *Daniſh* Wars, but alſo his bodily Infirmities) was always mindful of the Affairs of State, thô at ſpare times he uſed Hunting (for his Recreation) and to overſee and direct his Artificers, Huntſmen and Faulkners; He built alſo his Houſes much more Magnificent than thoſe of his Predeceſſors, and at leiſure times was wont to read *Engliſh Saxon* Books, and learn Verſes in the ſame Tongue by heart, ſo that he never failed when he was alone to imploy himſelf well. And for the better performance of his Duty, he vowed to beſtow half his time (as far as his occaſions and Infirmities would permit) in God's Service. And becauſe it was impoſſible to know how the Hours of the Day and Night paſt, when often by reaſon of the Clouds the Sun could not be ſeen, (no Clocks being then invented) he began to think how he might diſtinguiſh the Hours by Night as well as by Day; and at laſt, by his own ingenious contrivance, he ordered Six Wax-Tapers to be made of equal length and bigneſs; ſo that each Taper being divided into Inches, and every Inch marked out upon the Taper; by this means thoſe Six Tapers being ſet up one after another before the Reliques of the Saints, (which he ſtill carried with him) gave a conſtant and certain Light during the whole Twenty four Hours, both by Night and by Day. But when ſometimes by reaſon of the Wind, which came in at the Windows or Doors of the Chappel, or thorough the Chinks of the Walls, or the Cloth of his Tents; the Tapers were made to burn out ſooner than they were uſed to do at other times; he firſt found out the Invention of making Lanthorns of Cow's Horns cut into thin Plates, whereby no Wind could waſt the Tapers; ſo that by this Invention none of them burnt out ſooner than another.

Afterwards he endeavoured to perform his former Vow in dedicating half his time to God, ſo that he was wont not only to hear Maſs every day, but alſo to repeat his Prayers, Pſalms, and other Nocturnal Offices, having made a Collection out of *David*'s Pſalms for his own private uſe; which being with certain Prayers written in a ſmall Book, he always carried about with him in his Boſom; he likewiſe uſed to frequent the Church in the Night time, and there alone to ſay his Prayers: He was alſo very liberal in his Alms to Strangers, as well as his own People, treating all ſorts of Men with great Gentleneſs and Affability, he would often hear the Scriptures read by his own Servants, and alſo Prayers read by Strangers, when he came to any place by chance: He loved his Biſhops and all the Clergy very well, as alſo his Earls, Noblemen, and Servants; expreſſing his affection in Educating their Sons in his own Family, and by cauſing them to be conſtantly inſtructed in Letters and good Manners, with the ſame care, as if they had been his own Children: Yet for all this, the King was not ſatisfied, but was ſorry that God had not made him more capable of true Wiſdom, as well as Liberal Arts; admiring *Solomon* for nothing more, than that deſpiſing Riches and Worldly Glory, and deſiring of God Wiſdom, he thereby obtained not only thoſe outward things, but this Requeſt too over and above.

Thus our King imitated the Bee, which riſing early, gathers Honey from all ſorts of Flowers; So whatever was rare, that he had not in his own Kingdom, he fetched from abroad: for about this time God favouring his Pious Deſires, ſent him *Werfriht*, after Biſhop of *Worceſter*, one very well ſkilled in the Holy Scriptures, who by this King's Command, Elegantly

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and exactly Tranſlated the Dialogues of Pope *Gregory*, out of *Latin*, into the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue; and after him *Plegmond* a *Mercian*, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a Venerable Man, and indued with all true Knowledge; to whom we may alſo add *Æthelſtan*, and *Werwulf*, Prieſts, and the King's Chaplains.

Theſe learned Men above-mentioned, King *Ælfred* had ſent for out of *Mercia*, whoſe Erudition, as it daily encreaſed the King's Love to it, ſo his greedy Thirſt after it could never be ſatisfied; for Night and Day, as often as he had leiſure, he Commanded ſome or other to read to him, for he was never without one of them near him, whereby he obtain'd a general Knowledge of almoſt all ſorts of Books; nor was he contented with thoſe he found at home, but he ſent Meſſengers into *France* to procure new Maſters; fetching from thence one *Grimbald* a Prieſt and Monk, a worthy Man, and an excellent Chanter, and one well ſkilled in all Secular, as well as Eccleſiaſtical Learning; as alſo *John* another Prieſt and Monk, throughly verſed in all manner of Litterature, by whoſe aſſiſtance, as the King's Mind became much inlarged, ſo in Requital he Honour'd and Enrich'd them.

And here I may likewiſe add, what ſome other Authors have written concerning theſe two laſt Learned Perſons, by whoſe aſſiſtance he firſt Founded the Univerſity of *Oxford*, as hath been already related; for *John Rouſe*, in his Hiſtory of the Kings of *England*, hath wrote of theſe two Monks, that *Grimbald* was ſent for from his Monaſtery in *Flanders*, (then counted part of *France*) as *John* was from his of St. *Bertin*, at St. *Omers*; this is that *John* commonly call'd *Scotus* and *Erigena*, (thô from whence he borrowed this laſt Name, I ſhall not determine, ſince the Learned differ ſo much about it) 'twas he Tranſlated *Dioniſius* his *Hierarchia* out of *Greek* into *Latin*, which is now publiſh'd by the Learned Dr. *Gale*.

About the ſame time *Aſſer* alſo relates, that he was ſent for by the King from the *Weſtern*, or furtheſt Parts of *Britain*, (that is, from St. *David's* in *Wales*) and being kindly received by him, he earneſtly entreated him to leave whatever he had on the other ſide of *Severne*, and Dedicate himſelf wholly to his Service; but he could not promiſe that for above ſix Months in the Year, ſtanding engaged the other ſix to reſide at his own Monaſtery; for the Abbot and Monks there hoped that by his Intereſt with the King, they might better avoid thoſe Troubles and Injuries from King *Hemeid*, who had often ſpoiled that Monaſtery and Dioceſs; by the Expulſion of its Biſhops, as he had done the Archbiſhop *Novis*, our Author's Kinſman; for he alſo tells us, that both at this time and long before, all the Countries on the South part of *Britain* did then belong to King *Ælfred's* Dominions; *Hemeid* with all the Inhabitants of *South Wales*, and *Rodri* with his ſix Sons having ſubjected themſelves to his Empire; *Howel* alſo the Son of *Rice*, King of *Gleguiſing*, *Brochmail* and *Fermail* Kings of *Guent* being oppreſſed by the Tyranny of *Eadred* Earl of the *Mercians*, deſired of the King, that he would pleaſe to take the Dominion over them, and be their Protector againſt their Enemies: Alſo *Heliſed* the Son of *Teudyr* King of *Brechonoc* being kept under by the power of the ſaid Sons of *Rodri*, ſought the Protection of the King, as did *Anarawd* the Son of *Rodi*, (together with his Brethren) who all at laſt forſaking the friendſhip of the *Northumbers*, by which they had received no advantage, bnt rather damage, came to the King deſiring his favour, and were honourably received by him.

And

John this Scotus being [illegible] by King Alfred's [illegible] settled at Malmesbury, he there taught Grammar and Rhetoric till becoming hated by his schollars for his too great severity, he was by them set upon, and stabbed to death by their Pen knives which was certainly a hainous and inhuman deed. his body was first buried privately in the church of St Laurence where it remained for some time till the Monks observing for many nights a Light to hang over y^e Place removed his body into their [illegible] and buried it on the left of the Altar. Hist. [illegible] Hoveden

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Prince *Anarawd* being enrichedwith many great gifts, ſubmitted himſelf to the King's Dominion, together with all his Subjects, promiſing to be obedient in all things to his Royal Pleaſure; neither did they deſire the King's Friendſhip in vain, for thoſe who loved to encreaſe their power obtained it, thoſe who deſired Money had it, thoſe who only ſought his Friendſhip enjoy'd it; but all of them did partake of his kindneſs and protection, as far as the King was able to defend them.

Then our Authour further adds, That after he had been with the King Eight Months, he gave him a grant of Two Monaſteries, called *Ambreſbyri* in *Wiltſhire*, and *Banuwelle*, together with all that was there, adding theſe words; That he had not now given theſe ſmall things, but in order to beſtow greater on him; for ſome time after he gave him alſo *Exanceſter* (now *Exeter*) with all the Lands that belonged to it in *Weſt Saxony*, and *Cornwal*; beſides other daily preſents, too long here to recite, which he ſays, he does not relate out of vain Glory, but to ſet forth this King's Liberality. *Note*, That by *Exceſter* he means only the Abbey.

Which alſo, as well as his Piety was very great; for the King had now order'd two Monaſteries to be built, the one at *Æthelingey*, the place of his Retreat above-mentioned, putting Monks therein of divers Nations, becauſe he could then find no Gentlemen nor Freemen of his own Country, that would undertake a Monaſtic Life; the other Monaſtery he built near the *Eaſt-Gate* of *Shaftſbury*, for an Habitation for Nuns, over which he made his own Daughter, *Æthelgova* Abbeſs, placing many Noble Virgins there, to ſerve God with her in a Monaſtic Life.

All which being finiſhed, he then conſidered how he might further add to what he had already done; and therefore being ſtirred up by the Divine Grace, he Commanded his Officers to divide all his Yearly Revenues into two equal parts, the firſt of which he allotted to ſecular Affairs; diſtributing it to skillful Artificers and Architects, who came to him from all parts far and near, whom he diſcreetly rewarded giving every Man according to his Merit; And the other half he dedicated to God, which he Commanded his Officers to divide likewiſe into four parts, ſo that one part ſhould be diſcreetly beſtowed upon poor Men of all Nations, that came to him; a ſecond part was to be reſerved for the two Monaſteries which he had founded; a third for that School which he had made up of many conſiderable perſons of his own Nation, as well as Foreigners. And which is ſuppoſed to have been the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

And the fourth part was to be ſent ſome Years to the Monaſteries in *Weſt Saxony* and *Mercia*, and other Years to the Churches and Monks, ſerving God in *Brtiain*, *France*, *Cornwall* and *Northumberland*, nay as far as into *Ireland*; to each of them by turns according to his preſent Abilities. Nor did he only thus dedicate one half of his Revenues, but alſo one half of the Labours of his Body and Mind to God's Service, as hath been already declared.

Nor was he leſs exact in all things elſe he undertook; for he was the Great Patron of the Oppreſſed, whoſe Cauſe and Defence he almoſt alone ſupported, having very little aſſiſtance from others; ſince almoſt all the Powerful and Great Men of that Kingdom rather addicted themſelves to Secular, then Divine imployments, and purſued every one his own private Intereſt, without any conſideration to the Common good: but the King in his Judgments ſtudied the advantage as well of the meaner ſort as of the

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Noble or Great, the latter of which, did often times in the publick Aſſemblies of the Ealdormen and Sheriffs pertinaciouſly quarrel among themſelves, ſo that none of them would ſcarce allow any thing that was adjudged by the ſaid Magiſtrates in their Courts, to be Right; and by reaſon of theſe obſtinate diſſentions, divers of them were compell'd to appeal to the King, which alſo both ſides often deſired to do; for they found that he diligently enquired into all the Judiciary Sentences that were given throughout his Kingdom, and if he found any injuſtice in them, he forthwith ſent for the Judges, before whom ſuch falſe Judgments were given and either by himſelf, or elſe by ſome truſty Commiſſioners had thoſe Judges examin'd, to know the reaſon wherefore they had given ſuch unjuſt Sentences, and then enquired whether they had done this through Ignorance, or elſe for Love, Hatred, or Fear, or elſe for lucres ſake; but if the Judges proteſted, (and it was alſo found upon Examination) that they had paſſed ſuch Sentence, becauſe they were able to judge no better in the Cauſe; then would the King with great moderation reprove their Ignorance and Unskilfulneſs; telling them, He wondred much at their preſumption in taking upon them the Office of a Judge, without having firſt duly ſtudied the Laws, and therefore enjoyned them either to lay down their Imployments, or elſe immediately to apply themſelves to ſtudy them with more care: Which when they had heard, they took this reproof for ſufficient puniſhment, and betook themſelves to ſtudy with all their might; ſo that moſt of all the Ealdormen, who were illiterate from their Youth, rather deſired to learn the Laws thô with labour, then lay down their Imployments; but if any one through Age, or great incapacity could not profit in thoſe ſtudies, he made either his Son or ſome near Kinſman read to him *Engliſh, Saxon* Books, when ever he had time, repenting that he had not employed his Youth in thoſe Studies, and eſteeming thoſe Young Men Fortunate, who could now be more happily inſtructed in all Liberal Arts.

* Chap. 2.

So far *Aſſer* hath given us a particular Account of this King's Life and Converſation, both in publick and private: But if *Andrew Horne*, in his Book call'd, * *The Mirrour of Juſtices* (a great part of which is ſuppoſed to be collected from divers ancient *Saxon* Records that are now loſt,) may be credited, this King condemn'd no leſs than Fourty four inferior Judges, in Hundred and County Courts, to be hanged, in one Year, for their falſe Judgments, either in condemning or acquitting Men without the Verdict of the Jury; but the particular Caſes being many, and long, I refer you to the Authour himſelf, wherein you will ſee the Difference between the manner of Judicial Proceedings in thoſe Times, from what they were preſently after the *Norman* Conqueſt.

But ſome of our Hiſtorians, (as particularly *Harding* in his *Chronicle*, make this King to have collected a Body of Laws, not only out of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, but alſo from the *Greek*, *Roman*, *Britiſh*, and *Daniſh* Laws; which, if it were ever done, is not now extant.

Having thus finiſhed the Life of King *Alfred*, I cannot but take Notice of his laſt Will and Teſtament, (the only one we have left of all the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings,) wherein, at the very beginning, he ſtyles himſelf, ' By the Divine Grâce, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, with the Means and ' Aſſiſtance

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Aſſiſtance of *Athelred* the Archbiſhop; as alſo with the Aſſent and Conſent of the Nobility of all *Weſt-Saxony*, whom he there ſummons as Witneſſes of this his laſt Will; and to be Truſtees and Overſeers of his Goods and Eſtate, for the good of his Soul, as well of the Inheritance *which GOD and the chief Men, together with the Ealdormen of the People, had affectionately and bountifully beſtowed upon him*, as alſo of the Inheritance which his Father *Æthelwulf* had bequeathed to him and his three Brothers, *viz. Æthelbald*, *Æthered* and himſelf; ſo as that the Survivor of them ſhould enjoy the entire Dominion of the whole Kingdom: And then proceeds to ſhew the particular force of that Entail, according to his ſaid Father's Will, in theſe Words, as he gives it us, ſpeaking in the firſt Perſon.

‘ That if it ſhould happen, That *Æthelbald*, the eldeſt Son of our Father, ſhould firſt deceaſe, then *Æthered*, together with the Nobility of all *Weſt-Saxony*, ſhould be Witneſſes for us of our Share in the ſaid Kingdom, on the Day of his Coronation; whom we ſhould with all our Might endeavour to *advance to the Throne*, after the Death of *Æthelbald* our eldeſt Brother, according to the Agreement he made with us, *viz.* That the ſaid King *Æthered* ſhould permit us to enjoy our Diſtributions, as we had them before our ſaid Brother's Coronation; And alſo the Engagement he ſtood in to us concerning the ſaid Hereditary Diſtribution, was confirmed in like manner, to wit, that the Lands and Territories, which K. *Æthered*, by our Aſſiſtance, and the Power of our Men, ſhould acquire to himſelf; as alſo the Dominions which ſhould fall to him by Hereditary Right, he ſhould, in Brotherly Love, proportionably divide with us. ‘ But yet, if it ſhould ſo happen, that *Æthered* ſhould ſucceed to the Kingdom, he himſelf was to promiſe the ſame thing: But he refuſing, (as this Teſtament particularly takes notice,) ‘ to obſerve this Agreement, only promiſed, That as for the Lands and Territories which he, by *Alfred*'s and his People's Aſſiſtance ſhould acquire to his Dominions, as alſo the Inheritance to which he was born, he would, after his deceaſe, confer upon none elſe but my ſelf: And being thus pacified, I thereupon remitted all further Complaints againſt my Brother.

Then he proceeds farther, ‘ That in caſe it ſhould happen, that we all ſhould fall by the hands of our *Daniſh* Enemies, then it was eſpecially provided, that every one of us ſhould ſo diſpoſe of our Eſtates to our Sons, that each of them ſhould ſucceſſively enjoy our Inheritance, and our Lands and Poſſeſſions in like manner, as the Inheritance it ſelf, with the Dominions, Lands and Poſſeſſions, which had been before conferred upon us. And then he goes on to recite what had been formerly done in a General Council of the *Weſt Saxon* Nobility at *Swinbourne*, wherein he had adjured them all to bear witneſs of the manner and intent of the former Entail; the ſum of which was, ‘ That ſince K. *Æthered* his Elder Brother was deceaſed, there was then none left but himſelf, who had any writing or Teſtimony concerning this Inheritance, nor any other Heir beſides himſelf; and that if any one ſhould offer to claim the ſaid Inheritance, he ſhould loſe his Right, unleſs he forthwith produced witneſſes of it; but then he heard that all his Kinſmen were dead, and ſo the whole Inheritance of King *Æthelwulf* his Father was devolved upon him, by a Charter made thereof at his General Council at *Langdene*; which Charter he had then like-

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‘wiſe commanded to be read before the Witneſſes of all *Weſt Saxony*; and after it was read, he ordered all there preſent to declare, whether they had heard or knew of any Man who could juſtly claim any Right to his Inheritance, which had never come to his Knowledge before; becauſe it was his intent to diſinherit none of his Kinſmen of any thing; and then all the Princes and Ealdormen of his People did firmly and poſitively declare, that they never heard of any who had a juſter Title to it than himſelf, *and then they gave him full power to make his Will, and bequeath his Eſtate to his Kinſmen and Friends in ſuch manner as beſt pleaſed him.*

‘Next King *Alfred* proceeds in the preſence of the ſaid Witneſſes, to make his laſt Will, and to confer upon his Eldeſt Son *Edward* divers Lands and Territories there particularly mentioned; lying in divers Countries in *England*, (* *but without any mention of the Crown*;) he alſo leaves other Lands there recited to his Younger Son; the like he does for each of his Daughters, to whom he gives divers Lands there particularly ſet down; and then bequeaths to *Athelm* and *Æthelwald* his Brother's Sons, divers Towns there alſo particularly recited; then follow his Legacies in Money to his Sons, Daughters and Servants, and to his Kinſmen above mentioned; as alſo to *Ethelred*, General of his Militia, and to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Aſſer* Biſhop of *Shireburne*, and ſeveral other Biſhops; all which would be too tedious here to be ſet down,

* *Vid.* The Reaſon in the Introduction.

And to let you ſee that Entails were then in force,

‘He farther Wills, That thoſe to whom he had given his Free-Hold-Lands, ſhould not alienate them beyond their own Lives, and if they had no Children they ſhould go to the next of Kin, eſpecially to the Eldeſt Son as long as any one of them remain'd alive; for ſo his Father had bequeathed his Inheritance; but if it ſhould any ways happen that his ſaid Lands ſhould come into the hands of Women, then he Wills, That after their Deceaſe thoſe Lands ſhould revert to his next Male Kindred deſcending from their bodies, *&c.*

‘And then concludes with an earneſt Exhortation and deſire, that none of his Relations ſhould any ways diſquiet each other concerning thoſe things which he had already given and bequeathed to them; ſince the whole Nobility of the *Weſt Saxon* Nation had already agreed with him, that it was but Juſt and Right that he ſhould leave them as free as the Thought of Man could make them.

This is the ſubſtance of King *Alfred*'s Will, which I have been the more particular in reciting, becauſe it is one of the moſt Remarkable Pieces in our *Engliſh Saxon* Antiquities, and ſhews us the manner of Succeſſion, not only to private Eſtates; but to the Crown it ſelf in thoſe Days. Thô we could have wiſhed that the Original had been preſerved, being in the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue, of which this is only a Tranſlation made by *Aſſer* at the end of this King's Life.

The *Latine* of which is indeed ſo barbarous, and obſcure, that I would rather adviſe the curious Reader to peruſe the Original it ſelf, then venture to give him an imperfect interpretation of any more of it; having here already ſet down the moſt material heads, and which I thought did principally conduce to our preſent deſign.

King *Alfred* had born to him by the Queen his Wife above-mention'd, *Æthelflede* his Eldeſt Daughter, and after her *Eadward* his Eldeſt Son, then *Æthelgeofeu*, or *Ethelgiva*, then *Ælfthryth*, and laſtly *Ethelweard*, beſides thoſe

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thoſe who died in their Infancy: *Æthelflede* when ſhe came to mature Years, was Married to *Eadred*, Earl of the *Mercians*; *Æthelgiva* vowing Chaſtity, undertook a Monaſtic Life; *Ethelward* the youngeſt Child, was by the King's prudent Order, put to School under careful Maſters, together with moſt of the Nobility's Sons of the Kingdom; in which School both *Latin* and *Saxon* Books were conſtantly read; and here they alſo learned to write: So that before they were admitted to Hunt, or handle Arms, they were well improved in the Liberal Arts,

As for this Prince *Ethelward*, * *Thomas Rudburne* relates from the Annals of *Wincheſter*, that he was bred up at *Oxford*, and became learned above that Age; but being more given to Letters than Arms, we find nothing of him in our Annals more than the time of his Death, tho' he lived till he was about Forty Years of Age; but he had two Sons, *Edwin*, and *Ethelwin*, of a more Warlike Temper; who being Slain in a Fight againſt *Anlafe* King of the *Danes*, were by their Couſin King *Athelſtan*'s appointment, buried in the Church of the Abbey of *Malmsbury*, as our *William* the Monk of that place recites.

As for the Princeſs *Æthelflede*, ſhe will make ſo great a Figure in her Brother's Reign, that I ſhall ſuſpend ſaying any more of her here.

Beſides theſe Children of King *Alfred* mentioned by *Aſſer*, the Chronicle of St. *Swithune* tells us of another Son born before Prince *Edward*, called *Edmund*, who lived to be Crowned King by by his Father's appointment, in his Life-time; but dying before him, he was buried under a Marble-Stone, on the North ſide of the Altar of the Abbey Church of *Wincheſter*: So that we may hence perhaps ſupply that *Chaſme* in *Aſſer*'s Life of this Prince; where ſpeaking of thoſe Children of his, who died Young, ſays, *In quorum numero eſt* —— but no Name being found in any of the Copies extant, it poſſibly ought to be ſupplied with *Edmundus*: But ſince this Prince is not mentioned in any other Hiſtorian or Pedigree of our Kings, I leave it to the Reader's diſcretion to determine as he pleaſes concerning him.

As for the other Sons, *Edward* and *Elfrithe*, they were Educated in the King's Court, with great care of their Governors, and were taught by them to ſhew great reſpect toward Strangers, and a tender love to their own People, with a moſt Dutiful obſervance of their Father.

Immediately after this Excellent King's Death and Burial, his Eldeſt Son ſucceeded him under the Title of

King *EDWARD*, commonly called the *Elder*.

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THis Prince (according to Annals) now began his Reign, being (as *Aſſer* and *Bromton* in his Chronicle relate) anointed King at *Kingſton*, by *Plegmund* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, of whom *Ethelwerd* in his Hiſtory expreſly tells us, That he ſucceeded to the Monarchy, and tho' the Eldeſt Son of King *Alfred*, yet was he Elected by all the Chief Men of the Kingdom, and Crowned on *Whitſunday*. *Will.* of *Malmsbury* obſerves, that tho' this Prince was much inferior to his Father in Learning and Knowledge; yet far exceeded him in Power and Grandeur, enjoying the benefit of thoſe Labours which his Father had undergone.

But

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* Hiſtor. Major. *Vid.* Ang. Sacra, 1 vol.

Anno Dom. DCCCCI.

But ſo ſoon as ever he came to the Crown, as the *Saxon* Annals relate, he met with a very great diſturbance; for *Æthelwald* his Couſin German, (Son as is ſuppoſed to *Ethered* his Father's Elder Brother) pretending he had better right to the Crown than King *Edward*, Rebelled againſt him, and went over to the *Danes*: So the Prince preſently invaded the King's Territories, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Royal Towns of *Tweoneam*, (now *Tweoxbeam*) and *Winburne*, without the King's privity; whereupon he advanced his Army, and pitched his Camp at a place called *Baddanbyrig*, (a Hill near *Winburne*;) but *Æthelwald*, with thoſe Men who were joined with him, kept themſelves within the Town, and having ſhut up all the Gates, King *Edward* commanded them to Surrender; but he Swore that he would there either Conquer or Die; yet notwithſtanding all this bluſtring, he privately withdrew himſelf by Night, and marched back to the *Daniſh* Army in *Northumberland*: Upon this, the King gave Orders to his Men to purſue him; yet tho' they did ſo, they could not overtake him; ſo he got ſafe to the *Daniſh* Army, where they joyfully received him for their King.

But *Ranulh Higden* in his *Polychron* tells us, That having taken away a Nun along with him out of the Monaſtry of *Winburne*, he went over to the *Danes*, which if ſo, (as is moſt likely) the King could not then Apprehend her; but it ſeems King *Edward* followed him ſo cloſe, that he forced him to go over into *France*, (as *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter* relates) that he might there obtain more Recruits, to give the King freſh diſturbance; and therefore it is moſt probable, what *Mat. Weſtminſter*, and *Bromton*'s Chronicle tells us, That the King after *Æthelwald*'s departure, ſeized his Wife, whom (having been a Nun) he had taken againſt the Command of the Biſhop, from the Monaſtry above-named, whither ſhe was now brought back again.

In the mean time (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) the King improved his Dominions, by building new Towns, and repairing ſome Cities, which had been before deſtroyed.

Anno Dom. DCCCCII.

'This Year was fought a Battle at *Holme*, between the *Kentiſh* Men 'and the *Danes*.] But *Florence* of *Worceſter* with greater probability places this Action two Years after, wh~~en *Adelwald* (as he there calls him)~~ was ~~now returned out of *France*~~. of which we shall say more [illegible]

Anno Dom. DCCCCIII.

'About this time deceaſed *Athulf* the *Ealdorman*, Brother of Q. *Ealſwithe*, King *Edward*'s mother, as alſo *Virgilius* the *Scotiſh* Abbot, and '*Grimbald* the Prieſt, (one of King *Alfred*'s Inſtructors) 8 *Ides* of *July*. 'This Year alſo was conſecrated the new Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*, about 'the Feaſt of St. *Judoc*.

Here was alſo a Colledge of Secular Chanons, firſt placed by King *Edward*, according to the will of his Father King *Alfred*, and it was called the *New Minſter*, to diſtinguiſh it from the Old *Minſter* or Cathedral.

The nearneſs of theſe two Monaſteries afterwards occaſioned great differences between them, until the Monks of this new Abbey, (who were placed here in the room of the Secular Chanons, by Biſhop *Ethelwald*, *Anno Dom.* 963.) were removed without the Walls, to a place called *Hyde*, as you ſhall hear in due time; and here alſo the Bones of King *Alfred* were new Buried by King *Edward* his Son, (as *Will.* of *Malmsbury* relates) becauſe of ſome fooliſh Stories made by thoſe of the Old Monaſtery, concerning the dead King's Ghoſt walking in ſome Houſes adjacent to the Church.

This Year alſo, according to our Annals, the Moon was Eclipſed.

Anno Dom. DCCCCIV.

a proclamation being return'd out of France

The next Year Prince *Ethelwald* incited the *Daniſh* Forces in *Eaſt-England* to Arms; ſo that they over-ran and ſpoiled all the Country of *Mercia*, as far as *Crekelade*, (~~now *Crekelade*~~ in *Wiltſhire*); and there paſſing the *Thames*, they took in *Brædene*, (now *Brædon* Foreſt in *Wiltſhire*) whatſoever they could find, and then return'd home. In the mean time King *Edward*, ſo ſoon as he could get his Army together, followed them, and deſtroyed all the Country which lies between the Ditch and the River *Ouſe*, as far as the *Northern* Fens.

Anno Dom DCCCCV.

By the Ditch above-mention'd, *Florence* of *Worceſter* underſtands that bound, or limit drawn between the Territories of the late King *Edmund*, and the River *Ouſe*, which at this day is known by the name of the *Devil's Ditch*, that formerly divided the *Mercian* Kingdom from that of the *Eaſt-Angles*.

And *Bromton*'s Chronicle under this Year further adds, That *Ethelwold* having thus paſſed the *Thames* at *Crekelade*, ~~took *Crikelden*~~, and marched as far as *Brandenſtoke* (now *Bradenſtoke* in *Wiltſhire*) ſo that (as Mr. *Camden* well obſerves in his *Britannia)* our Modern Hiſtorians have been much miſtaken in ſuppoſing that place to be *Baſing-Stoke* in *Hampſhire:* But to return to our Hiſtory.

As ſoon as the King reſolved to quit thoſe parts, he order'd it to be proclaimed throughout the whole Army, that they ſhould all march off; but the *Kentiſhmen* ſtaying behind, contrary to his command, he ſent Meſſengers to them to come away; yet it ſeems, before they could do it, the *Danes* had ſo hemmed them in, that they were forced to fight, and there *Eadwald* the King's *Thane*, and *Cenwulf* the Abbot, with many more of the *Engliſh* Nobility were ſlain; and on the *Danes* part were kill'd *Eoric* their King, and Prince *Ethelwald*, who had ſtirred them to this Rebellion, and *Byrtſig* the Son of Prince *Beornoth*, and *Yſopa* General of the King's Army, and abundance of others; which it would be too tedious to enumerate: But it was plain that there was a great ſlaughter made on both ſides, yet nevertheleſs the *Danes* kept the Field of Battel.

Alſo this Year Queen *Ealſwithe*, (the Mother of King *Edward)* deceaſed; in which alſo a Comet appeared.

Who this *Eoric*, King of the *Danes*, was, is uncertain; I ſuppoſe him to have been the *Daniſh* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, whoſe death (according to *Will.* of *Malmesbury*'s Account) falls about this time, for he ſays thus; That this King was killed by the *Engliſh*, whom he treated tyrannically, but for all this, yet they could not recover their Liberty; certain *Daniſh* Earls ſtill oppreſſing, or elſe inciting them againſt the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings; till the Eighteenth Year of this King's Reign; when they were all by him overcome, and the Country brought under obedience.

To this time we may alſo refer that great Council, which was held by King *Edward* the *Elder*, where *Plegmond*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* preſided; though the place where is not ſpecified, yet the occaſion of it (as we find from *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, as well as the Regiſter of the Priory of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*, cited by * Sir *H. Spelman)* was thus; Pope *Formoſus* had ſent Letters into *England*, threatning Excommunication, and his Curſe to King *Edward* and all his Subjects, becauſe the Province of the *Weſt-Saxons* had been now for Seven Years without any Biſhops; whereupon the King ſummoned a great Council or Synod of Wiſe men of the *Engliſh* Nation, wherein the Archbiſhop read the Pope's Letters; then the King and the Biſhops, with all his Lay-Subjects, upon mature deliberation, found out a ſafe courſe to avoid it, by appointing Biſhops over

* Council, I. Vol. p. 387.

Anno Dom. DCCCCV. over each of the *Weſtern* Counties, dividing what Two Biſhops had formerly held, into Five Dioceſſes.

The Council being ended, the Archbiſhop went to *Rome*, and reciting the King's Decree with the Advice and Approbation of the Chief Men of his Kingdom; He thereby, and with rich Preſents, ſo pacified the Pope, that *Plegmond* obtain'd his confirmation thereof; and then returning into his own Country, he ordained five Biſhops in one day, (to wit) *Frideſtan* to the Church of *Wincheſter*, *Aldeſtan* to *Cornwall*, *Werſtan* to *Shireborne*, *Athelm* to *Wells*, and *Eadwulf* to *Crediton* in *Devonſhire*.

But Archbiſhop *Parker*, in his *Antiq. Britannicæ*, under this very Year thus recites this Tranſaction out of a very Ancient Manuſcript Author, whom he does not particularly name; *viz.* That *Plegmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, together with King *Edward*, called a great Council of the Biſhops, Abbots, Chief men, Subjects and People, in the Province of the *Gewiſſes*, where theſe two Biſhopricks were divided into five.

So that you ſee here was no leſs than five new Dioceſſes erected at once, by the Authority of both the King and the Great Council of the Nation, though, it ſeems, the Pope took upon him the confirmation of this Decree.

The ſame Authors likewiſe tell us, That Archbiſhop *Plegmond* ordained two more Biſhops over the Ancient Provinces (to wit) one *Bernod*, for the *South Saxons*, and *Cenwulf* for the *Mercians*, whoſe See was at *Dorcheſter* in *Oxfordſhire*.

Cardinal *Baronius* in his Annals, having given us a Copy of theſe Letters of Pope *Formoſus*, hath found a notable Error in the Date of them, for being written *Anno Dom.* 904, or 905. they could not be ſent by that Pope who was dead about 9 or 10 years before, and therefore the Cardinal would put the time of this Council back to *Anno Dom* 894. but then as Sir *H. Spelman* in his Notes upon it well obſerves, the fault will be as great this way as the other; for King *Edward*, under whom this Council was held, was not King till above 10 years after; therefore ſome would place this Council in the latter end of King *Alfred*'s Reign, after the Kingdom came to be ſetled upon the expulſion of the *Danes*; but Sir *H. Spelman* affirms, That theſe things being written long after the time when they were tranſacted, the name of *Formoſus* might be put into the Copies of theſe Letters, inſtead of Pope *Leo* the Fifth, and then all things will fall right enough. But as to *Fritheſtan* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, this Account of *Will.* of *Malmesbury* will not hold, for our Annals tell us, That he was not made Biſhop till *Anno Dom.* 910. upon the death of Biſhop *Denulph*, and therefore that See could not be ſo long void, as this Relation would have it. The like miſtake is in making *Werſtan* to be then Biſhop of *Shireborne*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCVII. This Year *Elfred*, who was *Gereſe* of *Bathe*, died, and about the ſame time there was a Peace made between King *Edward* and thoſe of *Eaſt-England* and *Northumberland*; That is, as *Florence* interprets it, with the *Daniſh* Army inhabiting thoſe Provinces, at *Ityngaford*; but where the place was, is now unknown to us, unleſs it be *Ilford* near *Chriſt-Church* in *Hampſhire*, which is ſeated in the new Foreſt, called *Itene* in *Engliſh-Saxon*. T~~his Year alſo *Ligceaſter*, now~~ *Leiceſter*, ~~was rep~~aired.

And *Florence* of *Worceſter* likewiſe relates it to have been done in the Year 908. by the care of *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, and the Lady *Elfleda* his Wife; and this Author does alſo inform us, That this Year the King ſubdued *Eaſtſeax*, *Eaſt-England*, and *Northumberland*, with many other Provinces, which the *Danes* had a long time been poſſeſſed of, but *Eaſt-England* was not reduced till ſome Years after; alſo that he conquered the borders of the *Scots*, *Cumbrians* and *Galloway* Men, with the *Weſtern*

Britains, and forced their Kings to yield themſelves to him, and then he returned home with great Glory and Honour. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCVII. Chron: Wal.

This Year alſo *Cadelh*, Prince of *South Wales*, died; he was ſecond Son to *Roderic* the Great, and Father to *Howel Dha*, (*i. e.* the Good,) who ſucceeded him in that Dominion.

Some of the *South Wales* Antiquaries have endeavoured to prove this *Cadelh* to have been the eldeſt Son of *Roderic* the Great; but Mr. *Vaughan* hath ſo Learnedly confuted this Miſtake in a ſmall Treatiſe which he publiſhed on that Subject at *Oxford* 1663, that I think no Man can have any Reaſon to be diſſatisfied with it.

Anno Dom. DCCCCVIII. S. A.

This Year (according to *Florence* ~~*of Worceſter*~~) the ancient City of *Caerlegion*, th~~at is in the English *Legeceſter*, (and~~ called now *Weſtcheſter*,) was by the Command of Earl *Ethered*, and *Ethelflede* his Wife, repaired. Which thô Mr. *Camden* in his *Britannia* will needs have to be *Leiceſter*, yet that it was not ſo, may appear from the *Britiſh* Name of *Caerlegion*, i. e. the Town of the Legions which was never given to *Leiceſter*, but ~~only~~ to *Weſtcheſter* by the ancient *Britiſh* Inhabitants.

Anno Dom. DCCCCIX. Alfred

'This Year deceaſed *Denulph*, who was Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.] This is he of whom our Hiſtorians tell us, That ~~the~~ King lighting on him as he lay concealed at *Athelney*, being then but a Swineheard, and finding him a Man of excellent Natural Parts, ſet him to School to learn, and he became ſo good a Proficient in Letters, that he was made firſt a Doctor, and afterwards a Biſhop.

'This Year alſo the Body of St. *Oſwald* once King of Northumberland was tranſlated from *Bardenigge* '(that is, *Bardeney* in *Lincolnſhire*) into *Mercia*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCX.

'*Frithestan* now took the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and Biſhop *Aſſer* alſo 'deceaſed ſoon after, who was Biſhop of *Shireburne*. Alſo the ſame Year 'King *Edward* ſent an Army of ~~the~~ *Weſt Saxons*, together with the *Mercians*, 'who very much waſted *Northumberland*, and ſtaying there five Weeks, 'deſtroyed many of the *Danes*.

Florence of *Worceſter* and *Simeon* of *Durham* give us a very good Reaſon for this Action, *viz.* That the *Danes* had now broken the League they had entred into with King *Edward*; ſo that he never left them till he had forced their Kings and Commanders again to renew the Peace; which however it ſeems they kept not long.

For the next Year our Annals tell us,

Anno Dom. DCCCCXI. S. A.

'That the *Daniſh* Army in *Northumberland* not regarding the Peace 'which King *Edward* and his Son had made with them, again waſted the 'Province of the *Mercians*; but the King being then in *Kent*, had got together about 100 Ships, which ſailed toward the South-Eaſt to meet 'them, and then the *Danes* ſuppoſing that the greateſt part of the King's 'Forces were in his Fleet, thought they might march ſafely whither they 'would without fighting; but ſo ſoon as the King underſtood they were 'gone out to plunder, he ſent an Army conſiſting of *Weſt Saxons* and '*Mercians*, who following the *Danes* in the Rear, as they returned home 'met with them (in a place called *Wodnesfield*,) and fought ~~with~~ them, 'routing and killing many Thouſands of them, with *Eowils* and *Healfden* 'their Kings, with ſeveral Earls and Chief Commanders of their Army; whoſe Names I forbear to give, becauſe I would tire my Reader as little as I could.

But to theſe Kings, as the * Annals of *Winchelcomb* inform us, one *Reginald* ſucceeded.

* *MS. in Bib. Cot. Tib. c. x.*

Anno Dom. DCCCCXI.

Alſo the ſame Year, as *Florence* hath it, there was ~~a~~ remarkable Battle between the *Engliſh* and the *Danes* in *Staffordſhire*, ~~but~~ the former obtained the Victory.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXII.

This Year *Æthered*, the Ealdorman of the *Mercians*, deceaſed; and the King then took the Cities of *London* and *Oxenford* into his own hands, with all the Territories belonging to them.

Hoveden

But ~~it ſeems~~ the Lady ~~*Elflede*, now a~~ Widow, still kept all the reſt of *Mercia*; for this Year the Annals ſay, That ſhe being Lady of the *Mercians*, came on the Vigil of the Feaſt of *Holyrood* to a place called *Sceargeat*, (which is now unknown,) and there built a Caſtle; and the ſame Year did the like at *Bricge*, which Mr. *Camden* ſuppoſes to be *Bridgenorth* in *Shropſhire*, that Town being called *Brigge* by the common People at this day. And *Florence* alſo adds, That about this time ſhe built the Town of *Bremesbyrig*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXIII.

this year ‘~~Now~~ about the Feaſt of St. *Martin* King *Edward* Commanded the Town ‘of *Heortford* to be new built, lying between the Rivers *Memar*, *Benefican*, ‘and *Lygean*, the firſt and ſecond of which Rivers is now hard to name ‘right, only it is certain they were two Rivulets that diſcharged them‘ſelves into the River *Lee*, (then called *Lygean*,) between *Hartford* and ‘*Ware*.

If we look into wales we find that this year Anarawd K. of South wales deceased, and that Edwal Voel succeeded as all the Chronicles agree

Anno Dom. DCCCCXIV.

‘After this, the Summer following, between *Lent* and *Midſummer*, the ‘King marched with part of his Forces into *Eaſt-Seax* as far as *Maldune*, ‘(now *Maldon*,) and there encamped, whilſt a Town could be built and ‘fortified at *Witham*, (near adjoyning,) and then a great part of the ‘People, who had before been under the *Daniſh* Dominion, became ſub‘ject to him: In the mean time, whilſt part of his Forces built the Town ‘of *Heortford*, on the South ſide of *Lee*, the Lady *Æthelfleda* marched ‘with all the *Mercians* to *Tamaweorthige* (now *Tamworth*) in *Staffordſhire*, ‘and there built a Caſtle; and before the Feaſt of *All-Saints* did the like ‘at *Staford*; and the Year following ſhe built another at *Eadesbyrig*, (ſup‘poſed by Mr. *Camden* to be *Edesbury* in *Cheſhire*;) and alſo the ſame Year, ‘about the end of *Autumn*, ſhe built another at *Weringwic*, (now *War*‘*wick*;) and the Year following that, another at *Cyricbyrig* (now *Cher*‘*bury*) in *Shropſhire*; and another at *Wearbyrig*, (ſuppoſed by Mr. *Camden* ‘to be *Wedesbury* in *Staffordſhire*;) and before *Chriſtmas* another at *Run*‘*Caſan*; (that is, *Runckhorne* in *Cheſhire*.) But *Florence* places theſe Actions more rightly three Years after.

All which Caſtles (being built in the ſpace of the two following Years) muſt be ſuppoſed to have been done not caſually, but as the exigence of Affairs required, to ſecure the *Mercian* Frontiers againſt the *Daniſh*, as well as the *Welſh* Incurſions.

But it is now time to caſt our Eyes a little on the Affairs of that part of *England*, called *Wales*; where we find in the Chronicle of *Caradoc*, That this Year *Anarawd* chief King of *Wales* died, leaving behind him two Sons, *Edwal Ugel*, (*i. e.* the *Bald*,) who Reigned after him, and *Eliſe*; and (as ſome ſay) a third Son named *Meyric*. This *Edwal* is he, whom our Hiſtorians ſtile *Idwal Rex omnium Wallenſium*; *i. e.* Supreme King of all *Wales*.

And I ſhall here likewiſe ſubjoyn what Mr. *Vaughan*, in his Notes upon this Chronicle, hath alſo added concerning the *Welſh* Affairs during the Reign of this Prince, thô happening ſomewhat before this time, *viz.*

Anno Dom. DCCCCXIV

'That after the Death of *Rodric* the Great, the Northern *Britains* of *Stratclwyd* and *Cumberland* were (as *Hector Boetius* and *Buchanan* relate) much infeſted and weakened with the daily Incurſions of the *Danes*, *Saxons*, and *Scots*; which made many of them (that is, all that would not ſubmit their Necks to that Yoke) to quit their Country, and ſeek out more quiet Habitations; ſo that under the Conduct of one *Hobert* they came to *Gwyneth* (i. e. *North Wales*) in the beginning of *Anarawd*'s Reign, who commiſerating their diſtreſſed Condition, gave them the Country from *Cheſter* to the River *Conwey* to inhabit, if they could beat out the *Saxons*, who had lately poſſeſſed themſelves thereof.

'Theſe *Britains* having returned Thanks to Prince *Anarawd*, (as was meet,) fell upon the *Saxons*, and Neceſſity giving edge to their Valour, they ſoon drove them out thence, being yet ſcarce warm in their Seats; and *Edred*, or *Ethered*, Earl of *Mercia*, made great Preparations for the regaining of the ſaid Country: But the Northern *Britains*, who had ſettled themſelves there, having Intelligence thereof, for the better ſecuring of their Cattle and Goods, removed them over the River *Conwey*. In the mean time *Anarawd* was not idle, but gathering together all the Strength he could make, his Army encamped near the Town of *Conwey*, at a place called *Cymryt*, where his Men, making a gallant Reſiſtance againſt the Aſſaults of the *Saxon* Forces, at length after a bloody Fight obtained a compleat Victory over them. This Battle was called *Gwaeth Cymryt Conwey*, becauſe it was fought in the Townſhip of *Cymryt*, hard by *Conwey*; but *Anarawd* called it *Dial Rodri*, becauſe he had there revenged the Death of his Father *Rodri*. In this Battle *Tudwal*, the Son of *Rodri Mawr*, received a Hurt in the Knee, which made him be called *Tudwall Gloff*, or *The Lame*, ever after.

'His Brethren, to reward his Valour and Service, gave him the Lands of *Unchellogoed Gwynned*; and then the *Britains* purſuing their Victory, chaſed the *Saxons* quite out of *Wales* into *Mercia*, where having burnt and deſtroyed the Borders, they returned home laden with rich Spoils. And *Anarawd*, to expreſs his Thankfulneſs to GOD for this great Victory, gave Lands and Poſſeſſions to the Church of *Bangor*, as the Records of that See do teſtifie, and likewiſe to the Collegiate Church of *Clynnoc* in *Arvon*, as we read in the Extent of *North Wales*. After this the Northern *Britains* came back from beyond the River *Conwey*, and poſſeſſed again the Lands aſſigned to them between *Conwey* and *Cheſter*, which for a long time after they peaceably enjoyed. Some *Engliſh* Writers, as *Mat. Weſtminſter, &c.* not conſidering that the *Britains* had Lands in *Loegria* and *Albania*, after King *Cadwalader*'s time, miſtake thoſe of *Cumberland* and *Stratclwyd* for the *Britains* of *Wales*; but *Aſſer Menev.* who lived about the Year 875, ſaith, That *Halden* the *Dane* marched into *Northumberland*, which he ſubdued, having before conquered the *Picts* and *Britains* of *Stratclwyd* in *Northumberland*.'

I have given you this Relation at length, becauſe it is not found in any of our Hiſtorians, and it lets us ſee, that the *Engliſh*, as well as the *Welſh*, have been very ſparing to record their own Defeats. But to return again to our Hiſtory.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXV

About this time, (according to the * Copy of a Charter of King *Edward*, extant in an old Manuſcript belonging to *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*,) he by the Command of Pope *John* and Arch-Biſhop *Plegmund*, and by the Advice of all the Biſhops and Chief Men of his Kingdom, confirmed

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*Vi. Fuller's *Church Hiſtory*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXV.

to the Doctors and Scholars of *Cambridge*, as alſo to their Servants, all Priviledges which had been granted by himſelf or his Predeceſſours for ever to endure by a perpetual Right. This Charter bears Date at *Granteceſter* (i. e. *Cambridge*) in the Year 915, and is directed to *Fritheſtan*, then Chancellor and Doctor.

But if Sir *John Spelman* thought he had Reaſon to ſuſpect the Truth of that Paſſage we have cited out of *Aſſer*'s Hiſtory of the Life of King *Alfred*, concerning the *Studium* or School at *Oxford* before King *Alfred*'s time, our Antiquaries may have as much (if not more) Reaſon to queſtion the Truth of this Charter; ſince the Original of it is not to be found, but only this Tranſcript in the Book above cited; for they ſay it looks very improbable, that *Cambridge* ſhould have continued an Univerſity during all the time of the *Daniſh* Wars, and under the Poſſeſſion of thoſe three *Daniſh* Kings, the laſt of whom enjoyed it till the latter end of this King's Reign, as appears by our preſent Hiſtory: And beſides all this, the barbarous and pedantic Latine at the Concluſion of this Charter, where the King is made to confirm it in theſe Words: *Stabili jure grata & rata decerno durare, quamdiu vertigo Poli circa terras atque Æquora, Æthera Syderum juſto moderamine volvet:* Which ſeems to betray the ignorant Monk's Pen that counterfeited it; but *John Rouſe*, in his Manuſcript Hiſtory *De Regibus Angliæ*, cited by *Bale*, ~~relates~~ from an ancient Table and Chronicle of the Abbey of *Hyde* near *Wincheſter*, (which himſelf by the Favour of the Abbot had peruſed) the Reſtoration of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* by King *Edward*, as follows.

Cent. 8. Num. 53.

relates

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'Therefore for the Augmentation of *Clerk-like* Learning, as his Father 'had done to *Oxford*, ſo he again raiſed up *Cambridge* to her firſt Glory, 'which for a long time, with other general Schools, had lain deſolate 'and deſtroyed; as alſo, like a moſt loving Nouriſher of Scholars, he 'commanded that Halls for Students, Chairs and Seats of Doctors and 'Maſters, ſhould there be erected, and built at his own proper Charges, 'for he ſent from *Oxford* Univerſity, (which his Noble Father the King 'had founded,) Maſters of thoſe Arts which we call Liberal, together 'with Doctors in Divinity, and invited them there formally to Read 'and Teach.

But ſince the Author here cited is but of modern Times, in compariſon to this famous Univerſity, and alſo that Paſſage he hath cited out of the Annals of *Hyde*, is not now to be found in the Copies we have of them: I ſhall give the Reader a much more ancient Teſtimony out of *Tho. Rudborn*'s larger Hiſtory of the Church of *Wincheſter*, where he cites an Epiſtle of one *Bonagratia de Villa Dei*, to the Black Monks of *England*, wherein there is this Paſſage, which I ſhall here Tranſlate, *viz.* That whilſt he was baniſhed from his Country into *England*, and ſojourned with the moſt Holy and Religious Monks in the City of *Wincheſter*, *Helmeſtan* Abbot of the ſaid Cathedral Church, and the Venerable *Swithune*, *Præpoſitus*, (*i. e.* Biſhop of the ſame,) who had been before *in Profeſſione ſacræ Theologiæ in Studio Canterbriggienſi Cathedratus*, (*i. e.* Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*,) had often relieved him during the many Hardſhips he ſuffered in his Baniſhment, which ſpecial Favour he deſired always ſhould be acknowledged.

Lib. 3. c. 2.

If we were aſſured that this Epiſtle was Genuine, it would advance the Antiquity of this Univerſity far higher than the time we are now treating of, and would make it Ancienter than the time of King *Alfred*, in the latter end of whoſe Reign St. *Swithune* ſate Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: But ſince we have not the Originals, but only Citations from theſe ancient Pieces, I ſhall not take upon me to determine of their Validity, but leave that, as alſo this Author's Credit, to the Reader's Judgment. But to return to our Annals.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXV.

'This Year *Egbriht*, the innocent Abbot, was ſlain on the 16th *Kal.* of *July*, a little before the Summer Solſtice; and about three Days after *Æthelfleda* ſent an Army againſt the *Welſh*, which took *Brecenanmere*, (ſuppoſed to be either *Brecknock* Caſtle, or elſe ſome place near it,) and there ſhe took the King's Wife, and about thirty four Priſoners.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXVI. S. C.

* [illegible]

Wales.

'The *Danes* marching now on Horſeback after *Eaſter* from *Hamtune* (i.e. *Northampton*) and *Lygraceaſter*, (now *Leiceſter*) ſlew many Men at *Hocneratune*, (now *Hoocnorton* in *Oxfordſhire*) and the places adjoyning; and as ſoon as they had returned home again, they ſent out another Company of Robbers, which marched towards *Ligtune*, (moſt likely to be *Leighton* in *Bedfordſhire*;) but the People of that Country being forewarned of their coming, fought with them, and not only put them to flight, but alſo recovered whatſoever they had taken away, ſo that they left a great many of their Horſes and Arms behind them.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXVII.

'Now a great Fleet ſailed from the Southern Parts of *Armorica*, under the Command of two Earls, *Ohtor* and *Rhoald*, and ſailing about toward the *Eaſt*, entred the Mouth of the River *Severne*, and there ſpoiled all the Coaſts of *North Wales* toward the Sea, as far as they could; and they alſo took *Cumeleac* the *Welſh* Biſhop in *Ircingafield* (now *Archenfeld*) in *Herefordſhire*, and carried him Priſoner to their Ships; but King *Edward* within ſome time Ranſomed him for Forty Pounds; but after this, the *Danes* quitting their Ships, marched again towards *Ircingafeild*, where the Men of *Hereford* and *Gleawceſter*, and the neighbouring Towns, fought them, and put them to flight, and there ſlew *Rhoald*, and a Brother of Earl *Ohtor*'s, with a great part of their Army, and drove them into a certain Wood, where they beſieged them, till they made them give Hoſtages to depart out of King *Edward*'s Kingdom: But at laſt it ſeemed adviſable for the King to place a good Guard from the South part of the Mouth of *Severne*, and from the Weſt of *Wales* toward the Eaſt as far as the River *Avon*, that ſo the *Danes* might not Land any more on that ſide; nevertheleſs leaving their Ships, they ſtole away privately by Night in two Companies to plunder, the one to *Weced* (now *Watchet* in *Somerſetſhire*,) and the other to *Portlocan* (now *Portlochbay*) in the ſame County, but they were routed in both places; inſomuch, that few of them eſcaped alive, unleſs it were thoſe who ſwam off to their Ships: Then they beſieged an Iſland at *Bradanrelic*, (*Florence* calls it *Reoric*,) which is ſuppoſed to be a little Iſland (now called *Shepholm*) in the Mouth of *Severne*, where they were in ſuch great want of Victuals, that many died with Hunger, becauſe they could get no Proviſions there. After this they went to *Deomed*, (ſuppoſed to be *South Wales*) from whence they paſſed into *Ireland*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXVIII.

All this happened in *Autumn*: And the ſame Year, a little before *Martinmaſs*, King *Edward* marched with his Army to *Buckingaham*, and there ſtayed a Month, building two Forts on each ſide the River *Ouſe*; before he parted thence, *Thurkytel* the *Daniſh* Earl owned him for his Lord, as alſo all

Anno Dom. DCCCCXVIII.

all their chief Commanders, and almoſt all their Noblemen, who were at *Bedanford* (now *Bedford*) with many of them that belonged to *Hamptune*.

S. A.

x from the Danes. together with the whole County but in the Aſsault of the Town, just

‘This Year alſo *Ethelfleda*, Lady of the *Mercians*, before *Whitſontide* took the Town of *Deorby* x, ~~where~~ within the Gates were killed four Thanes, who were very dear to her.

* Veſp. A. 5.

Alſo we read, in the Collections of that Learned Antiquary Mr. *Lambert*, (and by him given to the * *Cottonian* Library,) that it is found in an Ancient Chronicle, once belonging to the Monaſtry of *Rocheſter*, and collected by one *Edmund de Hadenham*, That this Year the Lady *Elfleda*, by the Aſſiſtance of the King her Brother, beſieged the City of *Canterbury*, and taking it, ſlew a great many *Danes* that were therein.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXIX.

‘King *Edward* marching with his Army to *Bedanford* about *Martinmaſs*, had the Town ſurrendred to him, and then all the Inhabitants ‘who were his Subjects returned thither, and there he ſtayed a Month; ‘and before he departed, he commanded a Caſtle to be built there on ‘the South ſide of the River.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXX.

x S. A

‘After this King *Edward* went to *Mældune* (now *Maldon*,) and rebuilt ‘the Town, and ſaw it fortified whilſt he was there. Alſo Earl *Thurkytel* ‘paſſed over into *France* by K. *Edward*'s Leave and Convoy, with all thoſe ‘*Danes* that would follow him; as likewiſe *Æthelfleda* brought under her ‘Dominion the Town of *Legraceſter* (now *Leiceſter*,) and a great many ‘of the *Danes*, belonging to that place, became ſubject to her, as alſo ‘thoſe who were at *York*; nay, ſome of them confirmed it both with an ‘Oath, and by giving of Hoſtages, that they would continue ſo; but as ſoon ‘as this was done, ſhe departed this Life twelve days before *Midſummer* ‘at *Tammeworth*, it being the Eighth Year of her Government over the ‘*Mercians* (after her Husband's Death,) with great Moderation and Juſtice: ‘Her Body lies buried at *Gleawceſter* in the Eaſt Iſle of St. *Peter's* ‘Church.

This Lady's Death is placed in our printed Annals, under the Year 918, and that more rightly, for the *Cottonian* Copy of theſe Annals is certainly miſtaken, in putting the Death of this Princeſs two Years later than this, *viz.* 920. though they all agree in Subſtance, *viz.* that ſhe died at *Tamworth* about a Fortnight before *Midſummer*; and that thereupon King *Edward* going thither, the whole Nation of the *Mercians* ſubmitted to him. But whenever this Princeſs died, ſhe was certainly a Woman of great Virtue, Prudence, and Courage; and truly reſembled her worthy Father King *Alfred*, as far as the Difference of Sex would permit.

But to return again to our Annals,

S. C

‘The ſame Year the Daughter and Heir of *Ethered*, Lord of the *Mercians*, called *Ælfwinna*, whom her Mother had left her Heir, was deprived by the King of that Dominion; and ſhe was, about three weeks before *Chriſtmas*, brought into *Weſt-Seax*.

John Bevour, (who calls himſelf *Caſtoreus*,) in his Manuſcript Hiſtory of the Kings of *England*, gives us a very good Reaſon, if true, why the King dealt thus ſeverely with this young Princeſs his Niece, which was this; That *Ælfwinna*, not making the King her Uncle, (whom her Mother had appointed her Guardian,) privy to her Deſigns, had contracted a Mariage with *Reginald*, King of the *Danes*: Whereupon King *Edward*, to prevent his Enemy, entred the Country of *Mercia*, and took it into his own Hands, and alſo carried the ſaid Lady away with him. The

Anno Dom. DCCCCXX.

ſame Author likewiſe reporteth, That about this time *Leofred* a *Dane*, and *Griffyth ap Madoc*, Brother-in-Law to the Prince of *Weſt-Wales*, came from *Ireland* with a great Army to *Snowdon* in *Caernarvonſhire*; and deſigning to bring *all Wales* and the Marches thereof to their ſubjection, over-ran and ſubdued all the Countrey as far as *Cheſter*, before ever King *Edward* had Intelligence of their Arrival; whereat he was very much offended; but being loath to trouble his Subjects in that behalf, he made a Vow, That he and his Sons with their own people, would be revenged on *Leofred* and *Griffyth*; and thereupon he came to *Cheſter*, and took the *City* from them: After this he made two Diviſions of his Army, whereof he and his Son *Athelſtan* led the firſt, and *Edmund* and *Edred* the ſecond; and followed them with ſuch Celerity, that he overtook them at the Foreſt of *Walewode* (now *Sherwood*), where *Leofred* and *Griffyth* ſet upon him ſo fiercely, that the King at the beginning was in ſome diſtreſs, until Prince *Athelſtan* ſtepped in between his Father and *Leofred*, and gave the *Dane* ſuch a Wound in the Arm, that it diſabled him from holding his Spear, whereupon he was ſoon taken, and committed to the Cuſtody of *Athelſtan*. In the mean time Prince *Edmund* and *Edred* encountering with *Griffyth*, ſlew him, and brought his Head to their Father: Upon that *Athelſtan* cauſed *Leofred* to be beheaded likewiſe, and ſo both their Heads were ſet up together on the top of the Tower of *Cheſter*; and *Edward* and his Sons returned home with great Triumph.

But it appears by the Age of Prince *Edmund* when he came to the Crown, that this Relation concerning himſelf and his Brother *Edred*'s commanding part of their Father's Army, cannot be true; for he was not above Four years old when King *Edward* his Father died, and not above Eighteen when he began to reign.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXXI. 5. A

'This year (according to our Annals) King *Edward* commanded 'his men to go to the Town of *Toſeceaſter* (now *Toceſter* in *Northamptonſhire*) and to rebuild it; after which, the ſame year about *Lent*, he 'commanded the Town of *Wigingamere* (now *Wigmore* in *Herefordſhire*) to be rebuilt: But the ſame Summer, between *Whitſuntide* and '*Midſummer*, the *Danes* of *Hamptune* (i. e. *Northampton*, as was ſaid 'before) and *Ligeraceſter*, and thoſe that lay *Northward*, broke the 'Peace, and marched to *Toſeceaſter*, and aſſaulting the Town a whole 'day hoped to take it, but thoſe that were within defending it until ſuch 'time as more men could come to their aſſiſtance, the *Danes* were forced to leave the Town, and march'd off: After this they often went 'out by night to plunder, and falling upon thoſe that were unprovided, 'took a great many men and much Cattle, between *Barnewoode* and '*Eglesbyrig* (the former of which was *Barnwood* Foreſt near *Bury-hill*, 'and the latter *Aliſbury*, both in *Buckinghamſhire*). About the ſame 'time the *Danes* of *Huntandune* (i. e. *Huntington*) and the *Eaſt-Angles*, 'marched out and built a Caſtle at *Temsford*, where they ſettled themſelves, for they had left that at *Huntandune*, ſuppoſing that from thence 'they might recover a greater ſhare of the Countrey; and ſo they 'march'd till they came to *Bedanford*, (now Bedford) but the men who were within it 'going out to meet them, killed great numbers of them, putting the 'reſt to flight: After this a great Army of *Danes* being got together, 'advanced to the Town of *Wiggingamere*, and ſtormed it for moſt part 'of the day; but thoſe who were within defending it very well, they

'were

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'were forced to leave the Town, and retreat, carrying away with them all the Cattel they found thereabouts: After this alſo, the ſame Summer, there were great Forces aſſembled of King *Edward*'s Subjects from the Towns round about *Temesford*, whither they went, and laying cloſe Siege to the Town, they at length took it, and kill'd a *Daniſh* King, and *Tagloſſe* an Earl, and *Mannan* his Son, together with his Brother, and all thoſe who defended the Town.] From which time (according to *Florence*) the *Daniſh* Power did by little and little decreaſe, and that of the *Engliſh* increaſe. But this Author places all theſe actions of this year under *Anno* 917.

'The ſame year a great many men aſſembled together in Autumn, as well from *Kent*, *Surry*, and *Eſſex*, as from the neighbouring Towns, and marching to *Colneceaſter* (i.e. *Colcheſter*) aſſaulted that City till they took it, and all the Plunder they found in it, and killed all the men, except thoſe that eſcaped over the Wall: After which alſo the ſame Autumn a great Army of *Danes* were got together with the *Eaſt-Angles*, both Land-Soldiers and Pyrates, whom they had invited to their aſſiſtance, hoping thereby to revenge the Defeat they had lately received; wherefore they went directly to *Mældune*, and beſieged that Town, till ſuch time that more men coming to its aſſiſtance, the *Danes* were forced to quit it, and retreat; but the men who were within it, together with thoſe that came to their aſſiſtance, overtaking the *Danes*, killed many hundreds of the Land-men as well as Pyrates; not long after which, King *Edward* marched with an Army of *South-Saxons* to *Paſſenham* (i.e. *Paſham* in *Northamptonſhire* and there continued till the Town of *Tofeceaſter* could be encompaſſed with a Stone-Wall, where Earl *Thurferth* and the chief Commande of the *Daniſh* Forces that belonged to *Hamtune*, with all towards th *North* as far as *Weolade* (that is, the River *Weland*) accepted King *Edward* for their Lord and Protector; but about the time that the King's Army was to return home, he ſent out freſh Forces to the Town o *Huntandune*, who repaired and rebuilt it in thoſe places that were deſtroyed, according to the King's Command; ſo that all the people o that Countrey that remained alive, ſurrendred themſelves to King *Edward*, and ſought his Peace and Protection. Likewiſe this very yea before *Martinmaſs* the King marched with an Army of *Weſt-Saxons* t *Colneceaſter*, and rebuilt the Wall, and repaired all places which wer ruinous. Then many as well of the *Eaſt-Angles*, as alſo of the *Eaſ* *Saxons*, who were before under the *Daniſh* Dominion (and had bee ſo for above thirty years), now delivered themſelves up to th King, and alſo all the *Daniſh* Army in *Eaſt-England* ſwore Allegianc to him, promiſing to do whatever he thought good, and to defend hi Subjects as well by Sea as by Land; but the Army that belonged t *Grantanbyrig* (i.e. *Cambridge*) did by themſelves chuſe the King fo their Lord and Patron, confirming it by their Oaths as he had appoin ed him. This year alſo *Sytric* (the *Daniſh* King) ſlew *Neil* hi Brother.

And under this year I ſuppoſe we may juſtly place the total ſubduin of the *Danes*, and ſubjection of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and conſequently the being freed from the *Daniſh* Yoak, under which they had groaned fo above fifty years; though what Government they had from the Dea of the laſt *Daniſh* King *Eoric*, is hard to determine; *William* of *Malm* *bur* ury, the only Ancient Author that hath mentioned theſe Affairs, elling us in general, That after the Death of this *Eoric*, the *Daniſh* Earls or Governors either oppreſſed them, or elſe excited them againſt the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, until this King *Edward* by driving out the *Danes* reſtored the *Engliſh* to their Liberties, and added this Kingdom to his own Dominions fifty years after the death of King *Edmund*, which falls out much about this time.

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But *Polidore Virgil* (I know not from what Author) hath a long Story how King *Eoric* above-mentioned made War againſt King *Edward*, and being routed by him in a great Battel, and returning home, fell ſo far into the Hatred and Contempt of his Subjects, that they roſe up againſt him, and murthered him; and being then divided into Factions, were forced to ſubmit themſelves to King *Edward*. This (if it were true) would give a great light into this dark part of the Hiſtory of the *Eaſt-Angles*, of which we have but a very imperfect Account: But ſince this Relation is found in no other Author except *Polydore*; and beſides, expreſly contradicting the Teſtimony of *William* of *Malmeſbury*, a much more Authentick Writer, by whoſe Account (as well as by the *Saxon* Annals) it appears that this *Eoric* was dead long before: I think we may juſtly look upon *Polydore*'s Relation as a mere Fiction, either invented by himſelf, or elſe taken from ſome Modern Author of no great Credit: Therefore I muſt now warn the Reader concerning this Hiſtorian, That though he had the Peruſal of a great many Rare Manuſcripts, yet ſince he very ſeldom cites any Authors, and that we find he ſometimes differs from our moſt Ancient Writers, and is plainly miſtaken in divers Relations, we have great reaſon to refuſe his Teſtimony, where it is not agreeable with more Authentick Authorities.

now

I have nothing elſe to add under this year, but that as *William* of *Malmeſbury* tells us, the Body of King *Edmund* the Martyr having lain for above Fifty Years obſcurely buried at a place called *Haleſdon* in *Suffolk*, was now by ſome devout people removed to a Town adjoining, called *Badriceſworth* (now St. *Edmundsbury*), where there was quickly a Church built over him, and unto which King *Edmund*, Brother to King *Athelſtan*, was a great Benefactor; though this place was not much taken notice of, until King *Cnute*, to gain the Favour of this Saint whom his Countreymen had murthered, here afterwards built a Noble Monaſtery.

De Geſt. Pontif. lib. 2.

This year alſo (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *Mat. Weſtminſter*) the King of *Scots*, *Reginald* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, with the Duke or Earl of the *Gallawy Welſhmen* or *Britains*, came to King *Edward*, and ſubmitting themſelves to him, made a firm League with him. This is the firſt time we find any Submiſſion of the King of *Scots*; which whether it amounted to a downright Homage, and to hold that Kingdom of the Crown of *England*, may be much queſtioned, and is abſolutely denied by the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians.

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'Between *Lent* and *Midſummer* King *Edward* march'd with his Army 'to *Stanford*, and there commanded a Caſtle to be built on the *South*-'ſide of the River *Weland*; ſo that all the people who dwelt in the Town 'on the *North*-ſide of that River ſubmitted themſelves, and beſought 'him to be their Lord.

'Alſo (according to the *Cottonian* Copy of theſe Annals) *Howel*, 'and *Cledauc*, and *Jeothwell*, (Princes of *Wales*) with all the Nation 'of

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‘ of the *Northern Britains*, deſired to take the King for their Lord. But in this the *Welſh* Chronicles are wholly ſilent, as commonly they are of any action that tends to the leſſening of their Countrey.

‘ Out of *Wales* the King marched to *Snottingaham*, and took the Town, ‘ and commanded it to be repaired, and Gariſon'd with *Danes* as well a ‘ *Engliſh*; and then all the people in the Province of *Mercia*, of both ‘ thoſe Nations came over to him.

This year alſo (according to *Florence*) *Athelward*, Brother to King *Edward* died, and was buried at *Wincheſter*: This is that Learned Prince, Son to King *Alfred*, whoſe Character we have already given.

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‘ This year King *Edward* carried his Army about the end of Autumn ‘ to *Thælwæle*, (that is, *Thælwalle* in *Cheſhire*, and which is ſuppoſed to ‘ have been ſo called from its being encompaſſed at firſt with a Wall ‘ made of Bodies of Trees, called in the *Saxon* Tongue *Thæl*), where ‘ he ordered that Town to be repaired; and he commanded another ‘ part of his Forces, whilſt he ſtayed there, to march out of *Mercia* to ‘ *Manigeceaſter*, (now *Mancheſter* in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*) ‘ and order'd it to be rebuilt, and ſtrengthened with a Gariſon: This ‘ year alſo *Plegmond* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed, and *Reginol* ‘ (the *Daniſh* King) took *Eoferwick* (that is, *York*.)

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‘ Before *Midſummer* King *Edward* marched with his Army to *Snottingaham*, and ordered a new Town to be built on the *South* ſide of the ‘ River *Trent*, over-againſt that on the other ſide, and made a Bridge ‘ over the River between the two Towns; from thence the King went ‘ into *Peakland* (that is, the *Peak* in ~~that~~ Shire) to *Bedecanwell* (which ‘ is ſuppoſed may be *Bakewell* in ~~*Derby*~~*ſhire*), and commanded a Town ‘ to be built near to it, and to be fortified with a Gariſon. Then ‘ alſo the King of *Scots*, with all the *Scotiſh* Nation, and *Reginald* ‘ the Son of *Eardulph* (the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*) with all ‘ the Inhabitants of that Kingdom, whether *Engliſh* or *Danes*, together ‘ with the King of the *Stræcled Welſhmen*, and all his Subjects, did chuſe ‘ King *Edward* for their Patron and Lord.

But this year's actions are placed by *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* three years ſooner; which ſhews the Copies they had of theſe Annals differ'd from thoſe we have, though which of them is the trueſt, I ſhall not now take upon me to affirm; but it ſufficiently ſhews, that both theſe Copies were not written at one and the ſame time.

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‘ And now King *Edward* deceaſed at *Fearndune* in the Province of the ‘ *Mercians* (now called *Farrington* in *Berkſhire*); and *Ælfweard* his ‘ Son alſo deceaſed not long after him at *Oxnaford*; (i. e. *Oxford*).

But the *Canterbury* Copy of theſe Annals, as alſo *Florence* of *Worceſter*, place the Death of theſe two Princes under the foregoing year; and indeed they ſeem to have been in the right. But this is moſt certain, that this Prince, who is called *Æthelward* by *William* of *Malmesbury*, was his Eldeſt Son by Queen *Ælfleda* his Wife, the Daughter of Earl *Æthelune*, and being very well inſtructed in Learning, did much reſemble King *Ælfred* his Grandfather as well in Face as Diſpoſition: yet though he ſurvived his Father, he never took upon him the Title of King, becauſe he outlived him ſo little a time, that he could not be ſolemnly *Elected* and Crowned King according to the Law and Cuſtom of Succeſſion in thoſe times.

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I have nothing more to add to this Reign of King *Edward* the Elder, but only the Laws he made, which ſince it is not ſpecified in what year of his Reign, nor in what Common-Council of the Kingdom they were enacted, I thought beſt to refer to this place.

“In the Preface to his Laws he ſtrictly charges and commands his Officers, that as much as in them lies they do Juſtice according as it ſtands in the *Judicial* Book (ſuppoſed to be ſome Book of Preſidents or Judgments); and without all fear boldly diſpenſe common Right to all men; and that they ſet and appoint certain days for determination of the ſeveral Cauſes depending before them.

“The firſt Law is concerning Traffick, and in way of confirmation of the fourth Article of the League made betwixt his Father and the *Daniſh* King *Guthrun*, ordains, that if a man will ſell any thing, he ſhall have one to vouch and make good the ſale; and that no man buy any thing without the Town, unleſs he have the Portreeve for witneſs, or ſome other men worthy of Credit; otherwiſe he ſhall undergo the Penalty of Contumacy againſt the King: This Vouching or Warranty ſhall alſo proceed from one to another, till it end with him who firſt ſold it: The reſt of this Law, containing in what caſes the Buyer, and likewiſe the Demandant, ſhall find ſufficient Teſtimony or Oaths of the true buying of the Goods ſo bought, being long, I refer the Reader to the Law it ſelf.

“The ſecond of King *Edward*'s Laws ordains, That whoſoever denies another man his Right either in *Bocland* or *Folcland*, demanding it before the King's Sheriff, when as he hath no Right in either, ſhall pay to the King for the firſt Offence Thirty Shillings, and as much more for the ſecond; and if he offend the third time, then to pay an Hundred and twenty ſhillings for his Contumacy againſt the King.

“The third adjudges that for one who had forſworn himſelf, or born falſe witneſs, no credit ſhould be given to him for the time to come, but that he be put to *Ordeal*, in all caſes where his Oath is required.

“The fourth declares, That King *Edward* lying at *Exeter*, and conſulting with his *Wiſe Men* by what means he might beſt provide for the Publick Peace and Tranquility, it then ſeemed to them that what he had commanded was too remiſly executed; therefore he now required all that will amend and reform theſe things, and would with him enjoy common ſociety, that they would proſecute with their utmoſt hatred the ſame perſons as he did both by Sea and Land; and that they would take care not to do wrong or injury to any man. He that doth contrary, let him (as was formerly ordained) pay thirty ſhillings to the King; and if he offend the ſecond time, as much more; if the third, an hundred and twenty ſhillings.

“The fifth commands, that that *Reeve* or Judge who doth not Juſtice according to the teſtimony of ſuch as are ſummon'd, pay an hundred and twenty ſhillings for his Contumacy againſt the King.

“The ſixth wills, That if a Servant be accuſed of Theft, he that recommended him to his Maſter, or other of his Friends (if he have any), be Sureties for him that he diſcharge himſelf of what is depoſed againſt him; and if he have none to interpoſe on his behalf, thoſe that are concerned may ſeize his Goods; but if he have neither Goods nor Friends, let him be taken into cuſtody.

“The

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“ The eighth Law enjoins that no man knowingly and voluntarily
“ have peace with, or harbour one that is condemned for any Crime;
“ he that acts contrary, and thereby breaks his Oath, and the Faith gi-
“ ven by him and all the people, let him undergo the Mulct preſcribed
“ in the *Judiciary* Book; which if he refuſe to pay, he is to be deprived
“ of the King's Favour, and all other mens Friendſhip, and farther for-
“ feit all his Eſtate; and if any afterwards relieve him, let him alſo incur
“ the Penalty expreſſed in the ſaid Book; and farther, whoſoever ſhall
“ relieve a Fugitive either in this Countrey, or in the *Eaſtern* or *Northern*
“ parts of the Kingdom, (*i. e.* in *Eaſt-England* and *Northumberland*)
“ let him be puniſhed as by the Articles of Peace is ordained.

“ The ninth provides, that if one deprived of his liberty for ſtealing,
“ ſteal again, ſo that all his Kindred forſake him, and none will engage
“ for him, he is to be ſet to ſervile and hard labour, as opportunity ſhall
“ offer, and his Kindred ſhall loſe the valuation of his head.

“ The tenth Law forbids any man to receive another man's Servant
“ without his leave, and that he hath fully ſatisfied his Maſter; he
“ that doth otherwiſe, ſhall be puniſhed as contumacious againſt the
“ King.

“ The eleventh and laſt commands, That about every fourth Week
“ every Sheriff or Judge hold the *Gemot* or Aſſembly, and adminiſter
“ Juſtice to every man, and determine all Cauſes at the days appointed;
“ if he do otherwiſe, he is to be puniſhed as was before ſaid.

From all which Laws we may obſerve, Firſt, That the Law concerning redeeming of all Crimes by Pecuniary Fines was not yet aboliſhed, nor in ſome Ages after; but the ſtrict Laws for vouching of Goods ſold, as alſo againſt Fugitives and Runaway Servants, were but neceſſary in ſuch licentious and turbulent times, when it was ſo very eaſy for Offenders to paſs out of the *Engliſh* Territories into thoſe of the *Danes*. You may alſo here obſerve the Antiquity and Power of the *County Court*, which was then held (as now) every Month, but had much more Power anciently than at this day.

As for the Laws that follow, and which are entituled in Mr. *Lambard*'s Copy, The Eccleſiaſtical Laws of *Edward* the Elder, King of *England*, and *Gutherne* King of the *Danes* in *Eaſt-England*, which were firſt made by the Kings *Alfred* and *Gutherne*, and were now ſaid to be again confirmed by King *Edward* Son to *Alfred*, and the ſame King *Gutherne*, there muſt certainly be an Error in the Name of the *Daniſh* King here mentioned, ſince it appears by our Annals that *Gutherne* died ten years before King *Alfred*; therefore ſince we do not find any other *Daniſh* King of this Name, we may rather ſuppoſe that theſe Laws were made by King *Edward* and *Eoric* the *Daniſh* King who ſucceeded *Gutherne* in that Kingdom; but be it as it will, I ſhall not trouble the Reader with their Recital, ſince they relate chiefly to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and are in moſt points but a Repetition of thoſe things which had been before agreed upon by King *Alfred* and King *Gutherne* ſome years before.

King *Edward* dying, after four and twenty years Reign, was buried in the Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, which his Father had founded, leaving by his Teſtament *Athelſtan* his Eldeſt Son to ſucceed him; who (as *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *William* of *Malmesbury*, and moſt other Writers relate) was not born of the Queen, but of one *Egwinna* a Lady

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the Daughter of a Nobleman; whoſe Name, though *William* of *Malmesbury* does not tell us, becauſe he ſays he had not found it in writing, yet the Chronicle aſcribed to Abbot *Bromton* tells us a long and improbable Story of the getting and Birth of this Prince; which being no where elſe to be found, as I know of, I ſhall here give you: That in the Reign of King *Ælfred*, when his Son *Edward* was young, there was in a Village of the *Weſt-Saxons*, the Daughter of a certain Shephard, called *Egwinna*, who falling aſleep, dreamed that the Moon ſhone out of her Womb ſo bright, that all *England* was enlighten'd by its Splendor: This Dream ſhe told to a Grave Matron, that had been Nurſe to ſeveral of the King's Children: Upon this ſhe takes her into her houſe, and educates her as carefully as if ſhe had been her own Daughter, inſtructing her ſo to demean her ſelf, as might become a Perſon both of Birth and Breeding. In proceſs of time it happen'd, that Prince *Edward*, the King's Eldeſt Son, paſſing upon ſome occaſion through this Town, thought himſelf obliged in Honour and Good Nature to viſit his Nurſe; by which means he got ſight of this Maid, and ſhe being exceeding beautiful, fell paſſionately in love with her, and by his violent Importunity he got her Conſent to lye with him, and by one Night's Lodging ſhe proved with Child, and being afterwards delivered of a Son, in reſpect to the Mother's Dream the Father gave him the Name of *Athelſtan*, which ſignifies, *The moſt Noble*.

If this Story be true, that he married this Woman without the Conſent of his Father, and kept the Marriage private, the Authors abovecited had good cauſe to ſuppoſe her to have been rather his Concubine than his Queen; though there be alſo other Hiſtorians, who make her to have been his Lawful Wife: But thus much is more certain, That King *Edward* had Prince *Ethelward*^ above-mentioned, by his Wife *Ælfleda* the Daughter of Earl *Æthelem*, as alſo another Son, called *Edwin*, of the manner of whoſe Death *William* of *Malmesbury* ſays he cannot certainly tell us; but gives us an exact account of what became of all the reſt of his Children: He had alſo by her ſix Daughters, *viz. Edelfleda, Edgiva, Ethelhilda, Ethilda, Edgitha*, and *Elgiva*; of whom, the firſt and third vowed their Virginity to God, and both of them lye buried by their Mother in the Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*; as for *Edgiva*, her Father beſtowed her upon *Charles* King of *France*; and for *Ethilda*, her Brother King *Athelſtan* beſtowed her in Marriage upon *Hugo*, a King or Prince of the *French*; and *Edgitha* and *Elgiva* their Brother ſent to *Henry* the *German* Emperor, the Second of which he married to *Otho* his Son, and the Elder to a certain Duke near the *Alpes*. King *Edward* alſo begot of his Third Wife *Edgiva*, *Edmund* and *Edred*, who both reigned ſucceſſively after their Brother King *Athelſtan*, as alſo two other Daughters, *Eadburga* and *Edgiva*; the former became a Nun, but the latter being a great Beauty, was beſtowed ~~in Marriage by her Brother *Athelſtan*~~ on *Lewis* Prince or Duke of *Aquitain*: But King *Edward* had ſo well bred all his ſaid Daughters from their Infancy, that they were wont all of them to beſtow their leiſure time upon good Letters, and after that were wont to exerciſe both their Diſtaff and the Needle; and in this manner they paſſed the firſt years of their Virginity: Likewiſe his Sons were ſo inured to Learning, that not being rude and ignorant in Knowledge, they became (like *Plato*'s Philoſophers) fit to Govern the Commonwealth; as our Author handſomly expreſſes it.

or 2 [illegible],

This

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This King ſeems by his Hiſtory to have been a Prince of great Mild neſs and Humility, as well as Courage; which appears by this Story but tho it be not found in any of our Hiſtorians, is yet related by *Walte Mape* in his *Nugis Curialium* in Manuſcript, as follows; That when K. *Ed ward* the Elder came to *Auſtelin*, (I ſuppoſe, that which we now call *Auſt* where is a Ferry to paſs out of *Somerſetſhire* into *Wales*) *Lewelyn* Princ of *North-Wales* came to *Betheſley* about a Treaty of Peace, he refuſe firſt to croſs the *Severne*; but when King *Edward* heard it, he too Boat and rowed towards him; but the Prince (being then by the Wa ter-ſide) when he ſaw him, and knew who he was, he caſt off th Rich Robe he then had on (which he had provided for that meeting) and entring the River breaſt-high, taking hold of the end of the Boat ſubmiſſively ſaid, *Moſt Sage King, thy Humility hath overcome my Inſo lence, and thy Wiſdom triumph'd over my Folly: Come, pray Sir, get upo this Neck, which I (like a Fool as I am) have lifted up againſt thee; an thus enter that Land which thy benign Clemency hath made this day thin own:* So taking the King upon his Shoulders, and ſetting him on ſhore he made him to ſit down upon his own Royal Robe, and putting hi own hands between the King's, there did him Homage.

But this Circumſtance only ſerves to bring all the reſt of this Story into queſtion; for it is certain this Ceremony of doing Homage wa not in uſe till after the coming in of the *Normans*.

Beſides, the *Welſh* Chronicles mention no ſuch thing, nor can I find any Prince either of *North* or *South Wales*, called *Lewelyn* at that time till *Anno* 1015, in the Reign of King *Cnute*, above a hundred year afte the death of King *Edward* the Elder; but perhaps the Story may b true, being told by Tradition, though the Name of the Prince may b miſtaken; and *Lewelyn* put inſtead of *Howel*, who was now King o *South-Wales*, and in whoſe Territories this Action muſt have happen'd

But whether this Relation be true or falſe, we may from it draw this Obſervation, That it is not always Wiſdom in Princes to inſiſt too nicely upon Circumſtances, eſpecially in Ceremony, but that ſometimes to recede from them, may tend to the greater Advantage of that Princ that doth it.

King ATHELSTAN.

Anno Dom. Dccccxxv.

THE ſame year, not long after King *Edward*'s deceaſe, the *Saxon* Annals tell us, 'That *Æthelſtan* was elected King by 'the *Mercians*, and afterwards Crowned at *Kingſtune* upon '*Thames* (being then a Royal Town). Note, He was crowned in the midſt of the Town upon a Scaffold built on purpoſe, whereon the Ceremony of the Coronation was performed in the open view of all men, by *Athelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with great Acclamations of the People.

'Alſo St. *Dunſtan* was born, and *Wulfhelme* was conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, upon the Death of *Athelm*.

From whence you may obſerve, the *Mercians* had not yet loſt their Ancient Right of chuſing their own King; and no doubt but the *Weſt-Saxons* did ſo likewiſe, though it be not particularly expreſs'd in the Annals: For an Ancient Manuſcript Chronicle in the * *Cottonian* Library, ſays only, *Electus eſt in Regem*.

And you may alſo hence obſerve, That the King's *Conſecration* or *Coronation* is placed as a different action from his *Election*; as it is alſo in the Author laſt cited, and in *H. Huntington*, who therein follow our Annals, and ſay expreſly, That he was *Elected*. But it ſeems before his Election, one *Alfred*, with ſome factious men of his Party, endeavour'd to hinder King *Athelſtan*'s coming to the Crown, becauſe he was begot on a Coucubine; which, ſays *William* of *Malmesbury*, if it were true (as he ſeems there to doubt), yet had he nothing elſe ignoble in him, for he ſurpaſſed all his Succeſſors as well in his Devotion as his Victories: So much better is it (as he well obſerves) to excel in good Qualities, than in his Anceſtors, the former only being truly a man's own.

Hither we may alſo refer what the ſame Author tells us concerning this *Alfred* above-mentioned, out of the Preface to King *Athelſtan*'s Charter, whereby he confers the Lands once belonging to this *Alfred*, upon the Church of *Malmesbury*, for the Souls of his Couſins, *Ethelred*, *Edwin*, and *Ethelwin*, there buried: And to teſtify to the world, that he gave what was his own, he there at large relates the whole Conſpiracy which *Alfred* had laid, together with his Complices, to ſeize him in the City of *Wincheſter*, and to put out his Eyes; but the Plot being happily diſcovered, and *Alfred* denying it, he was ſent to *Rome* there to purge himſelf before Pope *John*; where coming to take his Oath at the Altar of St. *Peter*, he fell down, and being carried by his Servants into the *Engliſh* School, there died the third night after: but, it ſeems, the *Pope* would not diſpoſe of his Body, till he had ſent to ask King *Athelſtan*'s Judgment what ſhould be done with it; when by the Advice and at the Requeſt of the Chief Men, the King aſſented that it ſhould (though unworthy of that Honour) be laid among the Bodies of other Chriſtians; but his whole Eſtate was adjudged confiſcated for ſo black a Treaſon.

* Jul. D. 7.

Anno Dom. Dccccxxv.

But one of the firſt things this King performed after his coming to the Crown (as we find in *Florence* of *Worceſter*) was his beſtowing his Siſter *Edgitha* in Marriage to *Sihtric* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, who deſired the Alliance of King *Athelſtan*: And, as *Matthew Weſtminſter* relates, this Prince profeſſing himſelf a Chriſtian, was a little before his Marriage baptized; but did not long continue ſo, for he relapſed again to his former Paganiſm. And the next year,

Anno Dom. Dccccxxvi.

According to *Florence*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, he deceaſed; after whoſe death the Lady above-mentioned retiring to her Brother King *Athelſtan*, became a Nun at *Polleſworth*.

Nor can I here omit the Falſhood of the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians, who out of ſpight to King *Athelſtan*'s Memory, make *Sihtric* to have been poyſon'd by this Lady, whom they call *Beatrix*, and that at the Inſtigation of her Brother King *Athelſtan*; whereas her Name was not *Beatrix*, but *Edgitha*, or *Orgiva*; and was a Woman of as great Reputation for her Sanctity, as the King her Brother was for his Valour and other Noble Virtues, which render'd him above the putting his Siſter upon ſo baſe an Action.

But before I diſmiſs this Relation, I cannot omit what *John* of *Wallingford* adds concerning this King *Sihtric*, whom he calls *Sictric*; viz. That upon this Marriage with King *Athelſtan*'s Siſter, he advanced him to the Title of King, that his Siſter might not ſtoop ſo low as to that of Counteſs; and that *Sictric* then had for his Kingdom all the Countrey from the River *Theys*, as far as *Edinburgh*, from which time the *Danes* began to ſettle in thoſe parts, who before rambled about over all *England*; to which Settlement, as alſo to a freſh acceſſion of more, the *Northerly* Situation of that Countrey, lying over-againſt *Denmark*, contributed very much, as this Author well obſerves.

This year (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Sihtric* King of the *Northumbers* departed this life; ſo that it ſeems that this King ſurvived his Marriage but a ſmall time.

Alſo the ſame year (according to *Florence*) *Hugh*, the Son of *Robert* King of the *French*, married King *Athelſtan*'s Siſter; and after the death of King *Sihtric*, *Guthfrith* his Son ſucceeded him, though but for a little while; for the year following our Annals tell us,

Anno Dom. Dccccxxvii.

'That King *Æthelſtan* expelled the ſaid *Guthfryth* King of *Northumberland*, and added his Dominions to his own: And the ſame year '*Wulfhelm* the Archbiſhop went to *Rome*.

From which Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Northumberland* we may obſerve, That as King *Edward* had before conquered the *Danes* of *Eaſt-England*, and had alſo added *Mercia* to his own Kingdom; ſo King *Athelſtan*, by the Expulſion of King *Guthfrith* (who was alſo of the *Daniſh* Race) became the firſt King that ruled all *England*, without any King under him.

Of this Prince alſo *John* of *Wallingford* relates, That being a Young Man he was ſtirred up to this Rebellion by the ſuggeſtion of the *Northumbers*, who told him that their Countrey had always enjoyed a King of their own, without being Tributary to the *Southern Engliſh*: And indeed, from the firſt arrival of the *Engliſh Saxons*, they had been never ſubject to any of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, except King *Athelſtan*: Therefore this *Guithfrith*, or *Gutred*, moved by theſe inſtigations, took upon him the Name of King, without King *Athelſtan*'s conſent, and caſting

Anno Dom. Dccccxxvii.

ing out the Gariſons, ſeized all the Forts and Caſtles of that Country, and flatly denied to pay the Tribute impoſed upon his Father; with which K. *Athelſtan* being much provoked, he not only raiſed great Forces of his own Subjects, but alſo ſent for Aid to his Friends in Neighbouring Kingdoms; and ſo in few days gathering together a great Army, totally expell'd him his Kingdom.

And therefore *Alfred* of *Beverly*, an Ancient Author ſtill in Manuſcript, very well obſerves of this Prince, That by ſubduing the *Scots*, *Welſh*, and all the Kings of *Britain*, he juſtly deſerved the Title of the firſt Monarch; though his Modeſty was ſo great, that he never gave himſelf that Title, but left it to his Brother *Edred* to take, as ſhall be ſhewn in his Reign.

Anno Dom. Dccccxxviii.

'This year *William* (Son to *Rollo*) ſucceeded to the Dukedom of '*Normandy*, and held it fifteen years.

Anno Dom. Dccccxxxii.

'*Byrnſtan* was conſecrated Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and held that Bi'ſhoprick two years and an half.] The year following,

Anno Dom. Dccccxxxiii.

'*Frithelſtan* the Biſhop deceaſed.] *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, as alſo the Chronicle of *Mailroſſe*, do all agree, that this Biſhop *Frithelſtan* did before his death ordain Biſhop *Byrnſtan* in his room; and if ſo, he reſigned the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* to him, and lived only one year after it.

'Alſo the ſame year (according to our Annals) *Edwin Ætheling* 'was drowned.

This *Edwin* here mentioned in our Annals, was Brother to King *Athelſtan*, whoſe Death being the greateſt Blot of this King's Reign, divers Authors have concealed it; but notwithſtanding, it is thus given us by *William* of *Malmesbury*, and the Chronicle called Abbot *Bromton*'s; *Alfred* above-mentioned having conſpired againſt King *Athelſtan*, (as you have already heard) had ſeveral Complices in that Treaſon; and there were not wanting ſome Court-Sycophants to accuſe Prince *Edwin* of being in that Plot, for he was the eldeſt Legitimate Son then living of King *Edward* by his Lawful Wife; ſince therefore the apprehenſion of a Rival uſually overpowers all Obligations both of Friendſhip and Nature, though *Edwin* both by Word of Mouth, and by Oaths and Imprecations, proteſted his Innocence; yet all this would not prevail againſt theſe Court-Whiſperers, who affirmed that if he were only baniſhed, he would be commiſerated by Foreign Princes, and ſtill more endanger the King's ſafety; whereupon ſuch a way was found out, that under the Notion of Baniſhment he might with the leaſt appearance of Cruelty be diſpatch'd: In ſhort, an old rotten Veſſel was provided, and only the Prince and his Eſquire were put into it, without any Pilot or other body to ſteer or manage it; and thus for ſome time they weather'd it at Sea; but the Young Prince being brought up tenderly, and not uſed to hardſhip, deſpairing of his Life, caſt himſelf headlong out of the Veſſel, and ſo periſhed in the Ocean; whilſt his Servant being more couragious, was reſolved to ſave himſelf if he could; and meeting with better fortune, was driven on ſhore at a place called *Whitſand*, on the Coaſt of *Picardy*, not far from *Dover*.

The Fact was not long done, before *Athelſtan* ſorely repented of it; which he is ſaid by a Seven Years Penance to have teſtified to the world, as alſo by the Puniſhment of him who was the principal Inſtrument in this *Fratricide*, and had whiſpered this Jealouſy into his Breaſt, who

Anno Dom. Dccccxxxiii.

who being his Cup-bearer, as he was going to preſent a Cup of Drin to him, one of his Feet ſlipped; but by the Nimbleneſs of the other re covering himſelf, he ſaid, *Thus one Brother helps another*; which th King hearing, and ſadly calling to mind how little he himſelf had a ſiſted his Brother, oppreſſed by the Calumnies of this Paraſite, cauſe him to be put to death.

This is the Tale told by *William* of *Malmesbury*, and th other Author; the latter of whom delivers it as a certain Truth, an whilſt the former tells it only as an old Story, ſung in certain Ballad of which he himſelf doubted the Truth. But *Buchanan* the *Scot* Hiſtorian (I ſuppoſe out of malice to this King's Memory for routin his Countreymen) makes King *Athelſtan* not only to have procured th Death of his Brother *Edwin*, but alſo of his Father King *Edward*, whom he therefore fancies to have been called *Edward* the *Martyr*; and not content with this neither, he adds, that he put his Brother *Edred* to deat alſo: Yet certainly there can ſcarce be more Miſtakes committed i ſo few Lines than he has been guilty of in theſe; for in the firſt place it i agreed by all our Hiſtorians, that King *Edward* died a Natural Death and as for him whom he calls the *Martyr*, he was the Son of King *Edgar* nor did he begin to reign till above an hundred and fifty years after, a ſhall be ſhewn when we come to his Reign.

But as for what *Buchanan* objects againſt ſome of our later Hiſtorians for making *Athelſtan* to be King of all *Britain*, and to have reſtored *Conſtantine* King of *Scots* to his Kingdom, and to have forced him to d him Homage for it; we muſt confeſs, that *Buchanan* is ſo far in the right that neither our *Saxon Annals*, nor *Marianus Scotus*, nor *Florence* o *Worceſter*, mention any thing of it, though they all do relate the grea Victory which King *Athelſtan* obtain'd over the *Scots*, but yet are wholl ſilent either about his driving of the King of *Scotland* out of his Kingdom, or of cauſing him to do him Homage for reſtoring him to i This is to ſhew, that I would not be partial to the Hiſtorians of ou own Countrey, as if they could not alſo be ſometimes guilty of grea Errors; and therefore I thought good to take notice of it here.

Anno Dom. Dccccxxxiv.

‘This year (as our Annals relate) King *Athelſtan* made an Expedi
‘tion into *Scotland* with a great Army by Land, as alſo with a conſiderabl
‘Fleet by Sea, and laid waſt great part of that Kingdom. The ſame yea
‘alſo Biſhop *Byrnſtan* deceaſed at *Wincheſter*, on the Feaſt of *All Saints*

But as for the Cauſes of this War made by King *Athelſtan* againſt *Scotland*, ſince not only our Annals but many of our other Authors ar ſilent in it, we muſt ſupply that defect from *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Roger Hoveden*, and the Chronicles of *Mailroſſe*, who relate, that *Anlaf* the Son of *Sihtric* King of *Northumberland*, having fled into *Ireland* and the late King *Godefrid*, his Brother, into *Scotland*, King *Athelſtan* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantine* King of *Scots*, demanding the Fugitive to be given up to him, or elſe upon his Refuſal denouncing a ſpeedy War againſt him, which War indeed he made; for marching into *Scotland* with a great Army both by Sea and Land, he drove his Enemies before him as far as *Dunfeodor* and *Wertermore*, and by Sea as far as *Cathneſs*; but *Malmesbury* affirms, that they not daring in any thing to diſpleaſe him, went to a place called *Dacor* (or *Dacre*) in *Cumberland*, where each ſurrender'd up himſelf and all his into the hands of the *Engliſh* King, who was Godfather to the Son of *Conſtantine*, and now or-

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dered him to be baptized in teſtimony of that Accord; whom alſo (together with great Preſents) he left as a Hoſtage with the King; and ſo Peace being thus happily concluded, he returned home into his own Countrey. But the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians do not mention this Invaſion at all, nor will allow King *Conſtantine* to have had any Son: And indeed it ſeems improbable, that if *Conſtantine* had now given his Son to King *Athelſtan* as a Hoſtage, he would have dar'd to renew the War again ſo ſoon after this Agreement. But for all this, *Godefrid* eſcaped while they were preparing for the Journey, and travelling with one *Turfrid* into ſeveral parts of the Countrey, at length got ſome men together, and laid Siege to *York*, the Inhabitants of which they tempted both by fair and foul means to let them in; but not being able to prevail with 'em, they went their ways, and were both taken ſhortly after, and ſhut up in a Caſtle; from whence making their eſcape by deluding their Keepers, *Turfrid* not long after was ſhipwreck'd at Sea, and became a Prey to the Fiſh; but *Godefrid* endured much more miſery both by Sea and Land, and at laſt came as a Suppliant to the King's Court, who kindly received him: but after he had been profuſely feaſted for four days together, he got away again to his Ships, and then returned to his old trade of Piracy. In the mean time *Athelſtan* demoliſhed a Caſtle which the *Danes* had fortified at *York*, that ſo they might not ſhelter themſelves any more there; and the large Booty he found in it, he divided amongſt his Soldiers, to every one a ſhare: For ſo Worthy and Liberal was this Prince, that he never ſought to hoard up Money for himſelf, but beſtowed whatever he got, either upon thoſe Servants he found faithful to him, or elſe upon Monaſteries: No wonder then if he won the hearts of all the Monks, who were the only Hiſtorians of thoſe times.

Now alſo (as *Florence* relates) *Wulfhelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſing, *Odo* Biſhop of *Wells* ſucceeded him.

This Man was of a *Daniſh* Race, whoſe Parents had come over hither in King *Alfred*'s Reign; but their Son had been firſt a Soldier under him, and then turning Prieſt, was at laſt by King *Athelſtan*'s Recommendation made a Biſhop; but having never been a Monk, and none but Monks having been hitherto made Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, he for a long time refuſed it; till at laſt he was perſuaded to go over into *France*, and there taking upon him the Habit of a Monk, and returning home, was immediately conſecrated Archbiſhop. This Man was a Prelate of great Sanctity according to thoſe times, and a ſevere Exactor of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, as you will find hereafter.

Anno Dom. Dccccxxxv.

'This year alſo (according to the Annals) Biſhop *Byrnſtan* above-'mentioned deceaſed at *Wincheſter*. And the following year,

Anno Dom. Dccccxxxvi.

'Biſhop *Elfeage* ſucceeded him in that Biſhoprick.

About this time, according to * *William* of *Malmeſbury*, King *Athelſtan* drove the *Welſh* out of *Exeter*, and built new Walls about it; and then founded a Monaſtery of *Benedictines*, which was afterwards changed (upon the removal of the Biſhop's See from *Crediton* to this City) into a Dean and Secular Chanons, as ſhall be ſhewn in due time. But after two years,

Anno Dom. Dccccxxxviii.

The War was again renewed between King *Athelſtan* and *Conſtantine* King of *Scots*, and a great Battel followed, of which our Annals give us (contrary to their cuſtom) a Poetical, if not a Romantick Relation,

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* *De Pontif. Lib.* 2.

Anno Dom. Dccccxxxviii.

tion, which to tranſlate *verbatim* would be ridiculous; but the Subſtance of it is thus; 'That this year King *Athelſtan* and his Brother *Eadmund* ' *Ætheling* overcame the *Scots* in Battel about *Brunanburh* (now *Bromrige* in the County of *Northumberland*, as *Cambden* ſuppoſes) breaking ' through their Works, and killing many of their Noblemen; ſo that ' both Armies fighting from Sun-riſing to Sun-ſet, there periſhed a ' great multitude of *Scots*, *Iriſh*, and *Danes*.] For it ſeems by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, that another *Anlaf*, Son to the King of *Dublin*, being excited by his Father-in-Law, King *Conſtantine*, had ſail'd up the River *Humber* with a great Fleet, and landing, King *Athelſtan* and his Brother *Edmund* met them with a powerful Army at the place above-mentioned; and if ſo, it could not be in *Northumberland*, as Mr. *Cambden* ſuppoſes, but rather in *Yorkſhire* or *Lincolnſhire*.

But to proceed with our Annals; the Succeſs of this Fight was, ' That the *Engliſh-Saxons* towards the latter end of the day utterly rout' ed and put to flight the Enemies Forces, and purſued them as long as ' day-light laſted; ſo that in that place there fell no leſs than five Kings, ' beſides ſeven other Commanders on *Anlaf*'s ſide, (not reckoning thoſe ' of the Naval Forces, and the *Scots* Fleet, who were kill'd without ' number); ſo that *Anlaf* was forced to ſave his Life by going on board ' his Ships with a ſmall Company; as alſo one *Froda* by flight returned ' into his own Countrey.] This *Froda* was (it ſeems) ſome *Norman* or *Daniſh* Commander, who came to aſſiſt *Anlaf*.

'Neither could King *Conſtantine* brag much of the ſucceſs of this ' Fight among his Relations, for they moſt of them fell that day in Bat' tel, the King leaving his Son dead upon the Spot behind him, having ' received many Wounds. Nor could King *Anlaf* himſelf boaſt of ' much better good fortune, for they had all reaſon enough to repent ' their having tried the Valour of theſe *Engliſh* Princes. And not only ' the *Scotch* but *Iriſh* King with great difficulty got home to *Difline* ' (now *Dublin*) in *Ireland*. But King *Athelſtan* and the Prince his Bro' ther return'd home with Honour and Glory into their own Countrey, ' leaving their Enemies Carcaſſes to be devoured by the Fowls of the ' Air, and Beaſts of the Field; inſomuch that there never was a greater ' Slaughter in this Iſland mentioned by Hiſtorians, ſince the time that ' the *Engliſh-Saxons* conquered this part of *Britain*.

So far you have from the *Peterburgh* Copy of theſe Annals; but that in the *Cottonian* Library ſays no more, than that 'This year King *Athelſtan* and King *Eadmund* his Brother led their Army to *Brunanburgh*, and ' there fighting with *Anlaf*, by the help of Chriſt obtained the Victory.

But having given you a ſhort Relation of this Battel from the *Saxon Annals*, who only relate the Succeſs of this Fight, without giving us any Cauſes or other Circumſtances of it; I ſhall both from *Ingulph*, as alſo from *William* of *Malmesbury*, give you a more perfect Account of it; which is thus:

Conſtantine King of the *Scots* being exaſperated by the late Invaſion made in his Kingdom, joined with *Anlaf* the Son of *Sihtric* (whom *Florence* more probably ſuppoſes to have been not this *Sihtric*, but ſome other of his name, who was King of *Ireland* and the Iſles adjacent, and had married the Daughter of King *Conſtantine*) who alſo drew in *Eugenius* Prince of *Cumberland*, with great Forces which he had raiſed out of ſeveral Countries, to their Aſſiſtance; and after near four years

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eparation, they invaded *England* by the River *Humber*, and paſſed rough the Countrey to a place called *Brunanburgh*, or *Bruneford*; *thelſtan* all this time feigning a Retreat, on purpoſe that he might ob- in ſome better advantage againſt them, as ſome write; or, as others, at they being fearful to grapple with him; *Anlaf* perceiving with hom he had to do, puts off his Royal Habit, and becomes a Spy upon n in the Diſguiſe of a Muſician, attending with an Harp in his Hand *Athelſtan*'s Tent; by which means he was eaſily admitted into the ng's Preſence, diverting them by his Muſick, till ſuch time as they ving eaten and drank ſufficiently, they began to debate ſeriouſly out the Work they had in hand; and he all the while made what ſervation he could; at laſt, when he had received his Reward, and s commanded out of the Tent, he ſcorning to carry the Money ay with him, hid it in the Earth, which a certain Soldier who had merly ſerved him, taking notice of, thereby came to know him, and er he was gone, acquainted the King who he was; but being blamed not giving him more timely notice, the Soldier excuſed it, as having merly taken a Military Oath in *Anlaf*'s Service; affirming, that had betrayed *Anlaf*, he himſelf to whom now he was in the ſame Rela- n, might have expected no better Fidelity; but however, he adviſed ng *Athelſtan* to remove his Tent into another place: This Advice s looked upon as good and wholſome, and indeed, how ſeaſonable roved, very ſhortly appeared; for a certain Biſhop coming to the mp that night, pitched his Tent in the ſame place; when *Anlaf*, th a deſign to deſtroy the King, aſſaulted that part of the Camp, ng ignorant of what had paſſed, and eaſily killed the Biſhop with his Followers.

Ingulph (who ſeems more exact than any other Hiſtorian in this mat-) writes, That *Anlaf*, tho he had brought with him an infinite multi- de of *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Scots*, and *Picts*, yet either out of Diffi- nce, or Craft familiar to his Nation, choſe rather by night to ſurprize Enemy, than fairly to give him Battel in the open field, and by day- ht; ſo he fell ſuddenly upon the *Engliſh*, and kill'd a Biſhop who was me but the Evening before to the Camp, which cauſing a great Cla- our and Tumult, the King, tho a Mile off, took the Alarm with his hole Army, who putting themſelves into ſuch order as the Surprize ould permit, by break of day came up to the Enemy, where finding em tir'd and diſorder'd by their late March for want of ſleep, King *helſtan* in Perſon leading on the *Weſt-Saxons*, fell upon *Anlaf* him- f, whilſt *Turketul* his Kinſman and Chancellor, (who had the Conduct the *Londoners*) and the *Mercians*, aſſaulted *Conſtantine* the *Scotiſh* ng; their Miſſil Weapons being quickly ſpent, they came to hand- ws, and to fight it out with Sword and Buckler, where many of em loſt their Lives, and the Carkaſſes of mean perſons lay confu- lly together with the ſlain Bodies of Princes, Death making no di- ction. The Diſpute continuing very long and violent by reaſon multitude of Enemies was ſo great, *Turketul* took with him ſome the *Londoners* whom he knew to be moſt valiant, and a Captain of *Worceſterſhire*-men, called *Singin*, one of approved Courage, who ng taller than the reſt, and of well compacted Limbs, and the ſtout- of all thoſe *London* Heroes that accompanied him; then *Turketul* hing into the very midſt of his Enemies, and laying vigorouſly

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about him, hewed down whole ranks of men on both ſides of him, i ſomuch that he paſſed through whole Troops of *Orcadians* and *Pi* bearing a Wood of Arrows on his Breaſt-plate, and making his wa through whole Companies of *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, he at length reache *Conſtantine* himſelf, whom he diſmounted, and would have taken alive but the *Scots* were ſo concerned for their King, that they had a ve ſmart Conflict about him, and many of them preſſing upon the fe *Engliſh* that followed him, and all of them aiming chiefly at *Turketu* he began to repent of his Raſhneſs, ſeeing no means either of eſcapin himſelf, or getting off his Priſoner ; when on the ſudden Captain *Sing* coming in afreſh to his Reſcue, killed King *Conſtantine:* And no their King being ſlain, the *Scots* were ſo diſcouraged, that they ſoon re tired ; and the Report of their Diſcomfiture flying about the Army *Anlaf* and all his Followers ran away, after an incredible Slaughter *Danes* and *Scots* upon the place.

So much *Ingulph* relates, for the greater Honour of this *Turketu* the Chancellor, who was afterwards Abbot of the Abby of *Croyla* and his Predeceſſor in the Government of that Monaſtery, where h left a large Memorial of his Secular Employments. And the ſame A thor farther adds, that beſides *Conſtantine*, five other Kings were the ſlain, twelve Earls, and an infinite number of Common Soldiers.

But though *Ingulph* and *William* of *Malmesbury* do thus confident relate *Conſtantine* King of *Scots* to have been ſlain in this Battel, yet a the *Scotch* Hiſtorians, as well as our own Annals, aſſerting the contrary is not to be inſiſted on as true, and therefore I ſhall paſs it by ; yet gra ing he was not kill'd in that Battel, *John Fordon* and *Buchanan* do bo agree, that he became not long after dead to the world ; for bei quite tired out with his late ill ſucceſs, he profeſſed himſelf a Mo amongſt the *Culdees* of St. *Andrews*, (an Order of Monks ſo called of whom this King became Abbot. But the *Scotch* Hiſtorians do a confeſs the greatneſs of the Victory on the *Engliſh*, and the great Lo on their own ſide ; acknowledging the Fall of *Eugenius* King of *Deir* (whom our Hiſtorians call King of *Cumberland*), but will not own Ki *Conſtantine* to have been ſo much as preſent at this fight, but only *Ma colme* his Couſin, who upon his retiring into a Monaſtery, was declare King in his room : Yet *Hector Boethius*, and *Buchanan*, to leſſen this Vi ctory as much as they can, do ſuppoſe, (though I do not know fro what Authority, ſince *Fordon* mentions no ſuch thing) "That th " *Engliſh* under King *Athelſtan* being much weaker in Forces, he wa " fain to ſupply that by Cunning and Artifice ; and having ſtrengthen " his Army by freſh Supplies, he commanded them at the firſt Onſet t " make as if they fled, and when they found the Enemy had broken the " Ranks, to turn again on their Purſuers ; which being punctually ob " ſerved by King *Athelſtan*'s Army, the *Danes* and *Scots* ſuppoſin " themſelves to be *Victors*, immediately fell to ſpoiling the Enemie " Camp ; and thereupon a Sign being given by King *Athelſtan*, they fe " upon the Enemy, now laden with Prey, and deſtroyed them like " many Sheep, inſomuch that in this Fight moſt of the *Scotch* Nob " lity were ſlain, whilſt they rather choſe to dye than to ſurvive the Ig " nominy of having deſerted their Companions.

But this ſounds very Romantick, as does alſo his Relation of th Battel, which neither agrees with the plain downright way of fightin

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uſed in that age, nor with the Stout and Martial Genius of this King: But let the Manner of gaining the Victory be as it will, they all agree upon the Effect of it; That King *Athelſtan* (his Enemies being aſtoniſh'd with ſo great a loſs) took *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland* from the *Scots*, and recovered *Northumberland* from the *Danes*.

But ſince the *Monks* will ſcarce let ſo great a Victory paſs without a Miracle, I cannot forbear relating what *Fordun*, and the Chronicle aſcribed to Abbot *Bromton*, have related from a certain Legend of St. *John* of *Beverly*; *viz.* That King *Athelſtan* going to make War againſt the *Scots*, and by the way paying a Viſit to the Tomb of that Saint, there pawn'd his Knife at the Altar, promiſing to redeem it at his return; but when they had thus fought againſt the *Scots*, he begged of God a Sign, whereby it might appear to future Ages, that they were juſtly vanquiſhed by the *Engliſh*; and thereupon the King ſtriking a certain Rock with his Sword near the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, he made a Gap in it an Ell deep; this Miracle is ſo groſs, that even *John Fordon* himſelf ridicules it. But it ſeems King *Athelſtan* made good his Promiſe, and upon his return with Victory, enrich'd the Church of St. *John* with great Poſſeſſions; and ſo, I ſuppoſe, got his Knife again.

As for the other Miracle related alſo by the Monks, of King *Athelſtan*'s Sword being loſt out of the Scabbard juſt when he was ready to fight, and another was by Miracle put in the place, at the Prayers of Archbiſhop *Odo*; which Sword they pretend was kept in the King's Treaſury; it is no leſs a Wonder than the former; and one ſuch as theſe is enough at one time.

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This year (according to *Florence*) King *Athelſtan* founded the Abby of *Middleton* in *Dorſetſhire*, to expiate the Death of his Brother Prince *Edwin*, whom through falſe ſuggeſtions he had deſtroy'd, (as you have already heard).

About this time alſo (according to the *Welſh* Chronicle) *Howel Dha*, Prince of *South-Wales* and *Powis*, after the death of *Edwal Voel*, is Couſin, Prince of *North-Wales*, took upon him the Government f all *Wales*, the Sons of *Edwal* being then in Minority. This *Howel* ade that Excellent Body of Laws that go under his Name, and which ou may find in Sir *H. Spelman*'s firſt Volume of Councils: This rince, for his Diſcreet and Juſt Government, not only made himſelf ighly beloved, but alſo rendred his Memory very glorious to After-ges.

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But it ſeems King *Athelſtan* did not long ſurvive this Victory; for (as r Annals relate) 'he deceaſed this year on the 6th *Kal. Novemb.* juſt Forty years after the death of King *Alfred* his Grandfather, having eigned Fourteen Years and Ten Months:] But there is certainly an rror in this Account; for either this King muſt have reigned a year ſs, or elſe the King his Father muſt have died a year ſooner than our nnals allow him; and perhaps with greater Certainty; for *Florence Worceſter* places his Death in *Anno Dom.* 924.

Nor can we before we finiſh this King's Life, omit taking notice, hat *Bromton*'s Chronicle and other Modern Writers do place the long ory of the *Danes* invading *England* in this King's Reign; and that e *Guy* Earl of *Warwick* returning home by chance from the *Holy* nd in the Habit of a Pilgrim, juſt when King *Athelſtan* was in great treſs for a Champion to fight with one *Colebrand* a monſtrous *Daniſh*

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Gyant, whom the King of the *Danes* had ſet up to fight with any Champion the *Engliſh* King ſhould bring into the field; that Earl *Guy* accepted this Challenge, and without being known to any man but the King, fought the Gyant near *Wincheſter*, and killing him, the *Danes* yielded the Victory; whilſt Earl *Guy* privately retired to a Hermitage near *Warwick*, and there living a Hermit's life, ended his days.

But though *John Rouſe* in his Manuſcript Treatiſe *de Regibus Anglorum*, places this Action under *Anno* 926, as ſoon as ever King *Athelſtan* came to the Crown; and that *Tho. Rudburne* in his Hiſtory of *Wincheſter* ſays, That this Gyant's Sword being kept in the Treaſury of the Abby of *Wincheſter*, was ſhewn in his time; yet ſince neither the *Saxon* Annals, nor any other Ancient Hiſtorian, mention any Invaſion of the ***Danes*** in this King's Reign, nor any thing of ſuch a Combat, it ought to be looked upon as a *Monkiſh* Tale, only fit for Ballads and Children.

But ſince the Monks are very profuſe in the Praiſes of this Prince, I will give you *William* of *Malmeſbury*'s Character of him; That as for his Perſon, he did not exceed the ordinary Stature, being of a ſlender Body; his Hair (as he had ſeen by his Reliques) was Yellow; that as for his Natural Temper and Diſpoſition, he was always kind to *God's Servants* (*i.e.* the Monks), for there was ſcarce a Monaſtery in *England*, but what had been adorned by him with Buildings, Books, or Reliques. And though he was grave and ſerious amongſt his Nobles, yet was he affable to the Inferior ſort, often laying aſide the Majeſty of a King, to converſe the more freely with ordinary men. This made him as much admired by his Subjects for his Humility, as he was fear'd by his Enemies and Rebels for his Invincible Courage and Conſtancy.

An Eminent Inſtance of this was, in that he compell'd the Kings of *North-Wales* (for ſome time ſtanding out) to meet him at *Hereford*, and ſubmit themſelves to him: I wiſh our Author had told us the Year when it was done, ſince our Annals have wholly omitted it; for tho *Ran. Higden* in his *Polychronicon* has put it under *Anno* 937; and alſo relates from *Alfred* of *Beverly*, that this King reſtored both *Conſtantine* King of *Scot* and *Hoel* King of the *Britains*, to their Kingdoms; ſaying, *It was mo glorious to make a King, than to be one*; yet I do not ſee any Authori for it: But this is agreed upon by all, That *Athelſtan* did abou that time enter *Wales* with a powerful Army, and effected wha no King had ever preſumed to think of before; for he impoſed a Year Tribute upon thoſe Kings, of Twenty Pounds in Gold, and Three hundred Pounds in Silver, and Twenty five thouſand Head of Cattel. Ye the Laws of *Howel Dha* appointed the King of *Aberfraw* to pay year to the King of *London*, no more than Sixty ſix Pounds for a Tribute, be ſides Hawks and Hounds.

John of *Wallingford* makes this King the firſt who reduced all *England* into one Monarchy, by his Conqueſt of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Wales*; yet that he was in his own nature a Lover of Peac and whatever he had heard from his Grandfather, or obſerved in h Father, he put in practice, being Juſt in his Judgments, and by a happy conjunction of many Virtues, ſo beloved by all men, that to this d Fame, which is wont to be too ſevere to the Faults of Great Men, c relate nothing to his prejudice.

William of *Malmesbury* alſo gives us a ſhort Account of his Life a Actions from his very Childhood; wherein he tells us, That this Prin wh

[illegible] them [illegible] [illegible] his [illegible]
that King Harald had commanded [illegible] thus [illegible] one [illegible]
[illegible] bred up for him at wch Athelstan [illegible] so in [illegible]

when he was but a Youth, was highly beloved by his Grandfather King *Alfred*, inſomuch that he made him a Knight, girding him with a Belt ſet with Precious Stones, and whereat hung a Golden-hilted Sword in a Rich Scabbard; after which, he was ſent to be bred under his Uncle *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, to learn all thoſe Warlike Exerciſes that were befitting a Young Prince.

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Nor does he only relate him to have been Valiant, but alſo competently Learned, as he had been informed from a certain old Author he had ſeen, who compared him to *Tully* for Eloquence; though (as he rightly obſerves) the Cuſtom of that Age might very well diſpenſe with that Talent; and perhaps a too great Affection to King *Athelſtan*, then living, might excuſe this Author's over-large Commendations.

But this muſt be acknowledged, that all *Europe* then ſpoke highly in his Praiſe, and extoll'd his Valour to the Skies; Neighbouring Kings thinking themſelves happy if they could purchaſe his Friendſhip either by his Alliance, or their Preſents. *Harold* King of *Norway* ſent him a Ship whoſe Stern was Gilded, and its Sails Purple; and the Ambaſſadors by whom he ſent it, being Royally received in the City of *York*, were rewarded with Noble Preſents. *Hugh* King of the *French*, ſent *Anwulf*, Son of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, (Grandſon to King *Edward* by *Æthelſwine* his Daughter) as his Ambaſſador, to demand his Siſter in Marriage; who when in a Great Aſſembly of the Nobility at *Abingdon* he had declared the Deſires of this Royal Woer, beſides Noble Preſents of Spices, and Precious Stones, eſpecially Emeralds, ſuch as had never been ſeen in *England* before, and alſo brave Horſes richly equipped, he ſent the King a certain Veſſel made of an Onyx, curiouſly engraven with Vines, and the Figures of Men; he likewiſe preſented him with the Sword of *Conſtantine* the Great; in the Hilt of which (being all overlaid with Plates of Gold) was ſet one of the Nails of Chriſt's Croſs; alſo with the Lance of *Charles* the Great, and the Banner of the *Martyr* St. *Maurice*, both which the ſaid King had made uſe of in a Battel againſt the *Saracens*; and a Gold Crown or Diadem ſet with Precious Stones: But that which was more Valuable than all the reſt, was a little Piece of Chriſt's Croſs, and a Bit of his Crown of Thorns, both ſet in Chryſtal, and which the King afterwards beſtowed upon the Abby of *Malmesbury*, with very large Endowments, (as appears by his Charters above-cited) and in whoſe Church he had ordered the Bodies of his Couſins *Ælwin* and *Æthelwin*, the Sons of his Uncle *Æthelward*, to be interr'd, whom he loſt in the Battel againſt King *Anlaf*: And though this King died at *Glouceſter*, yet was his Body carried to *Malmesbury*, and there interr'd with great Pomp.

There is yet to be ſeen in the ſaid Church (of which only the Nave is now left) an Image made for him in Stone, though of no Antiquity, as any one may eaſily diſcover, that obſerves it.

But ſince this King alſo made many good Laws, ſome of them which are the moſt remarkable, I ſhall here ſet down from Mr. *Lambard*'s *Saxon* Copy.

Theſe Laws were made at *Grætanleage*, in a Great Council there held by King *Athelſtan*; but the Year not being expreſs'd, it is ſuppoſed to be about *Anno* 928.

After a Religious Preface, "The firſt Law is againſt Thieves, requiring that if a Thief be taken in the Fact, no man ſhall ſpare him,

[illegible] Daughter [illegible] [illegible]
ng only one Daughter [illegible]
[illegible] and she good [illegible] the first [illegible]
But I cannot [illegible] this Author [illegible]

Eric ber[illegible] [illegible] places [illegible]
for [illegible] of his [illegible] the earl of northumberland [illegible]
he with the norwegians that came over with him, then defend [illegible]
against the danes, [illegible]
did till after being outed of that command by king Edward at [illegible] he turned pyrat and ever after harrassed the [illegible] of england with incursions [illegible] in the southern parts of england [illegible] by one olafe [illegible] of that [illegible] was there [illegible] slew him [illegible]

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"if he be above twenty years old, and had ſtole any thing above the value "of eight pence: If any one do contrarily thereunto, he ſhall pay the "value of the Thief's Head, or make amends for the fault, and yet the "Thief himſelf ſhall not be ſpared; who if he contumaciouſly make "Reſiſtance, or fly for it, ſhall find no favour. A Thief caſt into "Priſon, ſhall there ſtay forty days, and then after the payment of an "120 ſhillings be diſcharged; but his Kindred muſt give Security for "his future good behaviour; after which, if he ſteal again, they muſt "either pay the value of his Head, or bring him back to Priſon; and in "caſe any one reſiſt, he ſhall pay to the King, or to any other whom it "concerns, the value of his own Head; and if any ſtand by him (*i.e.* "defend him) he ſhall pay to the King an 120 ſhillings.

"The ſixth Law is againſt Witchcrafts, Enchantments, and ſuch "like deeds that procure Death; that if any one by them be made "away, and the thing cannot be denied, ſuch Practiſers ſhall be put to "death; but if they endeavour to purge themſelves, and be caſt by the "threefold *Ordeal*, they ſhall lye in Priſon an hundred and twenty days; "which ended, then their Kindred may redeem them by the Payment of "an 120 ſhillings to the King; and farther pay to the Kindred of the "ſlain the full valuation of the Party's Head; and then the Criminals "ſhall alſo procure Sureties for their good behaviour for the time to "come.

"The ſame Puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on Incendiaries, and ſuch "as reſcue Thieves; nay, ſuch as endeavour to reſcue them, though no "man be wounded in the attempt, ſhall pay an 120 ſhillings to the "King.

As for Enchantments, mentioned in this Law, the *Saxon* word is *Liblacum*, which ſignifies the Art of Conjuration or Witchcraft, yet not all in general, but that ſort of it properly called *Faſcination*, or Enchantment uſed by certain *Ligatures*, *Faſciæ*, or Bands.

"The ſeventh ordains concerning ſimple *Ordeal*, That if one accuſed "ſeveral times of Theft, be caſt by it, and have no body to be Surety "for him, he ſhall be ſent to Priſon, and thence freed by his Kindred, "as was before ſaid.

"The tenth forbids any Commutation of Goods, unleſs in the pre"ſence of the King's Reeve, the Prieſt of the Town, or the Lord of the "Soil, or ſome other credible perſon, under the penalty of thirty ſhil"lings, and the forfeiture of the thing changed to the Lord of the Soil; "and if any ſhall bear falſe witneſs, he ſhall be infamous, and no credit "given to him ever after, and alſo ſhall forfeit 30 ſhillings.

"The twelfth confirms the firſt part of the Law of King *Edward* "the Elder, decreeing no man's buying any thing out of a Town which "exceeds the value of twenty pence; and within the Town, unleſs in "the preſence of the Portreeve, or ſome other credible perſon; or elſe "in the preſence of the King's Sheriff or Juſtice in *Folcmote*.

"The fourteenth appoints through all the King's Dominions that one "and the ſame Money be currant, and that it ſhall not be coined out of "ſome Town; and if any Minter or Coiner ſhall embaſe the Coin, he ſhall "loſe his hand; which being cut off, ſhall be affixed to the Workhouſe: "If any be accuſed of adulterating Money, and will purge himſelf, he "ſhall by the *Ordeal* of hot Iron cleanſe his hands of ſuch wickedneſs; "but if by *Ordeal* he be caſt, then he ſhall be puniſhed as now was ſaid.

"Then

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"Then follow the places appointed for Publick Mints; *viz.* at *Canterbury* there ſhall be ſeven Minters or Coiners, whereof four for the King, two for the Biſhop, and one for the Abbot. At *Rocheſter* there ſhall be three, whereof two for the King, and the third for the Biſhop. At *London* eight. At *Wincheſter* ſix. At *Lewes* two. At *Haſtings* one. At *Chicheſter* one. At *Hampton* two. At *Werham* two. At *Exceſter* two. At *Saliſbury* as many, and in every other great Town one.

"That which follows, commands, That for every Plow a man ſhall keep two well-furniſhed Horſemen.

Which ſhews, that this Law for the Militia's being laid according to the Rate of Eſtates, is one of the ancienteſt of this kind in *England*, as alſo the moſt general Tax, being laid upon Corn, then the moſt ſtaple Commodity of the Kingdom.

"The eighteenth forbids Horſes to be tranſported, except ſuch as are ſent abroad as Free Gifts or Preſents.

"The twentieth Law enacts, That if any one abſent himſelf from *Folcmote* thrice, he ſhall be puniſhed as contumacious againſt the King, if ſo be that the holding of the Aſſembly was declared a ſeven-night before; in ſuch caſe if he refuſe to do Right, and pays not his Mulct to the King, the ancient men of the Countrey are to go and ſeize upon all that he hath, and take Security for his appearance.

"The twenty ſecond, in confirmation of a former Law, requires, that no perſon receive another man's *Man* (as this Law words it) into his Family, without leave firſt obtained of his Maſter; he that doth otherwiſe, ſhall reſtore the man, and pay the Mulct of Contumacy againſt the King; and no man is to put away his men accuſed of any Crime, till they have firſt made ſatisfaction.

By this it appears how ancient in this Nation the Cuſtom is of calling a Servant by the word uſed for the whole *Species* of Mankind, a Phraſe in uſe as well with the *Romans* and others more ancient, as with modern people.

"The twenty fourth is concerning Traffick; and in confirmation of former Laws ordains, That if a man buy any thing with witneſs, which another man challenges for his own, the Seller ſhall make it good, and ſecure the bargain, whether he be Bond or Free: But on the Lord's day no Market ſhall be held, under penalty or forfeiture of the Wares, and a Mulct of 30 ſhillings beſides.

The next thing that follows at the end of theſe Laws, relating to the Civil State, is the Valuation of mens Heads, which we have often heard mentioned by theſe Laws, but never yet to what it particularly amounted: Firſt then, ſaith the Text, "The valuation of the King's Head, according to the *Engliſh* Common Laws, is thirty thouſand *Thrymſes*, whereof fifteen thouſand are properly the value of his Head, the reſt being due to the Kingdom; ſo that the latter fifteen belonged to the Nation, the former to his Kindred. An Archbiſhop's and Earl's *Weregild* (as the *Saxons* called the valuation of his Head) is fifteen thouſand *Thrymſes*: A Biſhop's and *Ealdorman*'s eight thouſand. A General's of an Army, or an High Marſhal's four thouſand *Thrymſes*. The valuation of a Spiritual *Thane* or Prieſt, as alſo of a Temporal *Thane*, was two thouſand *Thrymſes*. That of a Countreyman (or *Ceorl*) by the *Daniſh* Law was 267 *Thrymſes*. But if a *Welſhman* grow ſo rich as to maintain a Family, have Land, and pay a yearly Rent to

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“ the King, he ſhall be valued at 120 ſhillings; if he poſſeſs half Hide of Land, at 80 ſhillings: If he have no Land, yet if he be Freeman, the value of his Head ſhall be ſeventy ſhillings. If a *Ceor* or Countreyman be ſo wealthy as to poſſeſs five Hides of Land, i caſe he be killed, the price or value of his Life ſhall be two thouſand *Thrymſes*; but if he come to have a Corſlet, an Helmet, and a Gil Sword, tho he have no Land, he ſhall be accounted a *Sithcundmon* and if his Children or Grandchildren ſhall grow ſo rich as to poſſeſ five Hides of Land, all their Poſterity ſhall be reckoned as ſo many *Sithcundmen*, and be valued at two thouſand *Thrymſes*. The *Mercians* value a Countreyman at two hundred ſhillings, a *Thane* at twelve hundred. They are wont to equal the ſingle value of the King's Head with ſix thouſand Thanes, that is, thirty thouſand *Sceats*, for ſo much is the value of the King's Head, and as much more muſt be paid as a recompence for his death; the value of his Head belongs to his Kindred, and the compenſation of his Death to the people. He that is valued at 1200 ſhillings, his Oath ſhall be of the ſame eſteem as thoſe of ſix Countreymen; for where ſuch an one is ſlain, ſix Countreymen would ſatisfy over and above for the value; therefore the value of him and all them ſhall be the ſame. By the *Engliſh* Law the Oaths of a Prieſt and a Thane are of the like eſteem.

By theſe valuations of Heads from the higheſt to the loweſt Rank, we may perceive that in thoſe Ancient Times Puniſhments conſiſted rather in Mulcts than in Blood; contrary to our preſent Cuſtom, whereby ſmall Offences in compariſon (eſpecially if reiterated) are become Capital; which whence it hath proceeded, whether from this conſideration, that Crimes in latter Ages do more abound, or from other reaſons, is not evident. As for the *Sithcundmon* mentioned in this Law, Mr. *Somner* derives this word from *Syth* or *Gethyſa*, an Equal or Companion, and *cund* kind, and *Mon* man; ſo that he ſeems to have been one equal to a Thane.

Vid. Somn. *Gloſs.*

King

King EDMUND.

NOT long after King *Athelſtan*'s Deceaſe, Prince *Edmund* his Brother ſucceeded him at the Age of Eighteen Years, and reigned Six Years and an half.

Anno Dom. Dccccxlii.

'This year (according to the Annals) King *Edmund*, 'Lord of the *Engliſh*, and the Protector of his Subjects, invaded *Mercia* 'on that ſide where the River *Humber* and the * Way of the *White* '*Fountain* divide the Countrey; he there took in five Cities (*viz.*) *Li*'*goraceſter* (now *Leiceſter*), *Lindcolne* (now *Lincoln*), and *Snotinga*'*ham*, *Stanford*, and *Deorby*, which were all before under the power of 'the *Danes*, being forced to ſubmit to them, having been long under 'their Tyrannical Yoke.

This ſeems very ſtrange, for moſt of thoſe places are mentioned to have been before recovered from the *Danes* by King *Edward* his Father; and how they could be conquered again in the time of ſo great a Warrier as King *Athelſtan* was, I could not underſtand, were it not explained by other Authors.

'The ſame year King *Ædmund* received King *Anlaf* to Baptiſm, and 'ſome time after he likewiſe received King *Reginald* at his Confirmation. 'This year alſo King *Anlaf* deceaſed, and *Richard* the Elder took upon 'him the Dukedom (of *Normandy*) and governed it 52 years.

But *R. Hoveden* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* (from what Authority I know not) relate, That this *Anlaf* the *Dane*, above-mentioned, and *Norwegian* by Extract, who had been in the time of King *Athelſtan* expell'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, about this time landed in *Yorkſhire* with a great Fleet, reſolving to ſubdue the whole Kingdom of *England*; and marching *Southward* beſieged *Northampton*; but not ſucceeding there, he marched back to *Tamworth*, where having waſted the Countrey round about, came at laſt to *Legaceſter* (now *Weſtcheſter*); which when King *Edmund* heard of, he march'd with a powerful Army, and met him at that City, and having fought with him moſt part of the day, the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, ſeeing the great Danger and Hazard the Kingdom was then in, made an Agreement betwixt the two Kings, That *Anlaf* ſhould poſſeſs that part of *England* lying *North* of *Watlingſtreet*, and King *Edmund* that part which lay *South* of it, and that the Survivor of them ſhould quietly enjoy the whole Kingdom; and thereupon *Anlaf* married *Alditha* the Daughter of Earl *Orme*, by whoſe Counſel and Aſſiſtance he obtained the late Victory. But *William* of *Malmesbury* tells this Story ſomewhat different; *viz.* That about this time the *Northumbers* rebelling, recalled this *Anlaf* out of *Ireland*, whom they made their King, but whom nevertheleſs King *Edmund* conquered, and at laſt expell'd the Kingdom, and ſo once again added *Northumberland* to his own Dominions; which ſhews the great uncertainty of the Hiſtory of theſe times.

* *This way we know not.*

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But *R. Hoveden* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* do further add, That whe this *Anlaf* had not long after his Marriage ſpoiled and burned th Church of St. *Balther*, and had burnt *Tiningaham*; by the juſt Judgment of God, he miſerably ended his Life, but without telling us b what means.

And they both further relate, That *Anlaf* the Son of *Sihtric* afte this reigned again over the *Northumbers*, and was this year expelled tha Kingdom by King *Edmund*. But it ſeems *R. Hoveden* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* make this latter *Anlaf* a quite different perſon from the former, who is ſuppoſed to have reigned in *Ireland*; whereas this was the Son o *Sihtric* late King of *Northumberland*, and whom we ſhall meet wit again more than once in the following Hiſtory. But *John* of *Walingfords* Chronicle, makes this King, whom he calls *Olaf*, a *Norwegian*, whom the *Northumbers* had called in, and beſtowed upon him the Titl of King, and under him rebelled againſt K. *Edmund*. As for this *Reginal* here mentioned in our Annals, I ſuppoſe he is the ſame whom *H. Huntington* calls King of *York*, becauſe he had conquered that Countrey: But tho the Hiſtory of theſe Tranſactions are very ſhort and obſcure, yet that which has been already related from theſe Authors, will ſerve to explain what would have been otherwiſe in the dark; *viz.* how the Cities and Towns above-mentioned now came to be recovered from the *Danes*, as having been taken by their King *Anlaf* aforeſaid.

Anno Dom. Dcccxliii.

This year Queen *Ælgiva* was brought to Bed of Prince *Edgar* (afterwards King) as *Florence* relates: Yet ſhe lived not long after, but died the year following, according to *Ethelward*'s Chronicle.

Anno Dom. Dcccxliv.

'King *Edmund* reduced all the Countrey of *Northumberland* under 'his own Dominion, expelling thence the two Kings, *Anlaf* the Son of '*Sihtric*, and *Reginald* the Son of *Guthferth*.

But *Ethelwerd* relates this action to have been done by this King's Lieutenants; *viz.* Biſhop *Wulſtan*, and the Ealdorman of *Mercia*, whoſe Name he does not give us, only that theſe two expelled certain Deſerters, *viz. Reginald* and *Anlaf* out of the City of *York*, and reduced it wholly under this King's Power.

John of *Wallingford* alſo makes this *Anlaf* to be the King's Nephew, and different from *Anlaf* the *Norwegian*.

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'King *Eadmund* ſubdued the whole Countrey of *Cumberland*, and 'gave it to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, upon condition that he ſhould aſſiſt 'him in his Wars both by Sea and Land.

For the Reader is to obſerve, that hitherto the *Britains*, though much diſturbed by their Neighbours (the *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Engliſh*), had ever ſince the coming in of the *Saxons* ſtill there continued a diſtinct Principality, and after ſeveral of them had been wearied out, they retired into *North Wales*, and there erected the Colony of *Stratcluyd*, as we formerly ſaid; though the Hiſtory and Succeſſion of theſe Kings are wholly loſt, unleſs it be ſuch ſcattered Remains as we have given you in the former Book. But *Mat. Weſtminſter* (though under the next year) adds that which is very unlikely to be true, that King *Edmund* conquered this Countrey by the Aſſiſtance of *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, and put out the Eyes of the two Sons of *Dunmaile* King of that Province; though what he adds further, appears ſomewhat more probable, That he granted it to the King of *Scots* upon this condition, *viz.* To defend the *North*-parts of *England* from the Invaſion of Enemies both by Sea and Land.

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Land. To which *Bromton*'s Chronicle adds likewiſe, That he was alſo to attend the King of *England* at ſeveral Great Feaſts in the year, when he held his Common Council; and that the King of *Scots* had for that end ſeveral Houſes aſſigned him to lye at by the way.

Alſo this year *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates, that King *Edmund* gave one of his Royal Towns, then called *Beadriceſworth*, with divers other Lands, to build a Church and Monaſtery, in Memory of St. *Edmund* the Martyr, whoſe Body was there enſhrin'd.

This year likewiſe (as *Florence* relates) King *Edmund* ſent Ambaſſadors to Prince *Hugh* of *France*, for the Reſtitution of King *Lewis*; whereupon the ſaid Prince held a Solemn Council with all the Chief Men of the Kingdom concerning it: But not long after,

King *Edmund* deceaſed at the Feaſt of St. *Auguſtin*; having held the Kingdom Six Years and an half.

But the *Laudean* or *Peterburgh* Copy of theſe Annals, as alſo *Ethelwerd*'s Chronicle, place the Death of this King *Anno Dom.* 948; which without doubt is the trueſt Account.

So that he died in the very Flower of his Age, being not yet Five and twenty years old: But we ſhall give you the manner of his Death, from *William* of *Malmesbury*, as well as from other Authors, ſince he met with ſuch an End, the like to which I have not read ~~of any~~ other Prince, concerning taking all the Circumſtances together: And thus we find it: He having made a Great Entertainment at a place called *Pucklekirk*, npon the Holiday of St. *Auguſtin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for all his Nobility and Chief Men, and there ſpying towards the end of Dinner a certain Notorious Thief called *Leof*, ſitting at the Table, whom he had before baniſhed, commanded *Leon* his Sewer to lay hold on him: But the Thief not only reſiſted him, but was alſo like to have killed the Sewer: Whereupon the King (leaping from the Table, and) going to reſcue him out of the Villain's hands, and having now laid hold on him, and thrown him on the ground, he twiſted his hands in his hair; upon which the Thief pulling out a Dagger, ſtabbed the King (who lay upon him) into the Breaſt, ſo that he immediately expired; but the King's Servants preſently coming in, ſoon cut the Villain to pieces; though ſome of them were firſt wounded by him. The King's Body was thereupon carried to *Glaſtenbury*, and there buried; and the Town wherein he was killed was beſtowed on the ſame Monaſtery to ſing Maſſes for his Soul. To this Place the Prince (as well as his Brother) was a great Benefactor; as appears by his recited Charter in *William* of *Malmesbury*, whereby he confers divers large Privileges upon that Abby, of which St *Dunſtan* was then the Abbot: And it is alſo to be obſerved, that He there ſtiles himſelf in the beginning of his Charter, "*Edmund*, King of "the *Engliſh*, and Governor and Ruler of the other Nations round "about; and ſays, That with the Advice, and by the Conſent of his "Chief Men, and for the Remiſſion of his Sins, He made that Grant "to the Church of St. *Mary* at *Glaſtenbury*. This Charter bore date *Anno* 944. in Letters of Gold, and was written at the end of a Book of Goſpels which he had given to the ſame Church, moſt curiouſly bound. So that it is no wonder if he had the good words of the Monks; though he might alſo very well deſerve them; yet this laſt Action ſpeaks him to have been extremely tranſported with Paſſion, thus to debaſe the Majeſty of a King, in going about to ſeize a common Malefactor with his own

But in the [illegible]

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own hands; and indeed he paid too dear for thus acting below his Character.

This King made divers good Laws; which ſince the Title does not recite in what year they were made, I have referred to this place; ſom of which I ſhall here give you, tranſlated from the *Latin* Copies in Abbot *Bromton*'s Chronicle, as well as from Mr. *Lambard*'s Collection.

In the Preface of which we are told, "That at the ſolemn Feaſt o
" *Eaſter* the King had held a Great Council at *London*, as well of Ec-
" cleſiaſticks as Laicks, where were preſent *Odo* and *Wulſtan*, Archbi-
" ſhops, with many other Biſhops, to conſult for the good of their ow
" Souls, and of thoſe that were committed to their Care and Govern-
" ment.

At which Synod or Council were enacted ſeveral Laws; *viz.* ſix i number, but they being of mere Eccleſiaſtical Concernment, as for payin *Tythes*, and againſt Fornication with *Nuns*, and *Perjury*, I omit them.

Then follow, in *Bromton*'s Copy, ſeven other Conſtitutions of Civi Concernment, ſaid to have been made by the King, his Biſhops, and *Wiſe Men*, at *Cullington*, not extant in the *Saxon* Edition.

" The firſt of theſe requires an Oath of Fidelity to be taken by all to
" King *Edmund*, in like manner as a man ought to bear Faith to his
" Lord, without any Controverſy or Sedition, both in publick and pri-
" vate; to love whom the King ſhould love, and to hate whom he
" ſhould hate; and before the Oath be given, that no man ſhould con-
" ceal a Crime in his Brother or Neighbour, more than in a Stranger.

" The ſecond, concerning the apprehenſion of Thieves, enjoins, that
" if it be known for certain where a Thief is, the *Twelfhind* and *Twi-*
" *hind men* (*i. e.* the former worth Twelve hundred, and the latter
" Two hundred Shillings of Eſtate) ſhould combine together, and
" take him either alive or dead; but in caſe any man take up a mortal
" Feud againſt another for ſo doing, he is to be eſteemed as the Enemy
" of the King, and all his Friends: And if any refuſe to aſſiſt in his
" apprehenſion, he ſhall forfeit to the King an 120 ſhillings, and to the
" Hundred 30 ſhillings.

" The fourth enjoins, That if ſeveral Thieves do ſteal, the eldeſt of
" them ſhall be hanged, and each of the reſt be whipp'd thrice, and for
" an Example have his little finger cut off.

This I take notice of, becauſe it is the firſt Law whereby Thieves are expreſly ordered to be hanged, without being admitted to pay their *Weregild*, or Price of their Heads.

The fifth and ſixth being againſt buying and receiving Strangers Cattel, I paſs by.

" The ſeventh enjoins, that every Perſon make his Servants, and all
" that live within his Peace (*i. e.* his Diſtrict), and on his Lands, to
" give Security; and alſo that all others of Ill Fame who lye under Ac-
" cuſations, ſhould have Security given for them; and what Officer,
" Thane, Ealdorman, or Countreyman ſoever he be, that refuſeth to
" do according thereunto, ſhall forfeit an 120 ſhillings, and further be
" deemed worthy of ſuch Puniſhments as have been before mentioned.

After theſe follow ſeven other of King *Edmund*'s Laws, found both in *Bromton* and *Lambard*'s Copies; before which alſo we find a Preface,
" Wherein the King ſignifies to all his Subjects both old and young, that
" he had moſt ſtudiouſly enquired in a Solemn Aſſembly of Eccleſiaſticks
"and

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“and Laicks, by what means the Chriſtian Life might beſt be maintained; and that it ſeemed moſt convenient to them all, that he ſhould cheriſh and procure Love and mutual Friendſhip through all his Dominions; for they were much troubled at the unjuſt Diviſions and Contentions among them; therefore the King and they did now ordain,

“Firſt, That if hereaſter one man kill another, he alone ſhould bear the *Deadly Feud* or Enmity of the Kindred of the Party ſlain, unleſs within Twelve Months by the aſſiſtance of his own Kindred, he ſhould pay the *Weregild*, or value of the ſlain man's head, of what condition ſoever he was; and then they ſhould not be taken for Enemies; in the mean time they ſhall not relieve him, nor have peace with him, and if they do or have, they ſhall forfeit all their Eſtate to the King; and he that ſhall kill any man, ſhall be taken as an Enemy by all the Kindred of the ſlain, and they may maintain Deadly Feud againſt him; and if any ſhall revenge himſelf upon, or proſecute any other of his Kindred beſides the Manſlayer himſelf, he ſhall forfeit all he hath, and be taken as an Enemy both by the King and all that love him.

Which Law was made, becauſe before this, if one man killed another, the Kindred of the ſlain had a Mortal Feud, and revenged his Death upon any of the Relations of the Murderer; as they do among the *Indians* even to this day.

“The ſecond denounces, That if a man fly to a Church, or to the King's Town, and there any one ſet upon him, or do him harm, he ſhall be puniſhed in the ſame manner.

“By the third, the King expreſly forbids, that any *Fyhtwite*, or *Manbote* (that is, any Fine for fighting or killing) be remitted.

“By the fourth, the King openly declares that his Houſe ſhall afford no ſhelter to him that hath ſhed blood, except he have firſt made ſatisfaction to God, and the Kindred of the Party ſlain, and done whatſoever was enjoined him by the Biſhop in whoſe Dioceſs the Fact was committed.

“The ſixth enjoins, That he that breaks the Peace, and ſets upon a man in his own houſe, ſhall forfeit all he hath, and his Life to be at the King's Mercy.

“The ſeventh and laſt of theſe Laws is alſo concerning Enmities or Deadly Feuds; declaring that it is the Duty of all Wiſe Men to ſuppreſs them, and preſcribing the way and means of doing it. As

“Firſt, That an Indifferent Friend be ſent before to the Kindred of him that is ſlain, to ſignify to them, that he that killed him will make all due ſatisfaction; upon which the Manſlayer ſhall be delivered into his hands, that he may ſafely appear, and give Caution for the Payment of the value of the dead man's head; which as ſoon as he hath done, the King's Peace is next to be made betwixt them: Then after the end of one and twenty days, he ſhall pay *Halsfage* (according to *Bromton*'s Copy, or as the *Saxon* Text has it, *Healfange*) that is (as Mr. *Lambard* interprets it) that which was paid in Commutation for the Puniſhment of hanging by the Neck, to the King or Lord. The reſt, as being tedious, I omit; for I think this ſufficient to let the Reader underſtand the nature of theſe Deadly Feuds, or Family Quarrels, among the *Engliſh* who were derived from the Ancient *Saxons*, *Ger-*

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mans, and other barbarous *Northern* Nations, that commonly maintained private Quarrels by their whole Kindred, thereby rendring thei Feuds as it were Hereditary. So *Tacitus* writes concerning the *Germans*, that they were forced to take up the Quarrels and Friendſhips o their Fathers and Kinſmen.

Beſides theſe Laws before mentioned, there is ſome other Conſtitutions aſcribed to the ſame King *Edmund*, concerning the Manner an Rites of Marriage; and though found by Sir *H. Spelman* in *Saxon* (i an Ancient Book belonging to *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*) tacked to the Laws of King *Alfred*; yet **Bromton* reckons them amongſ the Laws of King *Edmund*, and I think they ought rather to be ſuppoſe his: They are to this effect; "That where a man reſolves to marry "Woman with her Friends Conſent, the Bridegroom ſhall give Cautio "or Security by his Friends, not only to marry her, but alſo to fulfil th "Covenants made between them, and ſhall alſo engage to maintai "her. After that, the Bridegroom is to declare what he will give hi "Bride, beſides that which ſhe formerly made choice of with his goo "liking, if ſhe ſurvive him. In caſe they ſo agree, it provides, tha "after his Deceaſe ſhe ſhall have the one half of all his Eſtate; and i "they have a Child betwixt them, the whole, till ſuch time as ſhe marry again. Then when they have agreed on all things, the Kindred o "the Bride ſhall contract her to him, and engage for her Honeſty; an "at the ſame time they ſhall give Caution for the Celebration of th "Marriage. The reſt being not very material, I omit; and have onl ſet down theſe, to let the Reader ſee the Antiquity of Covenants befor Marriage, and of Bonds for the performance of them; as alſo of Joi tures, the Thirds of the Eſtate not being then ſettled by Law, as *Dowe* by what I can find.

‸ alſo

* Col. 861.

Having now finiſhed the Reign of King *Edmund*, I have no more t obſerve, but that though he left two Sons by the Queen his Wife, (*vi* *Edwi* and *Edgar*), yet notwithſtanding his Brother *Edred* ſucceeded t him as Next Heir, (for ſo *Ethelwerd*, as well as *Florence* of *Worceſter* ſtiles him.

King EDRED.

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‘THIS year (according to our Annals) *Eadred Ætheling* ‘after his Brother's Deceaſe was made King, and preſently ‘reduced all *Northumberland* under his Obedience: Upon ‘which the *Scots* alſo ſwore to perform whatever he would ‘require of them.

But the Manuſcript Life of St *Dunſtan*, written by a Monk of thoſe times, and which is now in the *Cottonian* Library, is much more particular concerning this King's Succeſſion; ſaying, That King *Edmund* being ſlain, *Eadred* took the Kingdom, ſucceeding to his Brother as his Heir. Which is alſo confirmed by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, who ſays, That *Edred* being Next Heir to his Brother, ſucceeded him: And *Ethelwerd* gives us the reaſon of it more fully, That he ſucceeded him *quippe ejus Hæres*, becauſe he was Next Heir. And *Simeon* of *Durham* further adds, That this King was Crowned at *Kingſton*, by *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Cleop.* D. 7.

H. Huntington and *Mat. Weſtminſter* give us the Particulars of this War againſt the *Northumbers* and *Scots* more at large; *viz.* That he ſubdued the *Northumbrians* with a powerful Army, they refuſing to ſubmit to his Dominion; and that the *Scots* thereupon being afraid, ſubmitted themſelves to him without any War at all; and that the King of the *Scots* ſwore *Fidelity to him.*

It ſeems here by *Ingulph*, that this Submiſſion of the *Northumbers* was wrought by the means of *Turketule*, Chancellor to King *Edred*, and afterwards Abbot of *Croyland*, who was now ſent Ambaſſador to the *Northumbers*, to reduce them to their Duty; which he upon his Arrival at *York* performed with that Prudence and Diligence, that he brought back the Archbiſhop and all the People of that City to their former Allegiance.

Anno Dom. Dccccxlvii.

But *R. Hoveden* places the Oath taken by the *Northumbrians*, under this year; and that *Wulſtan* Archbiſhop of *York*, and all the *Northumbrian* Lords, ſwore Fealty to King *Edred*, in a Town called *Tadencliff*, though they did not long obſerve it.

Anno Dom. Dccccxlviii.

Under this year moſt of the *Welſh* Chronicles place the death of that Worthy Prince *Howel Dha*; and ſay, That he left his four Sons, *Owen*, *Run*, *Roderic*, and *Edwin*, his Heirs of all his Territories in *South-Wales*: But as for *North Wales*, it returned to the two Sons of *Edwal Voel*, called *Jevaf* and *Jago*, (becauſe *Meyric* their Elder Brother was not thought fit to govern): Theſe, as being of the Elder Houſe, would have had the Supreme Government of all *Wales*, which, being denied them by the Sons of *Howel*, cauſed great and long Wars between them.

Yet notwithſtanding, other of the *Welſh* Chronicles place the death of *Howel Dha* much later, for they make him Contemporary with our King *Edgar*, as ſhall be ſhewn when we come to the Hiſtory of his Reign in the next Book.

Alſo

Anno Dom. Dccccxlviii.

Alſo the ſame year (according to *R. Hoveden*) King *Edred* being much provoked by the Treachery of the *Northumbers*, laid all *Northumberland* waſte; in which devaſtation the Monaſtery of *Ripun* which had been built by Biſhop *Wilfrid*, was burnt: But our Annals defer this Rebellion of the *Northumbers* to the year following; ‘When *Anlaf* ‘again returned into the Countrey of the *Northumbers*.

Anno Dom. Dccccxlix.

This is alſo confirmed by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *H. Huntington*; *viz.* That King *Edred* being returned into the *Southern* parts of the Kingdom, *Anlaf* who had been formerly expell'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, returned thither with a great Navy, and being received with joy by the people, was again reſtored to his Kingdom.

Anno Dom. Dccccl.

About this time, *Jago* and *Jevaf*, Princes of *North-Wales*, entred *South-Wales* with a great and powerful Army, againſt whom came over the Eldeſt Son of *Howel* with his Brethren, and fought a Battel at the Hills of *Carne*, where *Jevaf* and *Jago* obtained the Victory. And the year following, the ſame Princes twice invaded *South-Wales*, and ſpoiled *Dyvet*, and ſlew *Dunwallon*, Lord thereof. And, to place theſe *Welſh* Wars together, in the year 952. the ſaid Sons of *Howel Dha* gathered their Forces together againſt *Jevaf* and *Jago*, and entred their Countrey as far as the River *Conwy*; where they fought a cruel bloody Battel, at a place called *Gwrhuſtu*, or *Llanrwſt*, Multitudes being ſlain on both ſides, as *Edwin* the Son of *Howel Dha*, with other *Welſh* Princes; and the Sons of *Howel* being vanquiſh'd, *Jevaf* and *Jago* purſued them as far as *Cardigan*, deſtroying their Countrey with Fire and Sword.

Anno Dom. Dccccli.

‘This year (according to the Annals) *Ælfeag*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* deceaſed at the Feaſt of St. *Gregory*.

Anno Dom. Dcccclii.

‘The *Northumbers* again expelled King *Anlaf*, and ſet up *Eric* the ‘Son of *Harold* for their King.

This is the ſame with *Eric* mentioned by *Hoveden*, who yet did not immediately enter upon the Throne (as that Author ſuppoſes) till *Anlaf* had been expell'd; but *Florence* of *Worceſter* and the Chronicle of *Mailroſſe*, place the expulſion of *Anlaf*, and the ſetting up of *Eric*, two years ſooner, and perhaps with better reaſon: For the ſame year, according to *Hoveden*, King *Edred* made *Wulſtan* Archbiſhop of *York*, cloſe Priſoner at *Witharbirig*, becauſe he had been often accuſed to him upon divers accounts; Yet *Will Malmesbury* tells us expreſly, it was for favouring or conniving at his Countreymen in their late Rebellion. But after he had kept him a long time in Priſon, he thought fit to pardon him, out of reverence to his Function: And the year following, the Chronicle of *Mailroſſe* relates, that Archbiſhop *Wulſtan* being ſet free, was reſtored to his Epiſcopal Function at *Doncaceſter*. But this is certain, King *Edred* could not have done this till after *Eric* had been driven out (as this Author more truly reckons), tho our Annals do it the next year; ſaying, That

Anno Dom. Dccccliv.

‘The *Northumbers* drove out King *Eric*, and King *Eadred* again poſ‘ſeſſed himſelf of that Kingdom.] With which alſo *H. Huntington* agrees, tho he places it a year ſooner, relating, That then the *Northumbers* being weary of the Government of this *Eric*, did as eaſily caſt him off, as they had before lightly received him; and calling in *Edred*, they again placed him on the Throne; though this does not accord with *William* of *Malmesbury* his Account, that King *Edred* expell'd *Eric* by force, and waſted all that Kingdom with fire and ſword. After which the *Northumbrians* being wholly ſubdued, were no more governed by Kings but Earls; a Catalogue of which *Roger Hoveden* hath there given us, as far as the Conqueſt.

Anno Dom. Dcccclv.

King *Edred* having been (as *Malmesbury* informs us) long tormented with frequent Convulſions in ſeveral parts of his Body, being admoniſhed by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* of his approaching death, did not only bear that affliction with Patience, but ſpending his time in acts of Devotion, made his Palace a School of all Vertues, and being at length conſumed by a tedious long ſickneſs, he (according to the Annals) departed this life at the Feaſt of St. *Clement*, in the very flower of his Age, to the great grief of all his Subjects, after having Reigned Nine Years and an half.

But the Manuſcript life of St. *Dunſtan* (already cited) is much more particular as to the Diſeaſe he died of, *viz.* that not being able to ſwallow his Meat, he could only eat Broth, ſo that being waſted away, he died, for want of nourishment

This Relation of King *Edred's* not being able to ſwallow his Meat, gave occaſion to *John* of *Wallingford* abſurdly to tell us in his Chronicle (not long ſince Printed) that King *Edred* having his Teeth fallen out by reaſon of Old Age, could not Chew his Meat, and the Broths they made for him were not ſufficient to keep him alive, and ſo he died of Hunger.

Edit. Oxon. 1691.

But this is altogether as true as the ſtory that follows, not only in this Author, but in moſt other Monkiſh Writers of the Hiſtory of thoſe times (from the Relation of the above-cited Author of St. *Dunſtan's* Life) that St. *Dunſtan* hearing how dangerouſly Ill the King was, and making haſte to Viſit him before he died, as he rode on the way thither, there came a Voice from Heaven, which cried aloud to him, *King* Edred *is now dead*; at which all preſent being aſtoniſhed, the poor Horſe, upon which St. *Dunſtan* was then Mounted, immediately fell down dead. But *William* of *Malmesbury*, though he mentions this ſtory of the Voice, yet is ſo wiſe as to paſs by the death of the Horſe, being ſenſible it was a Pill too large to be eaſily ſwallowed.

As for the Character of this King, the Monkiſh Writers of thoſe times, give him that of a moſt Vertuous and Pious Prince; and as to his Valour, *William* of *Malmesbury* ſaith, he was not inferior in Magnanimity to either of his Brothers; he was alſo the firſt King of *England* who (as I can find) ſtiled himſelf *Rex Magnæ Britanniæ*, King of *Great Britain*, in a Charter to the Abbey of *Croyland* recited by *Ingulphus*; as alſo in another Charter to the Abbey of *Reculver*; in *Monaſt. Anglic.* he ſtiles himſelf *Totius Albionis Monarchus*, i.e. Monarch of all *England*; In which Stile he was alſo followed by his Nephew King *Edgar*; from whence we may obſerve, That King *James* was not the firſt who took upon him the Title of King of *Great Britain*, though as being alſo King of *Scotland*, he did much better deſerve it than the former.

Vol. 1.

But as for King *Edred*, he could not fail of the good will of the Monks, ſince the ſame Manuſcript Author of St. *Dunſtan's* Life relates, That he put ſuch great confidence in that Holy Abbot, that he committed the chief Muniments and Treaſures of his Kingdom to his Care, to be kept at his Abby of *Glaſtenbury*; and that as the King lay on his Death-

Anno Dom. Dccccxlv.

Death-bed, St. *Dunſtan* was then carrying them back to him to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think fit, but he juſt before received the News o his death, as you have already heard.

Nor did this King die without Iſſue (as many believe) for Mr. *Spee* proves the contrary from certain ancient Charters Cited by him at th end of this King's Life; wherein you will find that his Two Sons *E* *frid* and *Bertfrid* were Witneſſes to them, tho they did not Succee their Father, but *Edwi* Son to his Elder Brother *Edmund*.

King EDWI.

Anno Dom. Dccccl v.

IMmediately after King Ed~~mund~~red's deceaſe, our Annals tell us, '*Edwig*, Son to the late King *Edmund* and *Elgiva*, began his 'Reign; and he baniſht St. *Dunſtan* out of *England*.] This King, as all our Hiſtorians agree, was crowned at *Kingſton* by *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us the cauſe of this Diſgrace of St. *Dunſtan*, to this effect: That this King being a Youth of great Beauty, and amorous above his years, was mightily in love with a young Lady, his near Kinſwoman, whom he fain would have married, but the Biſhops and Nobles of his Kingdom were utterly averſe to it, not only becauſe of the nearneſs of their Relation, but becauſe ſhe had none of the beſt Reputation, as to her Chaſtity.

But though *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us all the reſt of this Story, yet I ſhall rather chuſe to take it from the * Manuſcript Life of St. *Dunſtan*, who lived about the ſame time, and out of which that Author borrowed it; and it is thus: That on the very day, that by the *common Election* of all the chief Men of *England*, *Edwig* was anointed King; after the Coronation-Dinner was over, he and the chief Biſhops and Nobility being retired into a private Room, there treating of the Great Affairs of the Kingdom, the King (perhaps at that Critical Juncture being weary of their company) ſtole into the Apartment of this Beautiful Lady, to enjoy ſome pleaſurable moments with her; which the Nobility hearing of, they highly reſented it, but none would adventure to bring him back; only Abbot *Dunſtan*, and a Biſhop whoſe Name was *Cyneſius*, the King's Couſin, went boldly into the Chamber, where they found him with his Crown off his head, lying between the Mother of this Lady, and her Daughter, upon which they not only reproved him, but putting on his Crown again, and taking him by the hand, they pulled him away from them, and carried him back by force into the Room where his Nobles were; but *Athelgiva* (for it ſeems ſo was this Lady ſometimes called) being highly provoked at this Affront, did not fail to exaſperate the King againſt *Dunſtan*; ſo that in revenge he baniſhed him the Kingdom; who thereupon (as *R. Hoveden* relates) retired to a Monaſtery in *Flanders*.

* In Bib. Cotton. Cleop. B. 13.

De Geſt. Pont. Lib. 1.

Nor did the King's Reſentments ſtop here, but out of hatred to *Dunſtan*, he not only turned the Monks out of *Glaſtenbury*, but out of divers of the greateſt Monaſteries in *England*; where alſo, as *William* of *Malmesbury* words it, *his own Abbey was turned into a Stable for Clerks*; that is, Secular Chanons were put in their places, not only there, but in all other Abbeys where the Monks were expelled.

But tho the King's violence to Abbot *Dunſtan*, and the Monks, is by no means to be juſtified, yet this rudeneſs to the King, and preſſing upon his privacy, and carrying him by force out of the Room from his Miſtreſs, or Wife, (for ſome Hiſtorians tell us that he had been privately married to her) can as little be excuſed: So that no wonder if a young

[illegible]

Anno Dom. Dccclv.

King, and an enraged Woman, did all they could to revenge ſo great an Affront.

Yet it ſeems by the ſame Author of St. *Dunſtan*'s Life, that Archbiſhop *Odo* was ſeverely revenged on this Lady; for he not only ſent Armed men, to take her out of the Court by force, but alſo branded her with a hot Iron on the Cheeks, to take off the King's Affections from her, and then cauſed her to be ſent into *Ireland*; but whether this was done by the Great Council of the Kingdom, or by his own Authority, I do not find: But it ſeems, upon her return thence again, being on her way to the King, the ſaid Archbiſhop's Officers met her, and cut her Hamſtrings; ſo that not being able to ſtir, ſhe is ſuppoſed to have died not long after, of this cruel Treatment. But however, this did not happen immediately, but ſome time after; for this Year all the People North of *Humber*, together with the *Mercians*, as far as the River *Thames*, roſe againſt King *Edwi*, with an intention to expel him the Kingdom, for his violence done to the Monks; ſo that, as * *Osberne* in the Life of *Dunſtan* relates, he was forced to fly with his Adultereſs to the City of *Gloceſter*: But *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, are more particular in this Relation, ſaying, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* hating and deſpiſing King *Edwi* for his Evil Government, deſerted him, and having depoſed him, they *elected* his Brother Prince *Edgar* King over them; which it ſeems was alſo *confirmed by the Common Council of the Kingdom*; for the above-cited Author of the Life of St. *Dunſtan*, ſaith it was *done by the Common Conſent of all the Wiſe men of the Kingdom.* So that *Edwi* having no more left him than the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons* for his ſhare, the River *Thames* was made the Boundary between their two Kingdoms.

* *Vid. Ang. Sacra. Vol* 1.

M. W's life relates
they drove him after
ſeveral [illegible]
the River
Thames

Henry de Knighton, out of ſome Ancient Chronicles then preſerved in the Abbey of *Leyceſter*, here farther relates, That after the Expulſion of King *Edwi* for his Evil Life, and the Enormous Deeds which he committed againſt the Church, the Throne was vacant for above a year, and many Murthers and Robberies, and other Miſchiefs were committed in the Kingdom, for want of Government, till ſome Good men of the Clergy and Laity, ſeeking God by frequent Prayers, heard at laſt a Voice from Heaven, commanding them to Crown Prince *Edgar* (being yet a Youth) their King, which they immediately obeyed.

But this ſounds like a Monkiſh Legend, only to enhance the Excellency of King *Edgar*'s Reign, which with them muſt owe its Original to no leſs an Author than Heaven it ſelf; but no other Hiſtorians mention any ſuch thing, but agree that King *Edwi* was never deprived of more than the Kingdoms of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, and there was no Vacancy of the Throne, that Diviſion being made preſently upon the aforeſaid Defection of the People of theſe Kingdoms, and immediately confirmed by an Act of the *Witena Gemote*, as hath been already related.

But however it happened, King *Edwi* was forced to reſt contented with this unequal diviſion, ſince not having the good-will of his Subjects, it was well he could keep what he had. From whence we may obſerve, how dangerous a thing it was, for Princes to provoke the Ruling Part of the Prieſts and People of thoſe times, who could ſo eaſily turn the hearts of their Subjects againſt them.

Our Annals, though they are very ſhort in this Relation, yet confirm the depoſing of King *Edwi*; *viz.* That this Year *Edgar Atheling* took upon him the Kingdom of the *Mercians*; and alſo adds, That not long before, *Wulſtan*, Archbiſhop of *Tork*, deceaſed.

Anno Dom. Dccccli x.

Although the printed Copy of the *Saxon* Annals place the Death of King *Edwi* under the year 957, yet it appears by the *Manuſcript Laudean* Copy of theſe Annals, as alſo by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, that he died not till this very year; for we cannot otherwiſe make up the ſpace of near four years, which all our Hiſtorians allow to this King's Reign: Of whom they give us this Character, That though he was extraordinary Handſome, yet he abuſed that Comelineſs of his Perſon by his exceſſive Luſt; and yet we do not hear of above one Miſtreſs he kept, and that too whom he was either married to, or elſe lived withal like a Wife. But it is no wonder if he have a very bad Character of them, when the Monks, his Enemies, are the only perſons that have given it to us: But *H. Huntington*, who was a Secular Prieſt, and no Monk, is more moderate, by telling us that this King did not uncommendably hold the Scepter. But when in the beginning of his Reign his Kingdom began to flouriſh, an Untimely Death put a ſtop to thoſe happy Expectations from him. His Body was buried at *Wincheſter*, with his Uncle's.

And with this King's Reign I ſhall alſo put a Period to this Book, leſt it ſhould ſwell beyond a due proportion.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE
General Hiſtory
OF
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:
As well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil.

BOOK VI.

Containing the General Hiſtory of England *from the Reign of King* Edgar, *to the Death of King* Harold; *being One hundred and ſeventeen Years.*

King EDGAR.

I Have begun this Period with this Prince's Reign; for though it does not exactly divide the Space of Time between King *Egbert* and the coming in of King *William*, ſirnamed the *Conqueror*, into two equal parts, yet will it much better ſuit with the Proportion of the Books into which we have divided this Period: Beſides, King *Edgar* by again reuniting the Kingdom, and enjoying by his Valour as well as his good Fortune, a happy and peaceable Reign, though he was not the firſt Prince who took upon him the Title of Monarch of all *Albion* or *England*, as hath been already ſhewn, yet ſince all the Kings of this Iſland did willingly ſubmit themſelves to his Dominion, he ſeems to have beſt deſerved that Title, of any I can find.

King *Edwy* being now dead, as our Annals have related, King *Edgar* his Brother began to reign, not only over the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, but alſo over all the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom; that is, (as the Manuſcript Author of St. *Dunſtan*'s Life relates) he ſucceeded in his Brother's Kingdom as Heir, and was elected by the Clergy as well as Laity, over both Kingdoms: Which is alſo confirmed by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *R. Hoveden*, who expreſly tells us he was elected King by the whole *Engliſh* Nation, in the Sixteenth Year of his Age: So that (as the Annals obſerve) "In his days all things ſucceeded proſperouſly, God "giving him Peace as long as he lived, becauſe he loved his Law, and "conſulted the Good and Peace of his People, beyond all the Princes "that had been in the memory of man before him; and therefore that "he had greater Honour in all Nations round him, as well as in his "own; and he was by a peculiar Bleſſing from above ſo aſſiſted, that "Kings and Princes every where ſubmitted themſelves to him; inſo-"much that he diſpoſed of all things as he pleaſed, without fighting.

* his ~~[illegible]~~ Abbot being at Rome [illegible]

An: Dom DCCCCLX

But one of the firſt things (that we find in the ſaid Author of St. *Dunſtan*'s Life) he did, was, That a great Council ~~being~~ held at a place called *Bradanford* (now *Bradford* in *Wiltſhire*) ~~Abbot~~ *Dunſtan* was by the general conſent of all there preſent, choſen Biſhop of *Worceſter*, for his great Piety and Prudence. And alſo King *Edgar* being now well inſtructed by the ſaid Biſhop and other Wiſe Men of the Kingdom, in the Arts of Government, began to diſcountenance the Wicked and Vicious, and to favour and advance the Good; as alſo to repair the decay'd and ruined Monaſteries, and then to repleniſh them with God's Servants, (*i. e.* the Monks); and in ſhort, to undo whatſoever his Brother had done before.*

* this King re-built or repaired 40 monasteries. no wonder then, the Monks cryed him up for a Saint.

Anno Dom. DCCCCLXI.

This year, according to our Annals, *Odo*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, dying, *Dunſtan*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, ſucceeded in the Archbiſhoprick: But in this the Author of theſe Annals is miſtaken; for *William* of *Malmesbury*, as well as other Authors, aſſure us, That it was not *Dunſtan*, but *Elſin*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who by the means of ſome Courtiers whom he had gained over to him by the prevailing Power of his Preſents, procured King *Edgar*'s Precept to make him Archbiſhop. From whence we may obſerve, That notwithſtanding the former Decrees of Synods and Councils in *England*, yet theſe Elections which were called Canonical, were neither then nor a long time after this obſerved.

But as for Biſhop *Elſin*, he is ſaid by our Authors to have trampled upon the Tombſtone of that Pious Archbiſhop, *Odo*, his Predeceſſor, and to have uttered opprobrious Language againſt his Memory; which his Ghoſt (it ſeems) ſo far reſented, that appearing to the new Archbiſhop in a Viſion, it threatned him with a ſpeedy deſtruction; but he looking upon it only as a Dream, made what haſte he could to *Rome*, to get the Pope's Confirmation, by receiving of his Pall; but in his Journey over the *Alpes* he was frozen to death, being found with his Feet in his Horſe's belly, which had been killed and opened, to reſtore heat to them.

But no ſooner did the News arrive of *Elſin*'s death, when (according to *Florence*) *Brythelm*, Biſhop of *Wells*, was made Archbiſhop; But becauſe neither of theſe laſt Archbiſhops ever received their Palls from *Rome*, which was then counted eſſential to that Dignity, I ſuppoſe theſe two laſt were omitted in our Annals: But this *Brythelm* being not found ſufficiently qualified for ſo great a Charge, he was (as *Osbern* relates) commanded by the King and the whole *Nation* to retire; whereupon he quietly ſubmitted, and returning again to his former Church, *Dunſtan*, now Biſhop of *London*, (who alſo held the See of *Worceſter in Commendam*) was by the general Conſent of the King and all his Wiſe Men in the great Council of the Kingdom, elected Archbiſhop of

This year, I suppose that Howel Dha, King of North wales to have deceased, for tho' ~~the~~ divers Welch Chronicles (as well the former as [illegible]) make him to have died above 10 years sooner, yet I cannot allow of it, since in that ancient Book of the Church of Landaff, ~~it is~~ this King Howel and K. Edgar are said to have been contemporaries and that the latter having summoned the former to his Court and there decided a controversy between him, and another Welsh Prince called Morgan Hen about certain Lands in dispute, and the original Charter containing that King's decision, (as entered in the Register of that Church.

Anno Dom. DCCCCLXI.

of *Canterbury*, for his ſuppoſed great Sanctity: Of which the Monks of that Age relate ſo many Miracles, that it is tedious to read, much more to repeat ſuch ſtuff; inſomuch, that one would admire, (were it not for the extreme Ignorance of that Age) how men could ever hope they ſhould be believed in ſo ſhort a time after they were ſuppoſed to be done.

Such are thoſe of this Biſhop's Harp being hung againſt the Wall, and playing a whole Pſalm without any hands touching it; nay, the Monks can tell us, not only the Tune, but the very Words too. Then the ſtopping of King *Edmund*'s Horſe, when he was juſt ready to run down a Precipice, at that King's only pronouncing of St. *Dunſtan*'s Name to himſelf. Next, his often driving away the Devil with a Staff, troubling him at Prayers ſometimes in the ſhape of a Fox, ſometimes of a Wolf or a Bear. But above all, his taking the Devil by the Noſe with a Pair of red hot Tongs; who (being, it ſeems, an excellent Smith) was once at work in his Forge, when the Devil appeared in the ſhape of a Handſome Woman, but met with very rough entertainment; for going about to tempt his Chaſtity, he took his Deviliſhip by the Noſe with a Pair of red hot Tongs, till he made him roar. Now if ſuch Grave Authors as *William* of *Malmesbury* are guilty of relating ſuch Fictions, what can we expect from thoſe of leſs Judgment and Honeſty?

But this muſt be acknowledged, that this Archbiſhop was a great Propagator of Monkery; many Monaſteries being either new built or new founded in his time; and the Clerks or Secular Canons of divers Churches being now to be turned out, were put to their choice, either to quit their Habits or their Places; moſt of whom rather choſe the former, and ſo gave place to thoſe who being of *William* of *Malmesbury*'s own Order, our Author calls their *Betters*.

Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* alſo exerciſed Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, without reſpect of perſons, impoſing upon King *Edgar* himſelf a Seven Years Pennance, part of which was, to forbear wearing his Crown during all that time; and this was for taking a Nun out of a Cloyſter at *Wilton*, and then debauching her. From all which we may obſerve, how neceſſary it was in thoſe days for a Prince's Quiet as well as Reputation, to be blindly obedient to that which was then called the Church-Diſcipline; ſince King *Edwin* having to do but with one Woman whom they did not like, is branded as one exceſſively given to Women; whilſt King *Edgar*, who gave many more Inſtances of his Failings in this kind, is reckon'd for a Saint. But as for this Nun, whom they call *Wilfrede*, *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, that tho ſhe were bred in that Monaſtery, yet was ſhe not then profeſſed, but took upon her the Veil, only to avoid the King's Luſt, which yet, it ſeems, could not ſecure her from it; for he begot on her that beautiful Lady *Editha*, who became alſo a Nun in the ſame Monaſtery of *Wilton*, where her Mother had been profeſſed before; and of which this Young and Virtuous Lady being made Abbeſs, died in the flower of her Age, as *William* of *Malmesbury* informs us.

The ſame Year alſo, according to the *Welſh* Chronicle, *North Wales* was ſorely haraſs'd by the Forces of King *Edgar*: The Cauſe of which War, was the Non-Payment of the Tribute due from the King of *Aberfraw* to the King of *London*: But in the end, as *John Beaver* informs

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us, a Peace was concluded on this condition, That King *Edgar* hearing the great Miſchief which both *England* and *Wales* then received by the vaſt multitude of Wolves which then abounded, eſpecially in *Wales*, releaſed the Tribute in Money, which the King of *North-Wales* was hitherto obliged to pay, and inſtead thereof engaged the Prince of *Wales* to ſend him a Yearly Tribute of ſo many Wolves Heads, in lieu of that Tribute; which the ſaid Prince performed, till within ſome Years, there being no more Wolves to be found either in *England* or *Wales*, that Tribute ceaſed.

But to proceed with our Annals: 'This Year deceaſed *Ælfgar*, Couſin 'to the King, (and Earl alſo of *Devonſhire*) whoſe Body lies buried at '*Wilton*. *Sigeferth* likewiſe (here called a King, though he was indeed 'no more than Vice-King, or Earl of ſome Province) now made himſelf away, and was buried at *Winborne*. The ſame Year was a great 'Mortality of Men, and a very Malignant Feaver raged at *London*: 'Alſo the Church of St. *Pauls* (at *London*) was this Year burnt, 'and ſoon after rebuilt; and *Athelmod* the Prieſt went to *Rome*, and 'there died. And Prince Edmund Eldest sonne to King Edgar also di and was buried at the Abbey of Ramsey. Hist. R

I have nothing elſe to add that is remarkable, under this Year, but the Foundation of the Abby of *Taviſtock*, by *Ordgar* Earl of *Devonſhire*, afterwards Father-in-law to King *Edgar*; though it was within leſs than fifty years after its foundation burnt down by the *Danes* in the Reign of King *Ethelred*; but was afterwards rebuilt more ſtately than before.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxiii.

'This Year *Wolfſtan* the Deacon deceaſed, and afterwards *Gyric* the 'Prieſt. Theſe, I ſuppoſe, were ſome men of remarkable Sanctity, in that Monaſtery, to which this Copy of theſe Annals did once belong.

'The ſame Year alſo, Abbot *Athelwald* received the Biſhoprick o '*Wincheſter*, and was conſecrated on a *Sunday*, being the *Vigil* of St. *An*'*drew*: The ſecond year after his Conſecration, he repaired divers Mo'naſteries, and drove the Clerks (*i. e.* Canons) from that Biſhoprick, 'becauſe they would obſerve no Rule, and placed Monks in their ſtead 'He alſo founded two Abbies, the one of Monks, and the other o 'Nuns; and afterwards going to King *Edgar*, he deſired him to be'ſtow upon him all the Monaſteries the *Danes* had before deſtroyed, be'cauſe he intended to rebuild them; which the King willingly granted 'Then the Biſhop went to *Elig*, where St. *Etheldrith* lieth buried 'and cauſed that Monaſtery to be rebuilt, and then gave it to the care o 'one of his Monks, named *Brightnoth*, and afterwards made him Abbo 'of the Monks of that Monaſtery, where there had been Nuns before 'Then Biſhop *Athelwald* went to the Monaſtery which is called *Mede*'*ſhamſtead*, which had alſo been deſtroyed by the *Danes*; where h 'found nothing but old Walls, with Trees and Buſhes growing amon 'them; but at laſt he ſpied hidden in one of theſe Walls, that Charte 'which Abbot *Headda* had formerly wrote; in which it appeared, tha 'King *Wulfher*, and *Ethelred* his Brother, had founded this Monaſtery 'and that the King with the Biſhop had freed it from all ſecular ſerv'tude; and Pope *Agatho* had confirmed it by his Bull, as alſo the Arch'biſhop *Deus Dedit*.

Which Charter, I ſuppoſe, is that, the Subſtance of which is alread recited in the Fourth Book, *Anno* 656. and which I have there pr ved to be forged; for the Monks had then a very fair opportunity

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Anno Dom. Dccccl xiii.

forge that Charter, and afterwards to pretend they found it in an old Wall: But letting that paſs, thus much is certain from the *Peterburgh* Copy of theſe Annals, 'That the ſaid Biſhop then cauſed this Monaſtery to be rebuilt, placing a new Set of Monks therein; over whom he appointed an Abbot called *Aldulf*: Then went the Biſhop to the King, and ſhewed him the Charter he had lately found; whereby he not only obtained a new Charter of Confirmation of all the Lands and Privileges formerly granted by the *Mercian* Kings, but alſo many other Townſhips and Lands there recited; as particularly *Undale*, with the Hundred adjoining, in *Northamptonſhire*, which had formerly been a Monaſtery of it ſelf, as may be obſerved in the account we have already given of the Life of the Archbiſhop *Wilfrid*.

'The King likewiſe granted, That the Lands belonging to that Monaſtery, ſhould be a diſtinct Shire, having *Sac* and *Soc*, *Tol* and *Team*, and *Infangentheof*, (* which terms I ſhall explain in another place); the King there alſo grants them a Market, with the Toll thereof; and that there ſhould be no other Market between *Stamford* and *Huntington*; and to the former of theſe the King alſo granted the Abbot a Mint. But as for the Names of the Lands given, together with the Limits and the Tolls of the Market there mentioned, I refer the Reader to the Charter it ſelf. Then follows the Subſcription of the King with the Sign of the Croſs, and next the Confirmation of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with a dreadful Curſe on thoſe that ſhould violate it; as alſo the Confirmation of *Oſwald* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Athelwald* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with ſeveral other Biſhops, Abbots, *Ealdormen*, and *Wiſemen*, who all confirmed it, and ſigned it with the Croſs: This was done *Anno Dom.* 972. of our Lord's Nativity, and in the ſixteenth year of the King's Reign; which ſhews this Coppy of the Annals to be written divers years after theſe things were done; as does alſo more particularly that ſhort Hiſtory concerning the Affairs of this Abby, and the Succeſſion of its Abbots for many years after this time. As how 'Abbot *Adulf* bought many more Lands, wherewith he highly enriched that Monaſtery, where he continued Abbot, till *Oſwald* Archbiſhop of *York* deceaſed, and he ſucceeded him in the Archbiſhoprick; and then there was another choſen Abbot of the ſaid Monaſtery, named *Kenulph*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; he firſt built a Wall round the Monaſtery, and gave it the name of *Burgh*, which was before called *Medeſhameſted*; but he being ſometime after made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, another Abbot was choſen from the ſame Abby, called *Ælfi*, who continued Abbot fifty years: He removed the Bodies of St. *Kyneburge*, and St. *Cyneſuith*, which lay buried at *Caſtra*; and St. *Tibba*, which lay entomb'd at *Rehala*, (*i. e. Ryal* in *Rutlandſhire*) and brought them to *Burgh*, and dedicated them to St. *Peter*, keeping them there as long as he continued Abbot. I have been the more particular in the Account of this ſo Ancient and Famous Monaſtery, as having been the Epiſcopal See of the Biſhops of *Peterburgh* almoſt ever ſince the Diſſolution of that Abby in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth.

[illegible]
[illegible]
year

* *Vid.* the Introduction.

This Year alſo (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) King *Edgar* married *Ethelfreda*, the Daughter of *Ordgar* Earl of *Devonſhire*, after the Death of her Husband *Ethelwald*, Earl of the *Eaſt-Angles*: Of her he begot two Sons, *Edwald* and *Ethelred*, the former of whom died in his Infancy, *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxiii. Infancy, but the latter lived to be King of *England*. But before he married this Lady, it is certain he had an Elder Son by *Elfleda*, ſirnamed *The Fair* Daughter of Earl *Eodmar*; of whom he begot King *Edward*, called the *Martyr*: But whether King *Edgar* was ever lawfully married to her, may alſo be doubted; ſince *Osbern*, in his Life of St. *Dunſtan*, ſays, That this Saint baptized the Child begotten on *Ethelfleda* the King's Concubine; with whom alſo agrees *Nicholas Trevet*, in his Chronicle; though, I confeſs, the Major part of our Hiſtorians do make her to have been his Lawful Wife. And it was upon this Pretence of Illegitimacy, that Queen *Elfleda*, and thoſe of her Party, would have afterwards put by Prince *Edward* her Son, from being choſen King; as ſhall be further related in its proper place. But *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *R. Hoveden*, place King *Edgar*'s Marriage with this Lady, under the next year.

[illegible]
Edward

Anno Dom. Dcccclxiv. This Year King *Edgar* expelled the Prieſts (or Chanons) both from the old and new Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*; as alſo from *Ceorteſige*, (or *Chertſy*) and *Middletune*, and put Monks in their rooms; he alſo ordained *Æthelgar* Abbot of the new Monaſtery, and *Ordbryght* Abbot of *Ceorteſige*, and *Cyneweard* of *Middletune*. But as ſoon as *Dunſtan* was made Archbiſhop, he went to *Rome*, and there obtained his Pall of the Pope.

This Year alſo, the *Iriſhmen* (according to the *Welſh* Chronicles) landed in *Angleſey*, and deſtroyed *Aberfraw*, and alſo ſlew *Rodoric*, one of the Sons of *Edwal Voel*, late Prince of *Wales*.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxvii. King *Edgar* (according to *R. Hoveden*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*) placed Nuns in the Monaſtery of *Rumſey* in *Hampſhire*, which his Grandfather King *Edward* had founded, and made his Daughter *Merwina* Abbeſs over them.

About this time (as *Caradoc*'s Chronicle relates) there aroſe a great Quarrel between the two Brothers, Princes of *North-Wales*, *Jevaf* and *Jago*, who had governed jointly ever ſince the death of *Howel Dha*, till then; when *Jago* ſeizing upon his Brother *Jevaf* by force, kept him cruelly in Priſon for near ſix years; about which time alſo *Eneon* the Son of *Owen*, Prince of *South Wales*, taking advantage of theſe Civil Diſſentions, made War upon *North-Wales*, and ſubdued all the Country of *Gwyn*: So that it is no wonder if the *Engliſh* were too hard for theſe *Britiſh* Princes, ſince they never could agree amongſt themſelves.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxix. ‘King *Edgar* this year commanded all the Countrey of *Thanet* to be ‘laid waſte.

As *Bromton*'s Chronicle informs us, the King did not do as an Inſulting Enemy, but as a King, who puniſhed one Evil with another, becauſe the Inhabitants of that Iſland had deſpiſed his Royal Laws. But *Matthew Weſtminſter*'s account of the reaſon of the King's ſevere proceeding with them, ſeems far more ſatisfactory; *viz.* That it was becauſe certain Merchants coming with Goods from *York*, and touching upon this Iſland, the Inhabitants ſeized the men, and plunder'd them of what they brought.

This Year alſo, (according to the Hiſtory of the Abby of *Ramſey*) *Aylwin* the *Ealdorman*, by the perſuaſion of *Oſwald* Archbiſhop of *York*, and with the conſent of King *Edgar*, founded the Abby of *Ramſey*, to the Honour of St. *Mary* and St. *Benedict*, as appears by the Charter of

King *Edgar*, which you will find at large in * *Monaſt. Anglican.* Alſo King *Edgar*, at the perſuaſion of Biſhop *Athelwald*, now cauſed the Chanons to be driven out of all the greater Monaſteries in *Mercia*, and Monks o be put in their places. [illegible]

Anno Dom. Dccccclxx.

'This Year Archbiſhop *Oskitel* deceaſed, who was firſt conſecrated Biſhop of *Dorceſter*, and afterwards by the conſent of King *Edward* and all his *Wiſe-Men*, conſecrated Archbiſhop of *York*. He was Two and twenty years Biſhop, and deceaſed on the Vigils of *All-Saints*, at *Thame*; but *Thurkytel* being his Kinſman, carried the Biſhop's Body to *Bedford*, becauſe he was Abbot there at that time.

But there is certainly a miſtake in the King's Name; and inſtead of *Edward*, it ſhould be *Edred*; for King *Edward* the Elder was dead long efore this Biſhop's Conſecration.

Anno Dom. Dccccclxxi.

'*Eadmund Etheling*, Son to King *Edgar*, died this year, whoſe Body lies buried at *Rumſeig*, *i.e.* *Rumſey* in *Hampſhire*.

Anno Dom. Dccccixxii.

Oskytel Archbiſhop of *York* deceaſing, his Kinſman *Oſwald*, Biſhop f *Worceſter* ſucceeded him, (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* relates.)

About this time alſo, *Godfred*, the Son of *Harold* the *Dane*, ſubdued he whole Iſle of *Angleſey*; which yet he enjoyed not long.

Anno Dom. Dccccclxxiii.

'This year, *Edgar*, Ruler of the *Engliſh*, was with great Honour crowned King, in the Ancient City called *Akmanceaſter*, which the Inhabitants called *Bathan*; ſo that there was great Joy among all men that happy Day, being that which is commonly called *Pentecoſt*; where was a frequent Aſſembly of Prieſts and Monks, as alſo a great Council of the *Wites*, or *Wiſemen*. This happen'd in the Thouſandth Year of Chriſt, wanting but 27; and in the Thirtieth Year of this King's Age.

Alſo about this time, (according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle) *Howel* the on of *Jevaſ*, having raiſed great Forces againſt his Uncle *Jago* above-entioned, to deliver his Father out of Priſon, and having vanquiſh'd s Uncle, and driven him out of the Countrey, reſtor'd his Father o his Liberty, though not to his Dominion; for he took upon him- lf the ſole Government of all *North Wales*.

But Mr. *Vaughan*, in his Additional Notes to this Chronicle, farther lates from ſome other *Welſh* Annals, That *Jago* being thus expelled, ed to King *Edgar*, and prevailed ſo far, that he brought an Army into *orth Wales*, to reſtore him; but coming as far as *Bangor*, *Howel* met im, and at the King's requeſt conſented that his Uncle *Jago* ſhould en- y that part of the Countrey which he had in his Father *Jevaſ*'s time; o King *Edgar* having founded a new Church at *Bangor*, and dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, returned with great Honour to *Cheſter*, having eſe two *Welſh* Princes in his Company; where alſo met him by his ppointment, Six other Princes; as ſhall be farther related by and by.

It hath been much queſtioned, what ſhould be the reaſon that this ing ſhould thus long defer his Coronation: Some of the Monks im- ute it to the Pennance impoſed upon him by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, for ebauching the Nun above mentioned; but that is not at all likely, nce that Pennance was but for Seven Years, whereas he had now reign- twice as long ſince that Sin was committed. But I do rather ſuppoſe, at he was Crowned long before, in the very beginning of his Reign, ough our *Monkiſh* Chroniclers have either forgot to mention it, or elſe ve omitted it on purpoſe, to add the greater Luſtre to Archbiſhop

Dunſtan:

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* 1. Tom. p. 235.

Anno Dom. Dccccl xxiii.

Flet.

Dunſtan: For it is very certain, that neither in this King's time, no long after the Conqueſt, was it ever known, that the King Elect took the Title of King, till after his Coronation.

Now that our Kings did upon ſome great occaſion repeat the Ceremony of their Coronation, I ſhall prove from the Examples both o King *Ethelred*, as well as of King *Richard* the Firſt, and *Henry* th Third; and why it might not be ſo in the Reign of this King, as well a in either of them, I can ſee no reaſon; though the occaſion of it is no any where expreſſed, as I know of.

But to return to our Annals: 'After this the King ſail'd with all hi 'Fleet to *Legancester*, (i. e. *Weſt-Cheſter*) where met him Six Kings 'who all making a League with him, promiſed to be his Aſſiſtants bot 'by Sea and Land.

And now we have ſpoke of this King's Fleet, it is fit we give a large Relation of it, as alſo of theſe Princes that here met him, from *Willia* of *Malmesbury*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and other Authors, who increa their Number to Eight ~~Thouſand~~; which being ſo glorious for ou Nation, I ſhall here ſet down at large.

Six

This King was the firſt who was truly Lord of our Seas; for ever Summer (ſaith *William* of *Malmesbury*) immediately after *Eaſter*, com manding his Ships from every Shore to be brought into one collecte Body, he ſailed uſually with the *Eaſtern* Fleet to the *Weſtern* part o the Iſland; and then ſending it back, ſailed with the *Weſtern* Fleet unt the *Northern*; and thence with the *Northern* he returned to the *Eaſter* Coaſts; ſailing in this manner quite round the Iſland; being exceedin diligent to prevent the Incurſions of Pyrates, and couragious in the de fence of his Kingdom againſt Foreigners, and diligent in the trainin up of himſelf and his People for Military Employments.

Each of theſe Fleets (as we are told) conſiſted of One thouſand an two hundred Ships, and theſe alſo very ſtout ones for thoſe times: S that the number of all muſt have amounted to Three thouſand and ſi hundred Sail, as ſome of our Authors expreſly relate, but others, Fou thouſand Veſſels; and there are ſome alſo that add to theſe Three, Fourth Fleet; by which means the Number will be increaſed to Fou thouſand and eight hundred Sail; as may be ſeen in *Mathew Weſtmin ſter*. To ſuſtain which Charge, beſides the private Contributions o his Subjects, he had alſo (in the latter end of his Reign) Six Pett Kings ~~under him~~, who were bound by Oath to be ready at his Com mand, to ~~ſerve him~~ both by Sea and Land; which Oath they took a *Cheſter*, (as the Annals relate) where he had given them order to me him, as he ſailed about the *North* of *Britain* with a great Navy. The Names are, *Kened* or *Kineth*, King of the *Scots*; *Malcolm* King of *Cum berland*, (who at this time, it ſeems, were ſo called, though, as w ſaid, the *Cumbrians* had now thrown off that Title, and taken that Earls); *Maccuſe*, Lord of the Iſles; with five Princes of *Wales*, th Names of whom were, *Duſnal*, *Griffyth*, *Hunald*, *Jacob*, and *Judethi* who all meeting him at his Court at *Cheſter*, to ſet forth the Splend and Greatneſs of his Dominion, one day he went into a Galley, an cauſed himſelf to be rowed by theſe Petty Princes, he himſelf holdin the Stern, and ſteering the Veſſel along the River *Dee*, was waited on all his Nobles in another Barge; ſo he ſailed to the Monaſtery of St. *Jo Baptiſt*; where an Oration being made to him, in the ſame State an Pom

^ his Allies, who
^ to be his fellow
helpers or Assistants both &c.
^ (as [illegible] of
[illegible] [illegible]
of [illegible] others
recite them)

omp he retutned to his Palace : Where when he arrived, he is ſaid to ave told his Nobles about him, That then his Succeſſors might boaſt emſelves to be truly Kings of *England*, when they ſhould be (like im) attended by ſo many Princes his Vaſſals ; as *Florence* of *Worceſter*, nd *William* of *Malmeſbury* relate it. As for theſe Petty Kings above-entioned, *Maccuſe*, by the ſaid *Florence*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and R. *Hoveden*, is called a King of *Man*, and many other Iſlands ; but *illiam* of *Malmeſbury* ſtiles him an Arch-pirate ; by which word a obber is not to be underſtood, but (as *Aſſer*, and others of that Age ſe that Appellation) one ſkilled in Sea Affairs, or a Seaman ; ſo called rom *Pira*, which in the *Attique* Tongue, ſignifies a Craft or Art ; ut afterward it came to be applicable only to ſuch as without any Right nfeſted the Seas.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxiii.

~~Another of the Kings, and~~ that of *Wales*, was ~~*Huual*~~ or *Hewal*, who ho he be not placed the firſt in order, yet if we follow the account of me Authors, muſt have been the chief of them all, the Prince to whom ll the reſt performed Obedience : The Book of *Landaff* bids us take otice, that at the ſame time with *Edgar* lived *Howel Dha*, and *Morgan Hen*, (which two yet were the Subjects of King *Edgar*.) But in this, ither that Author, or the Chronicle of *Caradoc* muſt be miſtaken, who laces the Death of *Howel Dha* under the year 948 : And therefore it s more likely that the *Howel* here mentioned, was not *Howel Dha*, but *Howel* the Son of *Jevaf*, who had the year before expell'd his Uncle, nd taken upon himſelf the Principality of *Wales*, notwithſtanding his Father was then alive.

But as for all the reſt of theſe *Welſh* Princes, I do not know how to make them out from their Chronicles, (which give no account of this Action); only I take *Duſnal* to be the Son of *Howel Dha*, and as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſays, was then Prince of *South-Wales*. As for *Jacob* and *Judethel*, I ſuppoſe they muſt have been the ſame with *Jevaf* and *Jago*, as they are called in the *Welſh* Chronicles : But as for this Prince *Gryffith*, I can find none ſuch among any of the *Welſh* Princes ruling at that time. But to return to our Annals.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxv.

'This year *Eadgar* King of the *Engliſh*, changed this frail Life, for 'another more Glorious, on the 18*th*. day of *July* : But his Body was buried with great Solemnity at the Abby of *Glaſtenbury*, to which he himſelf had been a great Benefactor ; as appears by his Charter, recited at large by *William* of *Malmeſbury* in his Treatiſe of the Antiquity of that Monaſtery ; in which Charter he alſo ſtiles himſelf, *Totius Britannia Baſileus*, i. e. King of all *Britain*.

But ſince our Hiſtorians are ſo very large and full in their Commendations of this Prince, as that he was moſt Religious, Valiant, and Wiſe, and exceeded all his Predeceſſors (except King *Alfred*, and King *Athelſtan*) it will not, I hope, be amiſs to ſhew you how partial theſe Monks were to the Memory of this Prince; who though they will needs have to be a Saint, becauſe he either built or repaired ſo many Monaſteries, yet was certainly (if the ſame *Monkiſh* Writers are to be believed) guilty of as great Exceſſes of Luſt and Cruelty, as any of his Predeceſſors ; for *William* of *Malmeſbury* tells us, that *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonſhire* had a Daughter named *Elfreda*, fam'd for an extraordinary Beauty, which caus'd the King to have great Inclinations for her, upon the bare Report made of her to him ; but to be more certain, he ſent a

B Knight

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the names and [illegible]
[illegible]
for since the [illegible]
Annals mention [illegible]
Six Kings [illegible]
Edgar at Chester [illegible]
[illegible] writers [illegible]
and increase to [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Kings [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Charter of [illegible]

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Knight called *Athelwold*, his Confident to ſee her, reſolving to mar her, if ſhe were found to be ſo handſome as ſhe was reported. *Ath wold* made haſte, and got a ſight of her, wherewith he was ſo ſmitte that he concealed the Errand on which he came, and reſolved to obta her for himſelf; which being eaſily done, he leſſened her to the Kin as a Woman but very ordinary, and of ſo ſmall a Stature, as wou misbecome his Royal Bed; ſo that he married her with the King's co ſent, whoſe Thoughts were now diverted to other Objects: But at la the Earl's Enemies diſcovered the Intrigue, and told the King how had deceived him; and whom the more to enrage, they omitted words whereby to ſet out and enhance the extraordinary Beauty of t Lady: Upon which, the King concealed his Anger, but was reſolv by another Stratagem to over-reach him. And the better to effect wh he intended, he one day told him pleaſantly, that at ſuch a time would come and ſee whether his Wife was ſo fair as ſhe was repreſent to be. This unexpected Surprize ſo exceedingly ſtruck him, that earneſtly begg'd of her to conſult his Preſervation, by putting on her wo Cloaths, and deforming her ſelf by what other means ſhe thought be for ſhe had now perceived, that inſtead of a King ſhe had married Subject, though an Earl; which raiſed ſuch a Female Indignation her, that againſt the coming of King *Edgar* ſhe dreſſed her ſelf in t moſt Gay and Charming manner her Pride and Reſentment to be th cheated, could deviſe; which had ſuch powerful effects upon him, tha his Love being ſo much the more inflamed, as it had been ſo long d frauded, he for a Blind appointed a day of hunting in the Foreſt calle *Warewell*, (now *Harwood* Foreſt) and there ſlew *Athelwold* with Dart. The Earl's Son coming by when the Fact was juſt committe and looking upon his Father's dead Body, the King asked him, How liked this *Game?* To which he anſwered, That whatſoever pleaſed t King, ought not to diſpleaſe him: With which flattering Reply, t King's angry Mind was ſo appeaſed, that he ever after highly favour the Youth; and expiated the Crime committed upon the Father, by t great kindneſs he ſhewed to the Son. But an Ancient Manuſcript ca led *Brutus* (now in the Archbiſhop's Library at *Lambeth*) relates t latter end of this Story ſomewhat more for King *Edgar*'s Reputation which ſince I meet with no where elſe, I ſhall here give you: It is, Th King *Edgar*, not long after, ſending this *Athelwold* (now made an Earl to ſecure the Coaſt of *Northumberland* againſt the *Danes*, then like t invade it, as he was in his way thither he was ſet upon by certain u known Soldiers, who there ſlew him, but whether by the King's Orde or no, is not ſaid. As ſoon as the Earl was dead, the King made Love to hi fair Widow, and marrying her, cauſed her to be crowned Queen, thoug it much diſpleaſed Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, who could never after this en dure her: But *William* of *Malmesbury* adds, that to expiate the Murthe of her firſt Husband, ſhe built a Nunnery in the place where he wa ſlain.

[illegible]

Another thing laid to his charge, ~~and which~~ ſhews him to have bee more conſtant in his Love, than could be expected from a Young Prince ſo ~~univerſally~~ addicted ~~as he was~~ to the Fair Sex, of which you have ſe veral Inſtances in Story; ~~one of them here~~ ſhall ſuffice. It ſeems coming one time to *Andover*, (a Town not far from *Winchester*) h would have had the enjoyment of a certain Ealdorman's Daughter mightil

highly

whereof one

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mightily celebrated for her Beauty, and commanded her to be brought to his Bed: The Mother of the Virgin not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring to be a Bawd to her own Daughter, reſolved to put a Trick on him by the favour of the Night, and ſo ſent a Waiting-Maid ſhe had, in her room, one that was Handſome enough, and not Unwitty, as ſhe quickly made to appear; for as ſoon as it was morning ſhe offering to get up, the King asked her, Why ſhe would make ſuch haſte from him? She replied, ſhe could no longer have the Happineſs of his Company, becauſe her Lady had ſet her ſome Work to do. He ſtartling at this, wonder'd what ſhe meant (for he did not in the leaſt queſtion, but that his Bedfellow had been the Earl's real Daughter); ſhe then moſt paſſionately beſought him to ſet her free from the hard and cruel Service of her Lady, as a Reward for her loſt Virginity: But the King being confounded at his diſappointment, was for ſome time divided between Compaſſion for the poor Maid, and Anger at his being thus abuſed; but at laſt he put it off with a Jeſt, and ſetting her free, carried her along with him, and loved her to that degree, that he kept himſelf to her alone, until ſuch time as he married *Elfreda* above-mentioned.

Theſe were the Stories commonly told in thoſe days of King *Edgar*, and of which more noiſe had been made by the Monks, if he had not built ſo many Monaſteries, which ſtopp'd their mouths from ſaying much ill of one ſo devoted to their Order, and who perhaps admired Chaſtity in others, though he could not practiſe it himſelf.

But it's certain *England* highly flouriſhed under his Government, being a Man ſo truly anſwering *Homer*'s Deſcription of a King, that not only ſecured his people from Foreign Enemies, but Savage Beaſts, by laying a Yearly Tribute of Three hundred Wolve's Heads on the Prince of *Wales*, as hath been already related.

What his Employment was in Summer, we have already ſeen; in Winter he hunted, but in the Spring he uſually rode a kind of Circuit round the Kingdom, to adminiſter Juſtice to his People, and take care that his Officers did the like. He was ſmall of Stature, and Slender, yet of ſuch mighty Courage and Strength, that he would challenge the moſt Robuſt to wreſtle with him, forbidding them to ſpare him out of reſpect to his Perſon.

It happen'd one time, that *Kened* King of the *Scots*, came to his Court, to whom (as *Matthew Weſtminſter* relates) he gave Rich Preſents, with the whole Countrey of *Lothian*, on condition that he and his Succeſſors at his Feſtivals ſhould come and attend on the Kings of *England* when they ſate Crowned; beſides, he aſſign'd certain Lodgings for them by the way, which to eaſe them in their Journey, were till the time of King *Henry* the Second, held by the Kings of *Scotland*.

This *Kened*, as he once ſate at his Cups with his Courtiers, ſaid jeſtingly to them, It was very ſtrange that ſo many Provinces ſhould obey ſuch a Little, Contemptible Figure of a Man, as this *Edgar* was. Theſe Words ſoon reach'd the King's ears; upon which he preſently ſends for *Kened*, and as if he had a mind to conſult him about ſome Important Affair, carries him into a Wood, where none being preſent beſides themſelves, he delivers into his hands one of the two Swords he had brought along with him, and then tells him, That as they were now alone, ſo they had a very good opportunity to try their Strength and Skill; and therefore he was reſolved to have it forthwith

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determined which of them ought to Rule, and which to Obey, commanding him not to ſtir a foot, but decide the Controverſy with him; for it was a baſe and pitiful thing for a King to vapour loud at a Feaſt, and not to be as forward to ſhew his Courage at a Fray. *Kened* being ſtruck out of countenance at theſe words, fell down at his feet, and earneſtly begged his Pardon for what he had ſpoken in Jeſt, without any deſign of Malice in the leaſt. Upon which the King being as Generous as he was Couragious, freely forgave him.

But though this King *Edgar* was certainly a very Great and Heroick Prince, yet queſtionleſs that Charter which makes him to have ſubdued the greateſt part of *Ireland*, with the City of *Dublin*, and to be Lord of all the Iſles as far as *Norway*, is fictitious, and nothing but a piece of Monkiſh Forgery, no Author of that Age making mention of any ſuch thing; and inſtead of a Great Warrior, he is uſually ſtiled *Edgar* the Peaceable; for he never made any Foreign Wars, that we can learn. However, ſuch was his mighty Fame, that if he did not go himſelf to Foreigners, they came to him, out of *Saxony*, *Flanders*, *Denmark*, and other places: Though *William* of *Malmesbury* obſerves, their coming over did much detriment to the Natives; who from the *Saxons*, learned Rudeneſs; from the *Flemings*, Effeminacy; and from the *Danes*, Drunkenneſs; the *Engliſh* being before free from thoſe groſs Vices, and contented themſelves to defend their own with a natural Simplicity, and not given to admire the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of other Nations: Hereupon the Monk tells us he is deſervedly blamed in Story for his too great Indulgence to Strangers.

This Noble Prince died when he had Reigned about Sixteen Years, in the very flower of his Age, being ſcarce Two and thirty years old, and with him fell all the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation; ſcarce any thing henceforth being to be heard of among them, but Miſery and Diſorder.

He had by *Egelfleda*, ſirnamed the *Fair*, the Daughter of Earl *Ordmer*, (it's uncertain whether his Wife or Concubine) a Son named *Edward*, who ſucceeded him: By *Wilſrida* the Nun he had a Daughter named *Editha*, who was alſo a Nun, as hath been already related: And by *Elfreda* the Daughter of Duke *Ordgar*, a Son called *Edmund*, who died five years before his Father; and another, called *Ethelrede*, who reigned after him; but was wholly unlike him in Prudence and Courage.

I have nothing elſe to add that is conſiderable, under this year, but the death of the Noble *Turketule*, Abbot of *Croyland*, who from Chancellor to King *Edred*, was (at his own deſire) by him made Abbot. He repaired and much enriched that Abby, after its being ruined by the *Danes*; and was the firſt that by adding to the Two Great Bells of that Monaſtery, Six more, made the firſt Tuneable Ring of Bells in *England*; as *Ingulph* at the end of the account he gives of his Life, informs us.

But before I diſmiſs this King's Reign, it is fit I give you a ſhort account of the chief Laws he made; which ſince neither the time nor place of their enacting are any where mention'd, I refer to this place.

The Preface to theſe Laws is thus; ' This is the Decree or Law which ' King *Edgar* made, with the counſel (or conſent) of his *Wites* or ' *Wiſemen*, for the Honour of God, the Confirmation of his Royal Dig' nity, and for the Good of his People.

‘The Laws themſelves begin with ſome Eccleſiaſtical Canons, the firſt of which is concerning the Immunities of the Church, and about paying Tythes out of the Lands of the *Thanes*, as well as of thoſe of *Ceorles*, or Countrey-men.

‘The Second is concerning payment of Tythes and Firſt fruits, as well where a *Thane* had a Church with a Burying-place, as alſo where he had not.

‘The Third appoints the times the Tythes ſhould be paid at; and what Remedy was to be had, in caſe they were not paid at the time when they were due.

‘The Fourth ordains at what time of the year *Peter-pence* ſhould be paid; and the Penalty that ſhould be incurred by thoſe that ſhould neglect to pay them in accordingly.

‘The laſt ordains every *Sunday* to be kept holy, and to begin at Three a Clock in the Afternoon on *Saturday*, and to end at break of day on *Monday*, upon the penalty appointed by the Judiciary Book.

From which laſt Law you may obſerve, how early keeping the *Sunday* like the *Jewiſh* Sabbath, began in *England*.

Then follow the Secular, or Temporal Laws.

‘The Firſt of which enjoins, that every man poor or rich enjoy the benefit of the Law, and have equal Juſtice done him; and for Puniſhments he would have them ſo moderated, that being accommodated to the Divine Clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto men.

‘The Second forbids Appeals to the King in Suits, except Juſtice cannot otherwiſe be obtained. And if a man be oppreſſed he may betake himſelf to the King for relief; and in caſe a Pecuniary Mulct be inflicted for a fault, it muſt not exceed the value of the man's head.

From whence we may gather, that Fines at this time were not Arbitrary, nor could be ſet above a known conſtant Rate; ſuch as a man, according to his Quality, was able to pay, without the loſs of his Life or Liberty.

‘The Third impoſes a Mulct of an Hundred and twenty Shillings to the King, upon a Judge that paſſes an unjuſt Sentence againſt any man, except ſuch Judge will take his Oath that he did it not out of any malice, but only from Unſkilfulneſs, and Miſtake in Judgment; and in ſuch caſe he is to be removed from his Place, except he can obtain favour of the King longer to retain it; and then the Biſhop of the Dioceſs is to ſend the Mulct impoſed upon him to the King's Treaſure.

‘The Fourth commands, That whoſoever maliciouſly ſhall defame another man, whereby he receives any damage either in his Body or Eſtate, ſo that the defam'd Party can clear himſelf of thoſe Reports, and prove them falſe, then the Defamer's Tongue ſhall either be cut out, or he ſhall redeem it with the value of his Head.

‘The Fifth is to the ſame effect as in another Law we have formerly cited, commanding every one to be preſent at the *Gemote*, or Aſſembly of the Hundred; and further ordains, That the *Burghmotes*, or Aſſemblies of the great Towns or Cities, be held thrice a year, and the *Shiregemotes*, or general Meeting of the whole County twice, whereat were to be preſent the Biſhop and the Ealdormen, the one to teach the people God's Law, and the other Man's.

From whence you may obſerve the Antiquity of our Charges at our Aſſizes and Seſſions, which no doubt do ſucceed thoſe Diſcourſes which the Ealdorman and Biſhop then made to the people upon the ſubjects above-mentioned.

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‘The Sixth requires, that every man find Sureties for his Good Behaviour; and in caſe any one commit a Crime, and fly for it, the Sureties ſhould undergo what ſhould be laid upon him. If he ſtole any thing, and be taken within a Twelvemonth, he ſhould be brought to Juſtice, and then the Sureties ſhould receive back what they had paid on his account.

Hence we may alſo take notice, not only of the Antiquity of *Frank-Fledges*, which had been long before inſtituted by King *Alfred*, but alſo the continuation of this Law by King *Edgar*; from whence it appears, that it was no *Norman* invention, introduced to keep under the *Engliſh* Commonalty, as ſome men have without any juſt cauſe imagined.

‘The Seventh ordains, That when any one of evil report is again accuſed of a Crime, and abſents himſelf from the *Gemotes*, or publick Meetings, ſome of the Court ſhall go where he dwells, and take Sureties for his Appearance, if they may be had; but if they cannot get them, then they ſhould take him alive or dead, and ſeize on all his Eſtate; whereof the Complaining Party having received ſuch a ſhare as ſhould ſatisfy him, the one half of the remainder ſhall go to the Lord of the Soil, and the other half to the Hundred: And if any of that Court (being either akin to the Party, or a ſtranger to his Blood) refuſe to go to put this in execution, he ſhould forfeit 120 ſhillings to the King: And farther, That ſuch as are taken in the very act of ſtealing, or betraying their Maſters, ſhould not be pardoned during life.

‘The Eighth and laſt ordains, That one and the ſame Money ſhould be current throughout the King's Dominions, which no man muſt refuſe; and that the meaſure of *Wincheſter* ſhould be the Standard; and that a *Weigh* of Wool ſhould be ſold for half a Pound of Money, and no more. The former of theſe is the firſt Law whereby the Private Mints to the Archbiſhops and ſeveral Abbots being forbid, the King's Coin was only to paſs.

But to return to our Annals: ‘Ten days before the Death of King *Edgar*, Biſhop *Cyneward* departed this life.

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King

King EDWARD, ſirnamed the Martyr.

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KING *Edgar* being dead, (as you have now heard) Prince *Edward* ſucceeded his Father, though not without ſome difficulty, for (as *William* of *Malmeſbury*, and *R. Hoveden* relate) the Great Men of the Kingdom were then divided, Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, and all the reſt of the Biſhops, being for Prince *Edward*, the Eldeſt Son of King *Edgar*; whilſt Queen *Ælfreda*, Widow to the King, and many of her Faction, were for ſetting up her Son *Ethelred*, being then about Seven Years of Age, that ſo ſhe might govern under his Name: But beſides, the pretence was, (which how well they made out, I know not) That King *Edgar* had never been lawfully married to Prince *Edward's* Mother. Whereupon the Archbiſhops, *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald*, with the Biſhops, Abbots, and many of the Ealdormen of the Kingdom, met together in a Great Council, and choſe Prince *Edward* King, as his Father before his Death had ordained; and being thus *Elected*, they preſently Anointed him, being then but a Youth of about Fifteen Years of Age.

But it ſeems, not long after the Death of King *Edgar*, though before the Coronation of King *Edward*, *Roger Hoveden*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, tell us, that *Elfer* Earl of the *Mercians*, being luſtily bribed by large Preſents, drove the Abbots and Monks out of the Monaſteries, in which they had been ſettled by King *Edgar*, and in their places brought in the *Clerks* (*i.e.* Secular Chanons) with their Wives; but *Ethelwin*, Ealdorman of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Brythnoth*, oppoſed it; and being in the Common Council or Synod, plainly ſaid, They would never endure that the Monks ſhould be caſt out of the Kingdom, who contributed ſo much to the Maintenance of Religion; and ſo raiſing an Army, they bravely defended the Monaſteries of the *Eaſt Angles*; ſo it ſeems that during this *Interregnum*, aroſe this Civil War about the Monks, and the above-mentioned Diſſention amongſt the Nobility, concerning the *Election* of a new King.

But this ſerves to explain that Paſſage in our Annals, which would have been otherwiſe very obſcure; *viz.* 'That then there was (*viz.* upon the Death of King *Edgar*) great Grief and Trouble in *Mercia*, among thoſe that loved God, becauſe many of his Servants, (that is, the Monks) were turned out, till God being ſlighted, ſhewed Miracles on their behalf; and that then alſo Duke *Oſlack* was unjuſtly baniſhed beyond the Seas; a Nobleman, who for his Long Head of Hair, but more for his Wiſdom, was very remarkable: And that then alſo ſtrange Prodigies were ſeen in the Heavens, ſuch as Aſtrologers call *Comets*; and as a Puniſhment from God upon this Nation, there followed a great Famine.

Which ſhews this Copy of the Annals was written about this very 'time: And then the Author concludes with *Ælfer* the Ealdorman's commanding many Monaſteries to be ſpoiled, which King *Edgar* had 'commanded Biſhop *Athelwold* to repair. All which being in the *Cottonian* Copy, ſerves to explain what has been already related. But the next year

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'Was the great Famine in *England*, as juſt now mentioned. About the ſame time, (according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle) *Æneon*, the Son of *Owen* Prince of *South-Wales*, deſtroyed the Land of *Gwyr* the ſecond time.

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This year, after *Eaſter*, was that great Synod at *Kirtlingtun*, which *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *R. Hoveden*, call *Kyrleing*; but where that place was is very uncertain; *Florence* places it in *Eaſt-England*, but Sir *H. Spelman* acknowledges, that he does not know any place in thoſe parts, that ever bore that name, but ſuppoſes it to have been the ſame with *Cartlage*, (now the Seat of the Lord *North*): But had not *Florence* placed it in *Eaſt-England*, that Town whoſe name comes neareſt to it, is *Kyrtlington* in *Oxfordſhire*; which is alſo the more confirmed by that which follows in theſe Annals, *viz.* That *Sydeman* ~~the~~ Biſhop of *Devonſhire* (*i. e.* of *Wells*) died here ſuddenly, who deſired his Body might be buried at *Krydeanton*, his Epiſcopal See; but King *Edward* and Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* order'd it to be carried to St. *Maries* in *Abingdon*, where he was honourably Interr'd in the *North* Iſle of St. *Paul*'s Church: Therefore it is highly probable, that the place where this Biſhop died, was not far from *Abingdon*, where he was buried, as *Kirtlington* indeed is: But what was done in this Council can we no where find; only it is to be ſuppoſed that it was concerning this great Difference between the Monks and the Secular Chanons, as the former Council was.

The ſame year alſo were great Commotions in *Wales*; for *Howel ap Jevaf*, Prince of *North-Wales*, with a great Army both of *Welſh* and *Engliſhmen*, made War upon all who defended or ſuccoured his Uncle *Jago*, and ſpoiled the Countries of *Lhyn*, *Kelynnoc*, *Vawr*; ſo that *Jago* was ſhortly after taken Priſoner by Prince *Howel*'s men, who after that enjoyed his part of the Countrey in peace.

* Julius, *D.* 6.

Nor can I here omit what ſome of our *Monkiſh* Writers, and particularly *John Pike* in his compendious Supplement of the Kings of *England*, (now in *Manuſcript* in the * *Cottonian* Library) relates, That there being this year a Great Council held at *Wincheſter* again to debate this great Affair concerning the turning out of the Monks, and reſtoring the Secular Chanons, and it being like to be carried in their favour, a Crucifix which then ſtood in the room, ſpoke thus, *God forbid it ſhould be ſo*; This amazing them, they reſolved to leave the Monks in the condition they then were. x But whether theſe words were ever ſpoke at all, or if they were, whether it might not be by ſome perſon that ſtood unſeen behind the Crucifix, I ſhall leave to the Reader to determine as he pleaſes.

x [illegible] borrow [illegible] life of St. [illegible] [illegible]

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'Next year all the Grave and Wiſe Men of the *Engliſh* Nation being 'met about the ſame Affair, at *Calne* (in *Wiltſhire*) fell down together 'from a certain Upper Room, (where they were aſſembled in Coun'cil) unleſs it were St. *Dunſtan* the Archbiſhop, who fixed his foot up'on a certain Beam; but ſome were ſadly bruiſed and hurt, whilſt 'others were killed outright.

But ſince *William* of *Malmesbury* hath given us a larger account of this Council, and what was done in it, I ſhall give it you in his words:

But mens minds being not yet ſettled, another Council was ſummoned at *Calne* in *Wiltſhire*, (but the King was abſent by reaſon of his Youth) where the ſame Affair was again debated with great Heat and Contenion: But when many Reproaches were caſt upon Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, that Bulwark of the Church, who could by no means be ſhaken, upon a ſudden the Floor of the Chamber fell down, all there preſent being ery much bruiſed, except *Dunſtan*, who eſcaped upon a Beam; all the eſt being either hurt or killed. This Miracle, ſays he, obtained quiet for the Archbiſhop and all the Monks of *England*, who were for ever fter of his opinion.

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This Accident is alſo related by *Mat. Weſtminſter*, and copied by Cardinal *Baronius* into his Annals, and is likewiſe mentioned by other Authors. But it is very probable, that this Misfortune did not happen without the fore-knowledge (if not the Contrivance) of Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, ſince he had now perſuaded the King not to be there, though e was preſent at the laſt Council. But *H. Huntington* would have it e a ſign from Heaven, that they ſhould fall from God's love, and be ppreſs'd by Foreign Nations; as followed not long after.

And (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*) there was a Third Syod at *Ambresbury*; but what was done there, he does not tell us.

But to return to our Annals; 'The ſame year King *Edward* was killed at *Corfeſgeate*, now *Corfe-Caſtle* in the Iſle of *Purbeck*, on the 15th of the *Kalends* of *April*, and was buried at *Werham*, without any Royal Pomp. There was not ſince the time that the *Engliſh* Nation came into *Britain*, any thing done more wickedly than this: But though men murthered him, yet God exalted him; and he that was an Earthly King, is now a Saint in Heaven; and though his Relations would not revenge his Death, yet God perform'd it ſeverely. The ſt to the ſame effect in theſe Annals I omit, becauſe I would not be dious. But I ſhall give you a more particular account of the manner this Prince's Death, from *William* of *Malmesbury*, and the Chronicle lled *Bromton*'s; the former of which relates it thus; That as for King *dward*, he was of ſo extraordinary Religious and Mild a Nature, that r quietneſs ſake, he let his Mother-in-Law order all things as ſhe leaſed, giving her all Reſpects, as to his own Mother, and regarding s Younger Brother with all the tenderneſs imaginable: She on the ntrary, from his Kindneſs and Love, conceives greater and more imacable Malice againſt him; and with the Sovereignty ſhe already enyed, was ſo ill ſatisfied, that ſhe muſt needs take from him the very itle alſo: This Deſign ſhe covered with notable diſſimulation, till a nvenient opportunity preſented it ſelf for the execution of it: At ngth the poor Innocent Prince being one day wearied with hunting, d being very thirſty, (while his Companions followed the Game, d minded not what became of him) knowing that the Queen's ouſe was not far off, rode thither all alone, fearing nothing, becauſe his own Innocence, and ſuppoſing every one meant as honeſtly as mſelf.

Whereupon the Queen receives him with all the ſeeming kindneſs aginable, and fain would have had him to light from his Horſe, but e refuſing that, and only asking to ſee his Brother, ſhe cauſed ſome rink to be preſently brought him; but whileſt the Cup was at his outh, one of her Servants, privately before inſtructed, ſtabbed him

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with a Dagger in the Back. He, exceedingly aſtoniſhed at this unexpected ill treatment, clapp'd Spurs to his Horſe, and fled away as faſt as he could towards his Company; but the Wound being Mortal, and he ſpent with loſs of blood, fell to the ground, and having one foot in the Stirrup, was dragged through By-ways; but being trac'd by his Blood by thoſe ſhe ſent after him, they brought back the Dead Corps, which they buried privately at *Werham*, where they imagin'd they had alſo buried his Memory as well as his Body; but the place of his Sepulture (as it's ſaid) ſoon grew famous for Miracles. and his body was removed from thence to the Church of Shaftesbury by Elpher Duke of the Mercians. Hist. Reg. Hoveden.

Queen *Elfreda* was upon this ſo convinced of her Wickedneſs, that from her Courtly and Delicate Way of Living, ſhe betook her ſelf to very ſevere Penances, as wearing Hair-cloath, ſleeping on the ground without a Pillow, with ſuch other Auſterities as were uſed in that Age; ~~and~~ w herein ſhe continued all her life.

So fell this good King *Edward*, after he had only born the Name of King Three years and an half; who for his Innocence, and the Miracles ſuppoſod to be wrought after his Death, obtained the Sirname of *Martyr*: Which opinion of his Sanctity was the more confirmed by the ~~other~~ great Miſeries which ſhortly after befel the Land; which the people did verily believe were inflicted on ~~them~~ as his Judgments for his Murther.

This year (according to *Florence*) a ſtrange Cloud appeared about Midnight all over *England*, being firſt ſeen of the Colour of Blood, then of Fire, and then like a Rainbow of divers Colours.

King

King ETHELRED.

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IMmediately after the unfortunate Murther of King *Edward*, there being no other Male Iſſue of King *Edgar* left alive, *Ethelred* his Brother was without any difficulty Elected, as the Ancient Annals of *Thorney* Abby, preſerved in the * *Cottonian* Library, relate; and was alſo Crowned King by the Archbiſhops *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald*, and ten other Biſhops, at *Kingſton*, the 8th *Kal. May*; he being (as *R. Hoveden* deſcribes him) a Youth of a moſt Comely Aſpect, but not being above Twelve Years of Age, ***William*** of ***Malmesbury*** gives us this ſhort Character of Him and his Reign: That he rather diſtreſſed than governed the Kingdom for Seven and thirty years; that the courſe of his Life was cruel at the beginning, miſerable in the middle, and diſhonourable in the concluſion: To Cruelty he attributes the Death of his Brother, which he ſeemed to approve of, becauſe he did not puniſh; he was remarkable for his Cowardice and Lazineſs; and miſerable in reſpect of his Death. His Sluggiſhneſs was predicted by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, when at his Chriſtening he ſuperadded his own Water to that of the Font; and thereupon *Mat. Weſtminſter* makes him to ſwear, *By God and St. Mary*, this Boy will prove a Lazy Fellow: But all this looks like a Monkiſh Story, invented by thoſe who did not love his Memory; ſince the ſame thing, though of ſomewhat a groſſer nature is likewiſe related of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, from thence named *Copronymus*.

Yet ſure it was no ſign of ill nature, if what *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Bromton*'s Chronicle relate, be true, That when he wept at the News of his Brother's Death, it put his Mother into ſuch a violent Paſſion, that having not a Rod by her, ſhe beat him ſo unmercifully with a Wax Taper which ſhe then light upon, that he was almoſt dead; which cauſed in him ſuch an averſion to Wax-Lights ever after, that he could never endure any ſuch to be brought before him. But this ſounds too Romantick, and therefore I leave it to the Reader's diſcretion what credit to give it.

But to come to ſomewhat more certain and material; all Authors agree, that Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* crown'd this King with great reluctancy; yet he was forced to do it, as not having any of the Blood Royal fit to ſet up: But becauſe the Monks will have their St. *Dunſtan* to have had the Spirit of Prophecy (like the Prophets in the Old Teſtament) they relate, that denouncing God's Judgments againſt this King at his Coronation, he ſaid thus, *Becauſe thou haſt aſpired to the Kingdom by the Death of thy Brother, thus ſaith the Lord God, The Sin of thine Ignominious Mother ſhall not be expiated, neither the Sin of thoſe that were her Counſellors, but by great Bloodſhed of thy miſerable People; for ſuch Miſeries ſhall come upon* England, *as it never underwent ſince it had that name.* But this Doom was very unjuſt; for it is certain that the King never knew of, nor deſired his Brother's Death; and it was very hard to denounce God's Judgments upon the whole Nation, for the Contrivance of one wicked Woman, and which was put in execution by but a few of her Accomplices: So that if the Nation was guilty of any fault,

* Nero c. 7.

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it was only in ſo far conniving at the Crime, as out of fear or partiality, to permit the Authors of it to paſs unpuniſhed ; and for this the Biſhops, they having then ſo great a ſway in the whole Council of the Nation, had as much to anſwer for, as any of the *Laity:* But paſſing by God's Judgments, which are too deep for us to fathom , About this time (as the *Welſh* Chronicles relate) *Cuſtenyn Dhu* (i. e. *Conſtantine* the Black) Son to Prince *Jago* (then a Priſoner) hired *Godfryd* the *Dane* to bring his men againſt his Couſin *Howel ap Jevaf*, Prince of *North-Wales*; ſo joining their Forces together, they deſtroyed *Angleſey* and *Lhyn:* Whereupon Prince *Howel* gathered an Army, and ſetting upon the *Danes* and *Welſhmen* (who aſſiſted them), at a place called *Gwayth Horborth*, routed them, and *Conſtantine* was ſlain. I ſhall now return to our Annals, which under the next year relate, That

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'Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* and *Elfer* the Ealdorman, having taken up the 'Body of King *Edward*, which lay buried at *Werham*, they carried and 'buried it at *Scaftesbyrig*, (i. e. *Shaftsbury*) with great Funeral Pomp. The occaſion of which Removal by *Elfer*, Earl of the *Mercians* (according to *Bromton*'s Chronicle) was that old ſign of an *Engliſh Saxon* Saint (ſo often repeated in this Hiſtory) whether true or falſe, I ſhall not affirm ; *viz.* a Column of Light ſtreaming down from Heaven, over the place where his Body lay buried ; as alſo, that when it was taken up out of the Grave, it was as whole and uncorrupt as when it was firſt buried three years before ; whereupon having waſhed and dreſſed it in new Cloathes, they buried it with great Solemnity at the Monaſtery above-mentioned, where his Siſter *Edith*, the Daughter of King *Edgar* by *Wulfritha* the Nun, was then her ſelf profeſſed. But as for the ſtrange Miracles which are here related to have been done at his Tomb, I willingly omit them. But *William* of *Malmesbury* further adds about this Queen *Elfreda*, That ſhe took upon her the Habit of a Nun at *Werewell*, a Nunnery which ſhe lately founded, and there paſſed the reſt of her days in great Auſterities and Devotions : She alſo about the ſame time built another Nunnery at *Ambresbury* in *Wiltſhire* ; this being the uſual way to expiate the moſt horrid Murthers in thoſe dark times.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxxi.

'This year came ſeven *Daniſh* Ships (full of Pyrates) and deſtroy'ed *Southampton* ; and (as *Florence* adds, though under the year before) plundered the Town, and either killed or carried away the Townſmen Priſoners. *William* of *Malmesbury* alſo takes notice of this, becauſe they were ſo much talked of, as being the firſt that had invaded *England* after above 60 years intermiſſion, and were only the forerunners of many more that follow'd : To which we may alſo refer that which is added by *Simeon* of *Durham* under the year before, but ſhould be put under this ; That the ſame Fleet alſo waſted *Tænetland*, (that is, the Iſle of *Thanet*) ; and the ſame year alſo the Province of *Cheſter* was much ſpoiled by the *Norwegian* Pyrates.

The ſame year the *Daniſh* Pyrates landed in *Cornwal*, and burnt the Church and Monaſtery of St. *Petroc*. Alſo *Godfryd* the Son of *Harold* the *Dane*, landed with a great Army of his Countreymen in *Weſt-Wales*, where ſpoiling all the Land of *Dyvet*, with the Church of St. *Davids*, he fought the Battel of *Lhanwanoc* ; though who had the Victory, the *Welſhmen* or the *Danes*, *Caradoc*'s Chronicle (which gives us this relation) does not tell us.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxxii.

This year, according to *R. Hoveden*, Three Ships of theſe Pyrates landed in *Dorſetſhire*, and ſpoiled the Iſle of *Portland*: The ſame year alſo the City of *London* was miſerably deſtroyed by Fire.

About this time alſo, according to the ſame Author, *Alfred* an Ealdorman, or *Engliſh* Earl, joining (as the *Welſh* Manuſcript Annals relate) with *Howel* the Son of *Edwal*, deſtroyed *Brecknock*, and ſpoil'd a great part of the Lands of *Owen* Prince of *South-Wales*; againſt whom *Eneon* the Son of the ſaid *Owen*, and *Howel* King of *North Wales*, raiſing an Army, met with them, and totally defeated them; ſo that the greateſt part of Earl *Alfred*'s Army was ſlain, and the reſt put to flight.

Alſo about this time the Churches of *Wales* began firſt to acknowlege the Superiority of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, *Gacon* Biſhop of *Landaffe* being now conſecrated by *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxxiii.

This year *Ælfer* the Ealdorman deceaſed, and *Ælfric* his Son took his Government; ſome of the Monks further add, That he was eaten up with Lice; the reaſon is plain, for this *Ælfer* had not long before turn'd the Monks out of their Cloyſters (as you have heard), and they ſeldom fail'd to revenge ſuch an Affront upon thoſe that did ſo, either alive or dead.

And the ſame year the Gentlemen of *Gwentland* in *Southwales* rebelled againſt their Prince, and cruelly ſlew *Eneon* the Son of Prince *Owen*, though he came only to appeaſe them: This *Eneon* was a Gallant Young Prince, that did many brave Actions for the Defence of his Countrey in his Father's life time; he left behind him Two Sons, *Edwyn* and *Theodore*, from whom deſcended the Princes of *South-Wales*.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxxiv.

'This year deceaſed *Athelwald* that good Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who 'was the Father of the Monks. And well might they call him ſo; for he rebuilt or repaired above a dozen great Monaſteries; ſo that (as *William* of *Malmesbury* obſerves) it is a great wonder how a Biſhop's Purſe could afford to do that in thoſe days, which a King could ſcarce perform when he wrote; but the wonder will be much abated when we conſider that he had the King's Purſe at his command, beſides thoſe of other people, who then looked upon ſuch Works as meritorious. But to return to our Annals.

'*Elfeage*, whoſe ſirname was *Goodwin*, ſucceeded *Athelwald*, and 'was conſecrated 14. *Kal. Novemb.* but was enthron'd at *Wincheſter*, at 'the Feaſt of St. *Simon* and *Jude* *R. Hoveden* tells us, he was firſt Abbot of *Bathe*, and then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but at laſt was killed by the *Danes*, being a man of great Sanctity of Life.

Alſo the ſame year *Howel ap Jevaf*, Prince of *North-Wales*, came into *England* with an Army, where he was fought with and ſlain in Battel; but the place is not mentioned. This *Howel* having no Iſſue, his Brother *Cadwalhan* ſucceeded him.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxxv.

'This year, according to the *Saxon* Annals, *Ælfric* the Ealdorman 'was baniſh'd the Land. *Mat. Weſtminſter* ſtiles him Earl of *Mercia*, and ſays he was Son to Earl *Alfure*; but neither of them inform us of the Crime for which he ſuffered that Puniſhment.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxxvi.

'King *Ethelred* laid waſte the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter*; and alſo there 'was a great Mortality of Cattel in *England*. *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *R. Hoveden*, do here add much light to our Annals; That the King

becauſe

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becauſe of ſome Diſſentions between him and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, beſieged that City, but not being able to take it, went and waſted the Lands of St. *Andrew*, (*i. e.* thoſe belonging to that Biſhoprick); but being commanded by the Archbiſhop to deſiſt from his Fury, and not provoke the Saint to whom that Church is dedicated, the King deſpiſed his Admonition, till ſuch time as he had an Hundred Pounds ſent to him, and then he drew off his Forces; but the Archbiſhop abhorring his ſordid Covetouſneſs, is there ſaid to have denounced fearful Judgments againſt him, though they were not to be inflicted till after the Archbiſhop's death.

This year, as the *Welſh* Chronicles relate, *Meredyth*, Son to *Owen* Prince of *South-Wales*, entred *North-Wales* with what Forces he could raiſe, and ſlew *Cadwalhon ap Jevaf* in a Fight, together with *Meyric* his Brother, and conquered the whole Countrey to himſelf: Wherein we may obſerve how God puniſhed the wrong which *Jevaf* and *Jago* did to their eldeſt Brother *Meyric*, who being diſinherited, had his eyes put out; for firſt *Jevaf* was impriſoned by *Jago*, as *Jago* himſelf was by *Howel* the Son of *Jevaf*, and then this *Howel*, and his Brethren *Cadwalhon* and *Meyric* were ſlain, and loſt their Dominions.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxxvii.

'This year *Weedport* (that is, *Watchet* in *Somerſetſhire*) was deſtroy- 'ed by the *Danes*.

About this time (as appears by the Charter in the *Monaſt. Angl. p.* 284.) the Abby of *Cerne* in *Dorſetſhire*, was founded by *Ailmer* Earl of *Cornwall*, near to a Fountain, where it was ſaid that St. *Auguſtine* had formerly baptized many Pagans. And where alſo long after, Prince *Edwold*, Brother to St. *Edmund* the Martyr, quitting his Countrey, then over run by the *Danes*, lived and died an Hermit. But it ſeems from the Manuſcript Hiſtory of *Walter* of *Coventry*, this Abby was only enlarged by this Earl *Ailmer*, having been built ſome years before by one *Alward*, his Father, a Rich and Powerful Perſon in thoſe Parts.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxxviii

'*Goda* a *Thane* was killed, and there was a great Slaughter. But the ſame Author laſt mentioned, writing from ſome other Copy of Annals, relates this Story another way; That this *Goda* being Earl of *Devonſhire*, together with one *Strenwald* a valiant Knight, marching out to fight the *Danes*, they were both there killed; but there being more of them deſtroyed than of the *Engliſh*, the latter kept the field. But to return to our Annals;

'This year *Dunſtan*, that Holy Archbiſhop, exchanged this Terre- 'ſtrial Life for a Heavenly one; and *Ethelgar* (Biſhop of *Selſey*) ſuc- 'ceeded him, but lived not long after, (*viz.*) only One Year and Three 'Months. x

x the Author of [illegible] life [illegible] that he [illegible] [illegible]

This is that Great Archbiſhop, called St. *Dunſtan*, who was the Reſtorer of the Monkiſh Diſcipline in *England*; and who made a Collection of Ordinances for the *Benedictine* Order, by which he thought the Rule of that Order might be more ſtrictly obſerved in all the Monaſteries of *England*.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxxix.

'*Edwin* the Abbot (I ſuppoſe, of *Peterborough*) deceaſed; and *Wulf*- '*gar* ſucceeded him. The ſame year alſo Biſhop *Syric* was conſecrated 'Archbiſhop, in the room of *Ethelgar* abovementioned; and afterwards 'he went to *Rome*, to obtain his Pall.

[illegible] a place [illegible] pointed in his life time

This man is commonly written *Siricins*; but his Name in *Engliſh Saxon* was *Syric*, or *Sigeric*.

Anno Dom. Dccccxc.

About this time, according to the *Welſh* Chronicle, *Meredyth*, Prince of *North Wales*, deſtroyed the Town of *Radnor*; whilſt his Nephew *Edwin*, (or, as ſome Copies call him, *Owen*) the Son of *Eneon*, aſſiſted by a great Army of *Engliſh*, under Earl *Adelf*, ſpoiled all the Lands of Prince *Meredyth* in *South-Wales*, as *Cardigan*, &c. as far as St. *Davids*, taking Pledges of all the Chief Men of thoſe Countries; whilſt in the mean time Prince *Meredyth* with his Forces ſpoiled the Countrey of *Glamorgan*: So that no place in thoſe parts was free from Fire and Sword: Yet at laſt, Prince *Meredyth* and *Edwin* his Nephew, coming to an agreement, were made Friends. But whilſt *Meredyth* was thus taken up in *South-Wales*, *North-Wales* lay open to the *Danes*, who about this time arriving in *Angleſey*, deſtroyed the whole Iſle.

Anno Dom. Dccccxci.

'This year *Gipiſwic* was waſted by the *Danes* (this was *Ipſwich* in '*Suffolk*); and ſhortly after *Brightnoth* the Ealdorman was ſlain at *Mal*'*dune*. All which miſchief *Florence* of *Worceſter* tells us was done by the *Danes*, whoſe Captains were *Juſtin* and *Guthmund*, when the Perſon abovementioned, fighting with them at *Maldon*, there was a great multitude ſlain on both ſides, and the ſaid Earl or Ealdorman was ſlain there; ſo that the *Danes* had the Victory.

'The ſame year alſo (according to the Annals) it was firſt decreed, 'that Tribute ſhould be paid to the *Danes*, becauſe of the great Terror 'which they gave the Inhabitants of the Sea-Coaſt: The firſt Payment 'was Ten thouſand Pounds; and it is ſaid Archbiſhop *Syric* firſt gave 'this Counſel.

To which alſo *R. Hoveden* adds, That *Adwald* and *Alfric* the Ealdormen, join'd with him in it; but which (as *William* of *Malmesbury* well obſerves) ſerved only to ſatisfy for a time the Covetouſneſs of the *Danes*; and being a thing of infamous example, a generous Mind would never have been prevailed upon by any violence to have ſubmitted to; for when the *Danes* had once taſted the ſweetneſs of this Money, they never left off exacting ſtill more, ſo long as there was any left; but they now met with a weak and unwarlike Prince, moſt of whoſe Nobility were no better than himſelf; and ſo, as the ſame Author farther obſerves, they were fain to buy off thoſe with Silver, who ought to have been repell'd with Iron.

Anno Dom. Dccccxcii.

'This year *Oſwald*, that bleſſed Archbiſhop of *York*, departed this 'life; as alſo did *Ethelwin* the Ealdorman.

The former of them, *Simeon* of *Durham* tells us had the year before conſecrated the Abby Church of *Ramſey*, which the latter had newly founded; and as *Florence* adds, was buried in the Church of St. *Mary* in *Worceſter*, which he had newly built.

'The ſame year alſo the King and all his Wiſe and Great Men de'creed, That all the ſtronger Ships ſhould be got together at *London*; 'and the King made *Ealfric* and *Thorod* the Ealdormen, Admirals of 'this Fleet; as alſo *Ælfſtan* and *Æſtwig*, Biſhops; commanding them 'that they ſhould endeavour, if it were poſſible, to encompaſs the *Daniſh* 'Fleet; but *Ealfric* ſent to them underhand, to take care of themſelves; 'and the Night before they were to give Battel, he (to his perpetual 'Infamy) ſecretly withdrew himſelf from the King's to the *Daniſh* 'Fleet; ſo that all the *Danes* eſcaped by flight. But *Florence* is more plain than the Annals in the Relation of this Flight; and tells us, that the King's Fleet immediately purſued them, and took one of their Ships, Anno Dom. Dccccxcii. all the reſt eſcaping; only the **Londoners** meeting with the Ships of the *Eaſt-Angles* by chance, and fighting with them, killed many Thouſands of the *Danes*, and took the Ship wherein Earl *Ealfric* was, with all the men, himſelf hardly eſcaping.

The ſame year the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Angleſey*, having been cruelly haraſs'd by the *Danes*, and finding no Protection or Defence from *Meredyth* their Prince, then employed in other Wars (as you have already heard) they caſt him off, and received *Edwal ap Meyric*, the right Heir of *North-Wales*, for their Prince, who better defended his Subjects from Foreign Invaſions; for not long after, *Meredyth*, Prince of *North-Wales*, reſolving again to recover ſo conſiderable a part of his Dominion, entring *Angleſey*, Prince *Edwal* with his Forces met him at *Lhangwin*, and routed him in a ſet Battel; ſo *Theodor*, or *Tewdor Mawr*, Nephew to Prince *Meredyth*, was there ſlain, and he himſelf forced to fly.

Anno Dom. Dccccxciii. 'This year alſo (according to our Annals) *Unlaf*, (or *Anlaf*) the '*Dane*, came with Ninety three Ships as far as *Stane*, (now *Staines* up'on the River *Thames*), and there waſted the Countrey round about; 'and from thence they went to *Sandwic*, and from thence to *Gypſwic*, and 'ſpoiled all that Countrey.

But I ſuppoſe this is a Miſtake in the *Cambridge* Copy of theſe Annals; which repeat that Action of the *Danes*, together with the Death of Duke *Bryghtnoth*, which had been already ſaid in the *Laudean* and *Cottonian* Copies to have happened *Anno* 991; and therefore what follows, ſeems likewiſe miſplaced in this Copy, concerning the Receiving and Baptizing of this King *Anlaf*, which it makes to be the effect of the Victory now obtain'd; for *Anlaf* was not baptized till the year following; as will by and by appear.

But this is more certain which comes after; *viz.* 'That this year the 'Town of *Bebanburgh* (i.e. *Banborow* in *Northumberland*) was deſtroy'ed by the *Danes*, and a great Prey there taken; after which the *Danes* 'came up the River *Humber*, and did much miſchief as well to thoſe of '*Lindſige*, as the *Northumbers*: Then were muſter'd together a great 'number of Soldiers, but when they were going to give them Battel, 'they fled, the firſt Encouragers of their flight being their own Captains, '*Fræna*, *Godwin*, and *Frithegiſt*; (all Three of the *Daniſh* Race.)

'This year alſo (according to the ſame Copy) King *Ethelred* com'manded the Eyes of *Ealfric* the Ealdorman's Son, to be put out: But 'it does not tell us for what: But *William* of *Malmesbury* is more expreſs, and ſays it was a Puniſhment for his Father's Perfidiouſneſs; which if done now, was not only very unjuſt, to puniſh the Son for the Father's faults, but alſo ill tim'd, to do it ſo long after the Crime had been committed: But he further tells us, that he not only revolted once, but again; and ſo perhaps it was for this laſt Rebellion, that the King inflicted this cruel Puniſhment upon his Son; for had the Father been in his power, it is moſt likely he would have made him to have ſuffer'd himſelf: But this being ſo much in the dark, I ſhall leave it to the Reader to make what he pleaſe on't.

King Ethelred &

There having been for ſome time great Enmity between Richard Duke of *Normandy*, which it ſeems had broke out into open War, Pope ~~*John*~~ ſent *Leo* Biſhop of *Treve*, as his Nuncio, firſt to the King of *England*; who having received the Pope's Letters, called a Council of all the

[illegible]

XV

insomuch (that as the Chronicles of Normandy relate) the King about this time invaded Normandy with an Army transported for that purpose, which met with ill success it was put to rout and forced to return home by a great multitude of Paisants who took to defend their Country against these Invaders: which Pope John XV being sent he Great and Wiſe Men of the Nation; who agreed, That upon the Pope's Admonition, Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the Marqueſs of *Normandy*, (for ſo he is called) to treat of a Peace; and when they were there, the ſaid Marqueſs agreed to a laſting Peace, upon the Pope's Admonition x; ~~ſo that none~~ for the future ſhould receive each other's Enemies: All which appears in the Epiſtle of the ſaid Pope *John* concerning this affair; which is recited at large in *William* of *Malmesbury*, in his Reign of this King, to which I refer the Reader.

Anno Dom. Dcccccxciii.

x the Conditions were that King Ethelred should put away his Maistresses and treat his Queen Emma, sister to the Duke more kindly for the future his unkind usage haveing been the chief cause of this war and further agt [illegible] of them for the &c.

About this time, according to the *Welſh* Chronicles, *Sweyn*, the Son of *Harold* the *Dane*, having deſtroyed the Iſle of *Man*, enter'd *North-Wales*, and ſlew *Edwal ap Meyric* in Battel: This Prince left behind him one Son, an Infant, who at laſt came to be Prince of *Wales*: So that it ſeems there was an Anarchy in *North Wales* for ſome time; unleſs *Owen*, formerly expell'd, now recover'd his Principality; which my Author does not mention.

Anno Dom. Dcccccxciv.

'This year *Sigeric* (or *Syric*) Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, deceaſed, 'and *Ælfric* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was elected in his ſtead, on *Eaſter-*'Day, at *Ambresbyrig*, by King *Ethelred* and all his Wiſe Men. This 'ſame year alſo, *Anlaf* and *Sweyn* came to *London*, on the Nativity of 'St. *Mary*, with Ninety four Ships, and aſſaulted the City very ſharp-'ly, endeavonring to burn it; but here they received much more da-'mage than they believed it to be in the power of the Citizens ever to 'have done them; for the Holy Mother of God out of her great mercy 'took care of the Citizens, and delivered them from their Enemies: Or, as *William* of *Malmesbury* more plainly tells us, the Beſiegers deſpairing of taking the City, (becauſe the Citizens made ſo vigorous a defence) were forced to march away.

'But as they went off, they did as much miſchief as any Army ever 'did, by burning and waſting the whole Countrey thereabouts, and 'killing all the Inhabitants in *Eſſex*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*, as alſo in *Hampſhire*: And, as *Florence* relates, ſparing neither Man, Woman, nor Child.

'But at laſt they provided themſelves with Horſes, and riding where-'ever they pleaſed, did unſpeakable Miſchiefs: Whereupon it was or-'dained by the King and his *Wiſe Men*, That Meſſengers ſhould be ſent 'to them, promiſing them both Tribute and Proviſions, if they would 'deſiſt from their Spoil and Rapine: To which requeſt they conſented; 'and ſo the whole Army came to *Hamtune*, and there took up their 'Winter-Quarters; and in the mean time the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom was 'forced to maintain them; and Sixteen thouſand Pounds were given to 'them, beſides their maintenance.

'Then the King ſent Biſhop *Elfeage* to King *Anlaf*, as alſo *Æthelward* 'the Ealdorman; and leaving Hoſtages at the Ships, they brought *Anlaf* 'with great Honour to the King to *Andefer*, (that is, *Andover* in *Hamp-'ſhire*); then King *Æthelred* received him at his Confirmation, from 'the Biſhop's hand; whereupon *Anlaf* promiſed him (which he alſo 'performed) that he would never again infeſt the *Engliſh* Nation. And as *Florence* farther adds, he now returned into his own Countrey—

So it ſeems the Kingdom was rid of *Anlaf*; but what became of *Sweyen* or *Sweyn*, the Annals do not tell us; for we hear no more of him till *Anno* 1004, as you will find ~~by and by~~: So that whether he went away with *Anlaf*, or commanded thoſe who infeſted the Kingdom the

D next

Anno Dom.
Dccccxciv.

next year, is uncertain. But perhaps we may to this time refer that which *Adam* of *Bremen* relates of this King *Sweyn*, who having made "War upon his Father *Harwold* the Great, whom he outed of his Kingdom and Life together, was afterwards himſelf overcome, and expelled his Kingdom by *Ærick* King of *Sweden*; thus juſtly rewarded for his horrid Crimes, he wander'd up and down without relief. *Thrucco* the Son of *Haco*, then Prince of the *Normans*, rejected him as a Pagan; and *Ethelred* the Son of *Edgar* (he calls him *Adalred*) remembring what miſchiefs the *Danes* had brought on *England*, with ſcorn repell'd him: So that at length he was entertained by the King of the *Scots*, who taking compaſſion on him, gave him free Quarter for Fourteen years together. But ſo enraged was he at the repulſe given him by the King of *England*, that ever after he ſtudied all he could how to plague and afflict that Countrey, one while by his own particular Forces, and another by the aſſiſtance of others.

How true this Story is, we cannot affirm; the Affairs of the *Northern* Nations, as to thoſe Times, being involved in ſo great an obſcurity: However, we thought it not amiſs to give it you, as ſuiting with the Fortunes and Inclinations of this man, which proved ſo great a Plague to this our Countrey, that he ſeems to have been acted by ſome extraordinary Paſſion, whether of Ambition or Revenge, or both together. But to return to our Annals.

'This year alſo *Richard* the Elder (Duke of *Normandy*) died; and *Richard* his Son ſucceeded him, and reigned One and thirty years.

Anno Dom.
Dccccxcv.

'This year appeared a Comet. Alſo the ſame year, as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, *Aldune* Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, removed the Body of St. *Cuthbert*, which had for above an Hundred years remained at *Cunccæaſter*, that is, *Cheſter*, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, to the place where the City of *Durham* was afterwards built, it being then altogether uninhabited. Here Biſhop *Aldune* built a ſmall Church of Stone, dedicating it to St *Cuthbert*; and a Town being here ſhortly after built, it was called *Durham*.

'The Kingdom had reſt this year, as alſo the next; but

Anno Dom.
Dccccxcvii.

'The *Danes* ſail'd round about *Devonſhire*, to the mouth of the River *Severne*, and there took much Plunder, as well among the *North Welſh*, as in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*.

Yet here it ſeems that *North-Wales* was miſ-put in theſe Annals, inſtead of the *South*; for no part of the *Severn* Sea borders upon *North-Wales*.

'But after this, the *Danes* going up as far as *Wecedport*, (or *Watchet*) they did much hurt, both by burning the Houſes, and killing the Inhabitants whereever they came. After this they ſail'd round *Penwith-ſteort*, (*i. e.* the Point called the *Land's-End*) toward the *South* Coaſt, and ſailing up the River *Thames*, went with their Ships as far as *Hildaford* (now *Lideford*) burning and killing whatever they met, as they paſſed along: They alſo burnt the Monaſtery of *Ordulph*, which had been lately built by him at *Æteſingſtoce* (now *Taviſtock* in *Devonſhire*) and carried a very great deal of Plunder along with them to their Ships. This year alſo *Ælfric* the Archbiſhop went to *Rome* to obtain his Pall.

'Then

Anno Dom. Dccccxcviii.

'Then the *Danes* turned toward the *Eaſt* up the mouth of the River *Frome*, and there marched as far as they would into *Dorſeta*, (i. e. *Dorſetſhire*) where an Army got together againſt them ; but as often as the *Engliſh* fought with them, ſo often were they by ſome misfortune or other put to flight; ſo that the *Danes* ſtill obtain'd the Victory: After this they quarter'd in the Iſle of *Wight*, but fetch'd their Proviſions from *Hamptunſeire* and *Southſeax*.

Alſo this year, according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle, the *Danes* landing again in *South-Wales*, deſtroyed St. *Davids*, and ſlew *Vrgeney* Biſhop of that See: And now *Meredyth ap Owen*, Prince of *North-Wales*, deceaſed, leaving one only Daughter, who was married to *Lewelyn ap Sitſylt*, afterward in her Right Prince of *North-Wales*: But after the death of this Prince *Owen*, *Edwin* his Nephew, above-mentioned (as the Manuſcript Chronicle relates) poſſeſſed himſelf of *South-Wales*, and reigned there ſome years.

Anno Dom. Dccccxcix.

'This year the *Danes* ſail'd up the River *Thames*, and from thence went into the *Medway* to *Roſceaſter*, where the *Kentiſh* Forces met them, and there was a very ſharp Diſpute; but alas! they preſently gave place to their Enemies, and fled, becauſe they had not aſſiſtance enough; ſo that the *Danes* kept the field; and then getting Horſes, rode whereever they pleaſed, ſpoiling and laying waſte all the *Weſtern* part of *Kent*: Then it was ordained by the King and his *Wiſe Men*, that an Army ſhould be forthwith raiſed againſt them both by Sea and Land; but when the Ships were ready, they delayed the time from day to day, oppreſſing the poor people that ſerved on board; and if at any time the Fleet was ready to ſail, it was ſtill put off from one time to another, ſo that they ſuffered the Enemies Forces to increaſe; and when the *Danes* retired from the Sea-Coaſt, then our Fleet was wont to go out; ſo that at the laſt theſe Naval Forces ſerved for no other end, but to haraſs the People, ſpend their Money, and provoke the Enemy.

This year (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* with a great Army waſted the Province of the *Northumbers*, and beſieged *Durham*: At that time *Waltheof* Earl of the *Northumbers*, being very old, and unable to fight with the Enemies, encloſed himſelf in *Bebbanburgh*; whilſt *Vthred* his Son, a Valiant Young Man, aſſembling an Army out of *Northumberland* and *Yorkſhire*, fought with the *Scots*, and deſtroyed in a manner their whole Army, inſomuch that the King himſelf very hardly eſcaped: After this he made choice of a certain number of ſlain *Scotchmen*'s Heads, the beſt adorn'd with Hair he could get, and gave them to an Old Woman to waſh, allowing her for each Head a Cow for her pains; theſe Heads when waſh'd, he ſet upon high Poles round about the Walls of *Durham*.

King *Ethelred* being informed of this Action, ſent for the Young Man, and as a Reward for his Valour, not only gave him his Father's Countrey, but added to it that of *Yorkſhire*: Upon this *Vthred* returning home, diſmiſſed his Wife the Daughter of *Ældhure* Biſhop of *Durham*; but becauſe he caſt her off contrary to his Promiſe, he ſurrender'd up to her Six Mannors which the Biſhop her Father had given him with her. Then *Vthred* married *Siga*, the Daughter of *Styre*, the Son of *Vlfelme*.

Anno Dom. M. ‘The King marched into *Cumerland*, (i. e. *Cumberland*) and laid it ‘almoſt waſte; but neither our Annals, nor any other Author, tell us wherefore he made this War, nor upon whom it was made; but *John Fordon* in his *Scotch* Hiſtory gives us this Account of it; That King *Ethelred* having paid great Tributes to the *Danes*, ſent to *Malcolm* then Prince of *Cumberland*, under *Gryme* King of the *Scots*, commanding him that he ſhould make his Subjects of *Cumberland* pay part of this Tribute, as well as the reſt of the People of *England*; which he denying, ſent the King word, That neither he nor his Subjects ought to pay any Tribute, but only were obliged to be ready at the King's Command, to make War, together with the reſt of the Kingdom, whenever he pleaſed; for he ſaid it was much better to fight manfully, than only to buy Liberty with Money: For this cauſe, as well as for that the King affirmed that the Prince of *Cumberland* favoured the *Danes*, King *Ethelred* invaded that Countrey, and carried away great ſpoils from thence; but preſently after, the two Princes being reconciled, they entred into a firm Peace for ever after.

But to proceed with our Annals: ‘After the King had thus waſted ‘*Cumberland*, he commanded his Ships to ſail round by *Legceaſter* (i. e. ‘*Cheſter*) to meet him there; but they could not do it, by reaſon of the ‘contrary Winds; ſo they waſted the Iſland *Manige* (now called *An*‘*gleſey*); for the *Daniſh* Fleet was turned this Summer upon the Duke‘dom of *Normandy*. But the next year,

Anno Dom. MI. ‘Their Fleet being now returned into *England*, there aroſe great ‘Troubles in this Iſland, by reaſon of this Fleet, which every where ‘ſpoiled the Countries, and burnt the Towns; and landing, they ‘marched in one day as far as *Ætheling-gadene* (which is ſuppoſed to be ‘*Alton* in *Hampſhire*); but there the Forces of that County marched ‘againſt, and fought with them; and there *Æthelweard* the King's ‘*High Sheriff*, and *Leofric*, *Gerif* of *Whitcircan*, (i. e. *Whitchurch* in ‘*Hampſhire*) and *Leofwin* the King's *High-Sheriff*, and *Wulfer* the ‘Biſhop's *Thane*, and *Godwin* the *Gerif*, were all ſlain at *Weorthige*, ‘(the place is now unknown); as alſo *Ælfſige* the Biſhop's God-ſon, ‘and of all ſorts of men, Eighty one; yet many more of the *Danes* ‘were ſlain there, though indeed they kept the Field of Battel: But ‘from thence their Fleet ſail'd toward the *Weſt*, until they came to ‘*Devonſhire*, where met him *Pallig* with what Ships he could gather ‘together: He had revolted from King *Ethelred* divers times, notwith‘ſtanding his Faith plighted to him, and though the King had largely ‘rewarded him both with Lands and Money. Then they burnt *Teng*‘*ton* (i. e. *Taunton*) and many other good Towns, more than we can ‘now name; which being done, there was a League clapt up with ‘them: After this they went to *Exanmuthan* (i. e. *Exmouth*) from ‘whence they marched in one day to *Peanhoe* (now *Pen* in *Somerſet*‘*ſhire*), where *Cola* the King's *High-Sheriff*, and *Eadſig* the King's ‘*Gerif*, met them with what Forces they could; but they were put to ‘flight, and many of them ſlain, and the *Danes* kept the Field; ſo the ‘next morning they burnt the Towns of *Peanho*, and *Cliſtune*, (or ‘*Clifton*) and ſeveral other good Towns. Then the *Danes* returned ‘to the Iſle of *Wight*, and there one morning burnt the Town of *Wel*‘*tham*, with divers other Villages; and preſently after a League was ‘made with them, and they hearken'd to Terms of Peace.

But

Anno Dom. MI.

But the *Laudean* and *Cottonian* Copies differ very much from that of *Cambridge*, in the telling of this ſtory; for they make the *Danes* to have firſt ſailed up the River *Exe*, as far as *Eaxceſter*, and to have beſieged the City, but not being able to take it, they raiſed the Siege, and then marched all over the Countrey, killing and deſtroying whatever they met with; and that then a ſtrong Army of the *Devonſhire* and *Somerſetſhire* men fought with them at *Peanho*, with the ſucceſs above-mentioned. The reſt differs but little from the Printed Copy; but this laſt relation ſeems moſt likely to be true.

Anno Dom. MII.

'The year following it was decreed by the King and his *Wiſe Men*, That a Tribute ſhould be paid to the *Daniſh* Fleet, and Peace ſhould be concluded with them, upon condition that they would ceaſe from doing miſchief: Then the King ſent *Leoſſig* the Ealdorman to the Fleet, who treated with them on the behalf of the King and his Council of *Wiſe Men*, propoſing that they would be content with Proviſions and Money, which they agreed to: Then, not long after, they paid them Four and twenty thouſand Pounds. In the mean time *Leoſſig* the Ealdorman killed *Ælfric* the King's High Sheriff; upon which the King baniſhed the other the Kingdom. And the *Lent* afterwards came hither *Ælgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* ye first Duke of *Normandy*, to be married to the King.

'The ſame Summer *Eadulf* Archbiſhop of *York* deceaſed: And this year alſo the King commanded all the *Danes* in *England* to be ſlain at the Feaſt of St. *Brice*, becauſe it was told the King that they endeavoured to deprive him and all his Great and Wiſe Men of their lives, and to ſeize the Kingdom to themſelves without any oppoſition.

Matthew of *Weſtminſter* caſts the Odium of this Action from the King, and lays it upon one of his Evil Counſellors, whom he calls *Huena*, General of the King's Forces, who to manage the chief Affairs of the Kingdom: He ſeeing the Inſolencies of the *Danes*, and that after the late Agreement they were grown inſupportable to the Kingdom; for they violated the Wives and Daughters of Perſons of Quality, and committed divers other Injuries not to be endured: Thereupon he came in great ſeeming trouble to the King, making moſt diſmal Complaints of theſe unſpeakable Outrages; at which the King was ſo incenſed, that by the Counſel of the ſaid *Huena* he ſent private Letters into all parts of the Kingdom, commanding all his Subjects without exception, That upon a certain Day they ſhould every where privily ſet upon the *Danes*, and without mercy cut them off. In theſe Letters was alſo ſignified, that the *Danes* had a deſign to deprive him of his Life and Kingdom, and to deſtroy all the Nobility, in order to bring the whole Iſland under their ſubjection. And thus the *Danes*, who a little before by a League ſolemnly ſworn on both ſides, had been admitted quietly to inhabit among the *Engliſh*, were moſt treacherouſly and barbarouſly murthered, not many of them eſcaping; even the very Women were put to death, and their Children's Brains daſh'd out againſt the Walls; particularly at *London*, when this Bloody Decree was to be executed, many of the *Danes* fled into a certain Church of that City, but for all that it proved no Sanctuary to them, for they were all there cruelly murthered even at the very Altar.

H. Huntington moreover adds, That he himſelf being a Child, had heard it from certain Old Men, that by the King's Command Letters were

Anno Dom. MII.

were privately diſpatch'd all over *England*, to make away the *Danes* in one Night.

But ſo much Innocent Blood being thus perfidiouſly ſhed, cry'd aloud to Heaven for Vengeance, and the Clamours of it likewiſe quickly reached as far as *Denmark:* And *Walſingham* hath given us in his Hiſtory a particular Account of the manner of it; for on the day when this barbarous Decree was executed at *London*, certain young men of the *Daniſh* Nation being too nimble for their Purſuers, got into a ſmall Veſſel then in the *Thames*, and by that means eſcaped and fled to *Denmark*; where they certified King *Sweyn* of what had paſſed in *England*; who being moved with indignation at this treatment, thereupon called a great Council of all the Chief Men of his Kingdom, and declaring to them this Cruel Maſſacre, deſired their Advice what was beſt to be done: and they being inflamed with Rage and Grief for the loſs of ſo many of their Friends and Kindred, decreed with one conſent, That they ought to revenge it with all the Forces of their Nation: Upon which, great Preparations were made in the ſeveral Provinces, and Meſſengers ſent to other Nations, to deſire their Alliance with him, promiſing them their ſhare in the Spoils of that Countrey which they were going to conquer: So King *Sweyn* having got ready a vaſt Fleet of above Three hundred Sail, arrived in *England:* But as *Bromton*'s Chronicle relates,

Anno Dom. MIII.

The year following, *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, hearing of the Death of his Subjects, ſail'd with a mighty Fleet to the Coaſt of *Cornwall*, where he landed, and marched up to *Eaxceaſter*, which, (as our Annals tell us) ‘by the Careleſneſs or Cowardiſe of a certain *Norman*, one ‘Count *Hugh*, whom the Queen had made Governor there, the *Pagans* ‘took, and quite deſtroyed the City, and carried thence a great Booty. ‘Then a Numerous Army was raiſed from *Wiltſhire* and *Hampſhire*, and ‘being very unanimous, they all marched briskly againſt the *Danes*; ‘but *Ælfric* the Ealdorman, who commanded in chief, here ſhewed his ‘wonted tricks; for as ſoon as both Armies were in ſight of each other, ‘he feigned himſelf ſick, and began to vomit, pretending he had got ‘ſome violent Diſtemper, and by that means betray'd thoſe whom he ‘ought to have led to Victory; according to the Proverb, If the General's heart fails, the Army flies.

But though this was very ill done of *Ælfrick* thus to betray his truſt, yet certainly the King was no leſs to be blamed himſelf, for truſting a man that had ſo often betray'd him, and whom he had already ſufficiently provoked, by putting out the Eyes of his Son, as you have already heard.

But to return to our Annals: ‘*Sweyn* now finding the Cowar‘diſe or Inconſtancy of the *Engliſh*, marched with his Forces to *Wil‘tune*, which Town he burnt; from thence he marched to *Syrbi‘rig*, (i. e. *Old Sarum*) which they alſo burnt; and from thence to ‘the Sea-ſide to their Ships.

After the death of *Edwal ap Meyric*, and *Meredyth ap Owen*, Princes of *North-Wales*, as you have already heard, *North-Wales* having for ſome years continued under a ſort of Anarchy, without any Prince, *Meredyth* leaving behind him no Iſſue Male, and *Edwal* but one Son an Infant, it gave occaſion (as the *Welſh* Chronicles relate) to great diſturbances; for one *Aedan ap Blegored* (or *Bledhemeyd*, as the *Cottonian*

Copy

Anno Dom. MIII.

Copy of the *Welſh* Annals call him) tho an abſolute ſtranger to the *Britiſh* Blood-Royal, about this time poſſeſſed himſelf of the Principality of *North-Wales*, and held it about twelve years; but whether he came in by Election, or Force, is not ſaid; only that one *Conan ap Howel*, who fought with this *Aedan* for the Dominion, was this year ſlain in Battel: So that *Aedan* for a time held that Countrey peaceably, ſince we do not read of any other Wars he had, till the laſt year of his Reign.

Anno Dom. MIV.

'This year *Sweyn* came with his Fleet to *Northwick*, i. e. *Norwich*, (the River it ſeems being navigable up to it in thoſe days) and wholly deſtroyed and burnt that City; then *Ulſkytel* the Ealdorman conſulted with the Wiſe and Great Men of *Eaſt-England*, and by them it was judged moſt expedient to buy Peace of the *Daniſh* Army, to prevent their doing any more miſchief; for the *Danes* had taken them unprovided, before they had time to draw their Forces together: But theſe *Danes* not valuing the Peace which they had newly made, ſtole away with all their Ships, and ſailed to *Theatford*; which as ſoon as *Ulſkytel* had learnt, he ſent a Meſſenger with Commands to break or burn all their Ships (which notwithſtanding, the *Engliſh* neglected to do), whilſt he in the mean time tried to get together his Forces with what ſpeed he could: But the *Danes* coming to *Theodford* three Weeks after the deſtruction of *Norwich*, ſtayed within the Town of *Theodford* only one night, and then burnt and laid it in aſhes: But the next morning as they returned to their Ships, *Ulkytel* met with them, and there began a very ſharp Fight, which ended in a very great ſlaughter on both ſides, and abundance of the *Engliſh* Nobility were there killed; but if all the *Engliſh* Forces had been there, the *Danes* had never reached their Ships.

Vid. Monaſt. Angl.

But notwithſtanding theſe cruel Wars in the *Eaſtern* and *Southern* Parts of *England*, *Wulfric Spot*, an Officer in the Court of King *Ethelred*, now built the Monaſtery of *Burton* in *Staffordſhire*, and endowed it with all his Paternal Inheritance, which was very great, and gave that King Three hundred *Mancuſes* of Gold, to purchaſe his Confirmation of what he had done. This Monaſtery, though its Rents at the Diſſolution were ſomewhat below the Value of Five hundred Pounds *per Annum*, yet being an Abby of great Note in thoſe Parts, and alſo render'd more famous from its Annals publiſh'd at *Oxford*, I thought good to take particular notice of it.

Anno Dom. MV.

'This year *Ælfric* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed; and *Ælfeag* (Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) was made Archbiſhop.] But the *Laudean* and *Cottonian* Copies place this under the next year.

'So cruel a Famine alſo raged here, as *England* never ſuffer'd a worſe.] *Florence* relates the Famine to be ſo great, that *England* was not able to ſubſiſt.

'The ſame year alſo King *Sweyn* with the *Daniſh* Fleet ſail'd into *Denmark*; but in a ſhort time return'd hither again.

Anno Dom. MVI.

'This year *Ælfeage* was now conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Brightwald* took the Biſhoprick of *Wiltonſhire*; as alſo *Wulfgeat* was deprived of all his Honours, and *Wulfeath* had his Eyes put out. (Theſe were Noblemen who ſuffered under the King's diſpleaſure; but what the cauſe of it was, I find not.) And this year Biſhop *Kenwulph* deceaſed: Then after *Midſummer*, the *Daniſh*

'Fleet

Anno Dom. MVI. ‘Fleet came to *Sandwic*, and did as they uſed to do, killing, waſting, and plundering whatever they met with: Therefore the King commanded all the *Weſt Saxon* and *Mercian* Nations to be aſſembled, who kept watch all the Autumn by Companies, againſt the *Danes*; but all this ſignified no more than what they had done often before; for the *Danes* made no leſs Incurſions, but went whereever they pleaſed, and this Expedition did the people more damage than any Army could do.

‘Winter coming on, the *Engliſh* Forces return'd home, and the *Danes* about *Martinmaſs* retired to their old Sanctuary, the Iſle of *Wight*, whither they carried whatever they had need of; and afterwards about *Chriſtmaſs* they marched out to ſeek for freſh Proviſions in *Hamptunſhire* and *Berrocſeire*, as far as *Reading*; and havocking according to their uſual cuſtom, burnt the Beacons whereever they found them; and from thence they marched to *Wealingaford*, (i. e. *Wallingford*) which Town they wholly deſtroyed: Then marching to *Æſceſdune*, (now *Aſton*, near *Wallingford*) they came to *Cwicchelmeſlaw*, (now *Cuckamſley-hill* in *Berkſhire*) without ever touching near the Sea; and at laſt return'd home another way.

‘About the ſame time an *Engliſh* Army was muſtered at *Cynet*, (i. e. *Kennet* in *Wiltſhire*) where a Battel was fought, but the *Engliſh* Troops were immediately worſted; after which the *Danes* carried off all their Booty to the Sea-ſide. There might one have ſeen the *Wiltſhire* men (like a Cowardly ſort of people) ſuffer the *Danes* to return to the Sea-ſide, even juſt by their doors, with their Proviſions and Spoils. In the mean time the King marched over *Thames* into *Scrobbesbyrigſcire*, (i. e. *Shropſhire*) and there kept his *Chriſtmaſs*. At that time the *Danes* ſtruck ſo great a Terror into the *Engliſh* Nation, that no man could deviſe how to get them out of the Kingdom, nor how well to maintain it againſt them, becauſe they had deſtroyed all the Countries of the *Weſt-Saxons* with Burnings and Devaſtations. Then the King often conſulted with his *Wiſe Men* about what was beſt to be done in this caſe, whereby they might ſave the Countrey before it was quite ruined; and after mature deliberation, it was at length decreed by them all, for the Common Good of the Nation, (though much againſt their wills) That Tribute ſhould be again paid to the *Danes*. Then the King ſent to their Army, to let them know, that he was contented to enter into a Peace with them, and to pay them Tribute, and alſo find them Proviſions during their ſtay: To which Terms all the *Danes* aſſented: So it ſeems the whole *Engliſh* Nation was forced to maintain them. And the beginning of the year following,

Anno Dom. MVII. ‘This Tribute was again paid to them; to wit, Thirty thouſand Pounds. Alſo the ſame year *Ædric* was made Ealdorman over all the Kingdom of *Mercia*.

This *Ædric*, though he had married the King's Daughter, is characterized by all our Hiſtorians, for a Proud, Falſe, and Unconſtant Man; and who by his Treachery proved the Ruin of his Countrey, as well as of many particular Perſons of great Worth: For not long before, (as *Florence* relates) he made away *Athelme* that Noble Ealdorman at *Shrewsbury*, inviting him to a Feaſt, and afterwards carrying him out a hunting, where he hired the City-Hangman to ſet his Dog upon him, called *Porthund*, which tore him to pieces: And not long after his two Sons *Walfheage* and *Vfgeat* had their Eyes put out by the King's Order at *Cotham*, where he then reſided.

But

Anno Dom. MVII.

But we may hence obſerve, to how ſad a ſtate the Nation was reduced under a Voluptuous and Cowardly King, and a Degenerate Nobility: And the reaſon why the Annals ſay, *That the People's being kept in Arms all the Winter, did them as much harm as the Enemy*; was, becauſe having then no ſtanding Forces, the Countrey *Militia* were fain to be kept upon Duty at their own Charges, whilſt their Families were ready to ſtarve at home: *So impoſſible a thing it is to maintain any long War either at home or abroad, without a Standing Army.*

But now the King having too late perceived his Error, *viz.* That the greateſt Cauſe of his Ruin proceeded from the want of a good Fleet,

Anno Dom. MVIII

'He then commanded Ships to be built all over *England*; (to wit) to
'every Hundred and ten Hides of Land, one Ship; and of every Eight
'Hides a Helmet and Breaſt plate: And ſo by the next year,

Anno Dom. MIX.

'His Ships were all finiſhed, and they were both ſo many and withal
'ſo good, that (as our Hiſtories affirm) *England* never ſaw the like
'before: Then after they were all well mann'd and victual'd, they were
'brought to *Sandwic*, and there remain'd, in order to defend the King-
'dom againſt the Invaſion of Strangers; yet notwithſtanding all theſe
'Preparatives, the *Engliſh* Nation was ſo unhappy, that this great Fleet
'met with no better ſucceſs than often before; for it happen'd about
'this time, or a little ſooner, that *Brightric* (a falſe and ambitious man)
'the Brother of *Ædric* above mentioned, accuſed *Wulfnoth* a Thane of
'the *South Saxons*, (and Father of Earl *Godwin*) to the King; upon
'which *Wulfnoth* ſaving himſelf by flight, got together twenty Ships,
'and with them turning Pyrate, took Prizes all round the *Southern* Coaſt,
'and did a world of miſchief; but as ſoon as it was told the King's
'Fleet, that they might eaſily ſurprize him if they would but cruiſe
'about that place, *Brightric* upon this taking Eighty Sail along with
'him, had mighty hopes by ſeizing of him either alive or dead, to make
'himſelf ſignally famous; but as he was ſailing thither, ſo great a Tem-
'peſt aroſe, as never had been in the memory of man, by which all his
'Fleet was ſhipwrack'd, or ſtranded on the ſhore; and *Wulfnoth* coming
'thither preſently after, burnt all the reſt that were left. Now when
'this News came to that part of the Fleet where the King was in Perſon,
'the whole Action ſeem'd to be undertaken very precipitately, without
'any good Advice at all. And thereupon the King with all his Ealdor-
'men and Great Men return'd home, leaving both the Ships and Men to
'ſhift for themſelves: But thoſe that were in them, carried them up to
'*London.* And thus did all the Labour and Expence of the whole Na-
'tion come to nothing, without in the leaſt diminiſhing the Power of
'their Enemies as the people hoped they would have done.

'When all theſe Naval Preparations were thus defeated, there arrived
'preſently after Harveſt a mighty Fleet of *Danes* at *Sandwic*; and af-
'ter they were landed they immediately marched to *Canterbury*, which
'City they would forthwith have deſtroyed, had they not humbly be-
'ſought a Peace of them: Upon which all the *Eaſt Kentiſh* men came
'and clapt up a Peace with the *Danes*, and purchaſed it at the Price of
'Three thouſand Pounds: But theſe Heathens preſently afterwards
'ſail'd round again, till they came to *Wihtland*, (i. e. the *Iſle of Wight*)
'and there, as alſo in *Southſeax*, *Hamtunſcire*, and *Bearruſcire*, they
'plunder'd and burnt Towns as they uſed to do: Hereupon the King
'com-

Anno Dom. MIX. ‘commanded the whole Nation to be ſummoned, that every Province ſhould defend it ſelf againſt them: But for all this, they ſtill marched whereever they pleaſed, without any body's diſturbing them: But one time when the King had hemm'd them in with his whole Army, as they were going to their Ships, and all his Forces were juſt ready to fall upon them, *Ædric* the Ealdorman hinder'd them, as he always did.

For, as R. *Hoveden* relates, he over-perſuaded the King by his cunning and plauſible reaſons, not to run the hazard of a Battel, but to let them go off if they would; and ſo they return'd to their Ships with a great deal of joy that they had ſo well got themſelves out of that Toil.

‘Then after *Martinmaſs* they return'd again into *Kent*, and took up their Winter-Quarters near the *Thames*, fetching their Proviſions from *Eſſex*, and thoſe Provinces that lay neareſt, on each ſide the River; and they frequently threatned the City of *London*, but (thanks be to God it had hitherto kept it ſelf ſafe), there they met with always but an ill reception.

‘After *Chriſtmaſs* they made an excurſion through *Cyltern*, (that is, the *Chiltern* or Woody Countrey of *Bucks*, and *Oxfordſhire*) and ſo to *Oxnaford*, and burnt that City, and having plunder'd on both ſides the *Thames*, they return'd to their ſhips; but when they heard that an Army was prepared ready againſt them at *London*, they again paſſed over the River at *Stanes*, and thus rambled about the Countrey all this Winter; yet about Spring they came again into *Kent*, and there refitted their ſhips.

Anno Dom. MX. ‘But preſently after *Eaſter* the *Daniſh* Army marched out againſt the *Engliſh*, and going on ſhore at *Gypeſwic* (i. e. *Ipſwich*) went directly thither, where they knew Earl *Ulfkitel* was encamp'd with his Forces; this happen'd on *Aſcenſion-day* in the morning; ſo the *Eaſt Engliſh* preſently fled, and there were on the ſpot ſlain *Ethelſtan* the King's Son-in Law, as alſo *Oſwi* and his Son, and *Wulfric* the Son of *Leofwin* with many other Noble *Thanes*, and common Soldiers not to be numbred: One *Thurkytel*, ſirnamed *Myranheafod*, (that is, in our preſent Language, *Ant's head*) firſt began to fly, whereby the *Danes* kept the field; and having provided themſelves with Horſes, they ſubdued all *Eaſt-England*, ſpoiling and burning for three Months together, where they went; then marching into the *Fens*, they there deſtroyed both Men and Cattel, and burnt the Towns of *Theodford* and *Grantabyrig* (i. e. *Cambridge*): Then turning *Southward* toward the *Thames*, they rode on Horſeback to their ſhips; and preſently coming out of them again, they marched towards the *Weſt* into *Oxnafordſcire*, and from thence into *Buckinghamſcire*, and ſo along the River *Owſe*, till they got as far as *Bedanford*; and thence to *Temeſanford* (now *Temsford*), burning all the Towns in their way.

‘Then again they returned to their ſhips with all their Plunder, and there divided it amongſt them. But as for the King's Forces, when they ſhould have ſtopped their paſſage, they e'en returned home; and when the *Danes* were in the *Eaſt*, they were taken up in the *Weſt*; and whilſt they were in the *South*, the others were in the *North*.

And *Florence* farther adds, That in this Expedition into *Oxfordſhire*, the *Danes* not only took, but burnt the City of *Oxford*.

Anno Dom. MX.

All which Deſtructions muſt needs have proceeded from hence, that the *Danes* making War by Sea as well as by Land, could upon the approach of the King's Army ſail away to any other part of the Kingdom, and from thence march off again before the King's Army could ever come at them; which proves how abſolutely neceſſary it is for an Iſland to maintain a powerful Fleet, if ever they mean to be ſafe. But to return to our Annals.

‘At laſt all the *Wiſe Men* of the Kingdom were again ſummoned by the King, to conſult how they might better defend the Kingdom; but, it ſeems, whatſoever was there reſolved on, did not continue a month without alteration, till at laſt there were no Commanders that would raiſe any Forces, but every one fled away as faſt as they could, neither would any one Shire help its Neighbours: Inſomuch that before the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*, the *Daniſh* Army came to *Hamtune*, which Sea-Town they burnt, and took what Plunder they pleaſed in the Neighbourhood, and from thence again paſſed over the *Thames* into *Weſt-Seax*, and thence into the Marſhes of *Kent*, all which they wholly burnt and deſtroyed: And when they had thus marched whereever they would, about *Midſummer* they returned again to their Ships.

Oxford and *Cambridge* being both burnt this year by the *Danes*, all Studies ceaſed at each of theſe Places, till long after, as *Thomas Rudburn* relates, one *Robert Bolean* began to read his Lectures on the Scriptures, *Anno* 1133. From which time (ſays he) the Scholars have ſtill continued both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

But no wonder that things ſucceeded no better, if what *Caxton* in his Chronicle relates, were true concerning thoſe Times; That when the Nobles met in the Great Council of the Kingdom, inſtead of conſulting for the good of it, they fell to impeaching one another, and ſpent their whole time in their own private Quarrels; the Church-men ſtanding upon their Privileges, refuſed to aſſiſt the King, or to contribute any thing conſiderable to the Publick Neceſſities: To all which miſchiefs were likewiſe added Robberies, and Scarcity of Bread; which ſtill encouraged the *Danes*, as they perceived the Kingdom grow weaker and weaker, to demand greater Tribute to buy their Peace; till at laſt the Kingdom was quite exhauſted of all its Treaſure.

Anno Dom. MXI.

‘This year the King and his *Wiſe Men* ſent again to the *Daniſh* Army with deſires of Peace, promiſing them both Proviſions and Money; for they had then ſubjected to them all *Eaſt-England*, *Eaſt Seax*, *Middle-Seax*, *Oxnaford*, *Grantebiryge*, *Heortford*, *Buckingaham*, *Bedanford*, and *Huntandun Scyres*, and on the *South*-ſide of *Thames*; and all the *Kentiſh-men*, and *South-Saxons*, with the Town of *Hæſtings*; and beſides all theſe, *Suthrig*, (i. e. *Surrey*) *Bearruc*, and *Hamtune Scires*, and great part of *Wiltunſcire*; all which miſeries happen'd to us through evil Council, becauſe the Tribute was not paid them time enough, and not till they had done all the miſchiefs they could. Then was a Peace clapp'd up with them: Yet nevertheleſs this League being ſoon broken, they marched about every where in Troops, carrying off a world of Booty with them, either taking theſe poor people Priſoners, or elſe ſlaying them outright.

‘Alſo this year, between the Nativity of the Virgin *Mary* and *Michaelmas*, they beſieged *Canterbury*, and took it by Treachery; for one *Ælmer* (an Archdeacon) whoſe Life Archbiſhop *Ælfeage* had for-

Anno Dom. MXI.

'merly ſaved, betrayed it to them (after twenty days Siege); then they took Priſoners Archbiſhop *Ælfeage*, and *Ælfwold* the King's Sheriff, and *Leofwin* the Abbot, and *Godwin* the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; but *Ælmer*, Abbot of St. *Auguſtine*'s they let go.

'They likewiſe took all in Holy Orders, both Men and Women; nor can it be told how many theſe were; after which they remain'd in the City as long as they pleaſed: But as ſoon as they had plunder'd it, they went back again to their Ships, carrying the Archbiſhop along with them; and he was now become a Captive, who but a little before was the Spiritual Head of the *Engliſh* Nation: One might there have ſeen Miſery at its full ſtretch, where uſed to be Joy and Proſperity; even in that City from whence was firſt brought to us the joyful Tidings of the Goſpel: But they detain'd the Archbiſhop Priſoner (near Seven Months) till ſuch time as they martyr'd him.

Osbern in his Life of St. *Elfeage*, relates, That this Archbiſhop ſent to the *Danes* when they came before the Town, deſiring them to ſpare ſo many innocent Chriſtians lives; but they deſpiſing his requeſt, fell to battering the Walls, and ſo throwing Firebrands into the City, ſet it on fire; ſo that whilſt the Citizens ran to ſave their Houſes, *Ælmeric* the Archdeacon let the *Danes* into the City.

Florence here adds, That the Monks and Laity were decimated after a ſtrange manner; ſo that out of every Ten Perſons, only the Tenth was to be kept alive; and that only Four Monks and about Eight hundred Laymen remain'd after this Decimation: And that not long after, above Two thouſand *Danes* periſhed by divers inward Torments; and the reſt were admoniſh'd to make ſatisfaction to the Biſhop, but yet they obſtinately refuſed it.

Florence of *Worceſter*, and *R. Hoveden* alſo relate, That the *Danes* deſtroyed many of the Priſoners they had taken, with cruel Torments, and various Deaths.

Anno Dom. MXII.

'This year *Eadric* the Ealdorman (ſirnamed *Streon*), and all the Wiſe and Chief Men, both Clerks and Laicks of the *Engliſh* Nation, came to *London* before *Eaſter* (which fell out then the day before the *Ides* of *April*) and there ſtayed until ſuch time as the above-mentioned Tribute could be paid, which was not done till after *Eaſter*, and was then Eight thouſand Pounds: In the mean time (being about Six Months after) upon a *Saturday* the *Daniſh* Army being highly incenſed againſt Archbiſhop *Ælfeage*, becauſe he would neither promiſe them Money himſelf, nor yet would ſuffer any body elſe to give them any thing for his Ranſom; for which, as *Osbern* in his Life relates, they demanded no leſs than Three thouſand Pounds in Silver, (a vaſt Sum in thoſe days); which being denied them, and many of them being got drunk, they laid hold on the Archbiſhop, and led him to their Council on the *Saturday* after *Eaſter*, and there knocked him on the head (as the Annals relate) with Stones and Cows Horns, till at laſt one of them ſtriking him with an Axe on the Head, he fell down dead with the Blow.

Florence ſays, that this was done by one *Thrum* a *Dane*, whom he had the day before confirmed, being thereunto moved by an Impious Piety. But *John* of *Tinmouth* in his Manuſcript Hiſtory of Saints, called *Hiſtoria Aurea* now in the Library at *Lambeth*, relates that when Archbiſhop *Elfeage* was thus killed, the *Danes* threw his Body into the River, Anno Dom. MXII.

now ~~[illegible]~~ Greenwich

River, which was ſoon taken out again by thoſe Danes whom he had converted.

But our Annals here farther relate, 'That the Biſhops *Eadnoth* and '*Ælfhune*, (the former of *Lincoln*, and the latter of *London*) took 'away his ſacred Body early the next morning, and buried it in St. *Paul*'s 'Minſter, (where God now ſhews the power of this Holy Martyr.) 'But as ſoon as the Tribute was paid, and the Peace confirmed by Oath, 'the *Daniſh* Army was looſely diſperſed abroad, being before cloſely 'compacted together; then Five and forty of their Ships ſubmitted to 'the King, and promiſed him to defend the Kingdom, provided he 'would allow them Victuals and Apparrel.

Anno Dom. MXIII.

'The year after Archbiſhop *Ælfeage* was thus martyr'd, the King 'made one *Lifing* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: Alſo the ſame year, be'fore the Month of *Auguſt*, King *Sweyn* came with his Fleet to *Sand'wich*, and ſoon after ſailing about *Eaſt-England*, arrived in the Mouth 'of *Humber*; and from thence up the River *Trent*, till they came to '*Gegnesburgh* (now *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnſhire*.)

Which miſchief, according to *William* of *Malmesbury*, proceeded from *Turkil* a *Dane*, who was the great Inciter of the Death of the Archbiſhop, and who had then the *Eaſt-Engliſh* ſubjected to his will. This man ſent Meſſengers into his own Countrey to King *Sweyn*, letting him know, that he ſhould come again into *England*; for the King was given ſo much to Wine and Women, that he minded nothing elſe; wherefore he was hated by his Subjects, and contemned by Strangers; that his Commanders were Cowards, the Natives weak, and who would run away at the firſt ſound of his Trumpets. Though this ſeems not very probable, for Earl *Turkil* was then of King *Ethelred*'s ſide, as you will ſee by and by.

King *Sweyn* being prone enough to ſlaughter, needed no great Intreaties to bring him over; he had been here eight years before, and why he ſtayed away ſo long, I wiſh our Authors would have told us: But *William* of *Malmesbury* further adds, That one chief end of his coming over, was to revenge the death of his Siſter *Gunhildis*, who being a Beautiful Young Lady, had come over into *England* with *Palling* her Husband, a powerful *Daniſh* Earl, and receiving the Chriſtian Religion, became her ſelf a Hoſtage of the Peace that had been formerly concluded: But tho the unhappy Fury of *Edric* had commanded her to be beheaded together with ſome other of her Countreymen, yet ſhe bore her Death with an undaunted Spirit, having ſeen her Husband, and a Son, a Youth of great and promiſing hopes, ſlain before her face. But to come again to our Annals:

'So ſoon as King *Sweyn* arrived in the *North*, Earl *Vhtred* and all the 'Countrey of the *Northumbers*, with all the people in *Lindeſige*, and 'the people of the five *Burghs* or Towns (but what theſe were we now 'know not) lying on the other ſide *Wætlingaſtreet*, ſubmitted them'ſelves to him. There were alſo Hoſtages given him out of every 'Shire; but when he found that all the people were now become ſub'ject to him, he commanded them to provide his Forces both with 'Horſes and Proviſions, whilſt he in the mean time marched toward the '*South* with great expedition; committing the Ships and Hoſtages to '*Knute* his Son: And after he had paſſed *Wætlingaſtreet*, they did as 'much miſchief as any Army could do: Then they turn'd to *Oxnaford*, Anno Dom. MXIII.

‘ whoſe Citizens preſently ſubmitted themſelves to him; from thence ‘ he went to *Winceſter*, where the Inhabitants did the ſame; and from ‘ thence they marched *Eaſtward* towards *London*, near which many of ‘ his men were drown'd in the *Thames*, becauſe they would not ſtay to ‘ find a Bridge; but when they came thither, the Citizens would not ‘ ſubmit, but ſallying out, had a ſharp Engagement with them, becauſe ‘ King *Ethelred* was there, and Earl *Turkil* with him: Wherefore King ‘ *Sweyn* departed thence to *Wealingaford*, and then over *Thames Weſtward* ‘ to *Bathe*, and there ſate down with his whole Army, whither came to ‘ him *Æthelmar* the Ealdorman of *Devonſhire*, with all the *Weſtern* ‘ *Thanes*, who all ſubmitted themſelves to him, and gave him Hoſtages.

‘ When he had ſubdued all theſe places, he marched *Northwards* to ‘ his Ships, and then almoſt the whole Nation received and acknowledg‘ed him for their real King: And after this the Citizens of *Lon‘don* became ſubject to him, and gave him Hoſtages, becauſe otherwiſe ‘ they fear'd they ſhould be utterly deſtroy'd; for *Sweyn* demanded that ‘ they ſhould give full Pay and Victuals to his Army; and that Winter ‘ *Thurkil* demanded the ſame for King *Ethelred*'s Forces, which lay at ‘ *Grenawic*, (i. e. *Greenwich*). But both the Armies refrain'd not a jot ‘ the leſs from plundering where they pleaſed; ſo that the Nation both ‘ as well in the *North* as in the *South*, was no longer able to bear it.

‘ After this the King ſtayed ſome time with his Fleet which lay then ‘ in the *Thames*, whilſt the Queen retired beyond Sea to her Brother Earl ‘ *Richard* (in *Normandy*); and *Elſige* Abbot of *Burgh* went along ‘ with her; the King alſo ſent thither the Princes *Eadward* and *Ælfred*, ‘ with Biſhop *Ælfune* to be their Governor. Then the King went with ‘ his Fleet about *Chriſtmaſs* into *Wihtland*, and there kept the Feſtival; ‘ and afterwards paſſed over to Earl *Richard*, and there ſtayed with him ‘ till *Sweyn* died.

‘ There is in the *Peterburgh* Copy of theſe Annals, this following Re‘lation; That whilſt the Queen thus remained beyond Sea, *Elſige* Abbot ‘ of *Burgh*, who was then with her, went to the Monaſtery called ‘ *Boneval*, where the Body of Saint *Florentine* lay buried: This place ‘ he found almoſt wholly deſerted, and the poor Abbot and Monks in a ‘ miſerable condition, having been robbed of all they had; then he ‘ bought of the Abbot and Monks the whole Body, except the Head, ‘ for Five thouſand Pounds, and at his return into *England* dedicated it ‘ to *Chriſt* and St. *Peter*, that is, he placed it in the Church of *Peter‘burgh*, of which he was then Abbot.

In the *Saxon* it is 500 *l.*

This was a vaſt Sum of Money in thoſe days, to be given for ~~the~~ ~~Bones of~~ one dead Carkaſs, and that not entire neither; but ſuch was the Superſtition of that Age.

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‘ This year King *Sweyn* ended his Life about *Candlemas*: Then all the ‘ *Daniſh* Fleet and Army choſe *Cnute* his Son to be their King: But all ‘ the *Wiſe* or *Chief Men* of the *Engliſh* Nation, as well of the Clergy as ‘ *Laity*, ſent to King *Æthelred*, to let him know that there was no ‘ Prince dearer to them than their own Natural Lord, provided he would ‘ govern them better than he had hitherto done. Upon this the King ‘ ſent Prince *Edward* his Son, and ſeveral others, Attendants, into this ‘ Kingdom, with Orders to recommend him to the whole Nation in his ‘ Name, promiſing them to be a faithful and kind Lord to them; and ‘ that he would redreſs whatever Grievances they had ſuffer'd, and would

‘ alſo

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‘alſo pardon whatſoever had been done againſt him either by Words or Deeds, provided they would all ſincerely return to their Allegiance.

‘Then a full and firm Amity being concluded on both by Words and Deeds, and Hoſtages being given on both ſides, they decreed the *Daniſh* King for ever baniſhed *England:* After which King *Ethelred* return'd about *Lent* into his own Countrey, and was chearfully received by all men.

The *Bodleian* Copy of *Florence* here adds, That Queen *Elfgiva* (or *Emma*) with the Two Young Princes her Sons, remained ſtill in *Normandy*, until ſhe was (after the Death of her Husband) ſent for over by King *Cnute*, and the Common-Council of the Kingdom, and being married to him, was ſolemnly crowned at *Weſtminſter*, in the preſence of all the Biſhops and Great Men of *England*.

‘After *Sweyn* was dead, *Cnute* his Son ſtaid with his Army at *Gegnesburgh* until *Eaſter*, and there agreed with the people of *Lindeſige*, that they ſhould provide his Army with Horſes, and then that all of them ſhould march out together to plunder; but King *Ethelred* came thither with a ſtrong Army before they were ready to execute their Deſign, and ſpoiled and burnt all places, killing all the men they could meet with; therefore King *Cnute* departed thence with his Fleet, leaving the poor miſerable people to ſhift for themſelves, and ſail'd *Southward* till he came to *Sandwic*, and there put the Hoſtages on ſhore which had been given to his Father, having firſt cut off their Hands and Noſes. But for an addition to all theſe Calamities, the King commanded Twenty one thouſand Pounds to be paid to the Army that then lay at *Grenawic*.

‘Alſo this year on the Vigil of St. *Michael*, happen'd a great Inundation of the Sea all along this Coaſt, inſomuch that it ſpread further than ever it had yet done, ſo that it drowned many Towns, and an innumerable company of men.

We have nothing further to add under this year, more than to obſerve the various Relations of our *Monkiſh* Writers concerning the ſudden death of King *Sweyn*, which they will needs have to be a Judgment upon him for waſting the Lands belonging to the Monaſtery of *Badriceſworth*, and for giving opprobrious language againſt the Memory of St. *Edmund*, who was then enſhrin'd. But becauſe their Relation of this matter is very remarkable, I ſhall give you both *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, their Account of it; which is thus, That King *Sweyn* lying then at *Gainsborough*, there held a General Aſſembly of his Great Officers; and when it grew toward evening, being encircled with his Armed Men, he caſt out Threats, that he would ſend and ſpoil that Monaſtery; whereupon he preſently thought he ſaw St. *Edmund* coming all Armed toward him, which made him cry out vehemently, *Help, help, Fellow-ſoldiers, look here, King* Edmund *comes to kill me*; and as he uttered theſe words, he received a Mortal Blow by the Saint's hands, and ſo fell from his Horſe, and lying till the dusk of the evening in great torment, he expired on the ſecond of *February*, and was carried to *York*, and there buried: So theſe Writers report from the Legend of St. *Edmund:* Yet *John* of *Tinmouth* makes St. *Edmund*'s Ghoſt to have ſtabbed him with his Dagger as he ſate in his Chair. But *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, That St. *Edmund* appeared to him in his ſleep, and ſmote him whilſt he was in bed, becauſe he anſwered him rudely:

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rudely: But they all agree that he died of the Blow which St *Edmund* had given him: But I do believe that there may be ſo much Truth in this ſtory, that King *Sweyn* being mortally wounded by ſome unknown hand, who had the good fortune to make his eſcape, gave occaſion to the Monks of St. *Edmundsbury* to invent this Legend for the Honour of their Saint, and alſo to deter others from daring to violate that place, which was then accounted ſacred.

But it ſeems King *Ethelred* was not much better'd by Affliction, nor did he long obſerve his Promiſe of governing according to Law; for the next year,

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‘A *Mycel Gemot* (or Great Council) being now held at *Oxnaford*, Earl *Eadric* there betray'd *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, two (*Daniſh*) Thanes, of the *Seafenburghs* (that is, the Seven Towns, but where they lay, we know not) and inviting them all into his Chamber, they were there treacherouſly ſlain: Then the King ſeized upon all their Goods, and commanded the Widow of *Sigeferth* to be ſecured, and carried to *Mealdelnesbyrig*, (i. e. *Malmesbury*): But ſome ſhort time after, *Edmund Ætheling* coming thither, married this Woman againſt his Father's will: For the Prince going (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates) to ſee her, upon the great fame of her Beauty and Virtue, having ſeen her, and preſently falling in Love with her, he there married her. *Florence*, and *Mat. Weſtminſter*, do alſo farther relate, that not only theſe two Noblemen, but alſo divers of the Nobility appeared there, who though they were of *Daniſh* Blood, yet ſtood firm to King *Ethelred*'s Intereſt; the chief of theſe were *Sigefert* and *Morchar*, (above-mentioned) men of great Riches and Power in the *Northern* Parts, and that perfidious Earl *Edric*, who gaping after their Eſtates, accuſed them ſecretly of Treaſon to King *Ethelred*, by whoſe Order the Earl invited them all with great ſhew of kindneſs to a Feaſt, where he cauſed them to be treacherouſly murther'd. But their Dependants, who went about to revenge their Lords death, were repulſed, and forced to fly into the Tower of St. *Frideſwide*'s Church in *Oxford*, from whence, when they could not eaſily be driven, the Tower was ſet on fire, and they conſumed with it: But preſently after, the King repenting of his Cruelty, cauſed the Church to be cleanſed and repaired.

This year alſo *Lhewelyn ap Sitſylt*, who was married to *Angharat*, only Daughter to *Meredyth* Prince of *Wales*, (as you have already heard) raiſed great Forces againſt *Aedan ap Blegored*, the uſurping Prince of *North Wales*, and fighting a bloody Battel with him, there ſlew him with his four Sons; but the place is not mentioned where this Fight was: After which, *Lhewelyn* took upon him the Principality of *North Wales* (for one *Kynan*, or *Conan*, then held *South-Wales*); but though this *Lhewelyn* was deſcended by his Mother's ſide from *Howel Dha*, yet notwithſtanding he was not the Lawful Heir of *North-Wales*, but *Jago* Son to Prince *Edwal* above-mentioned, who after the death of this *Lhewelyn* ſucceeded him. as you will hear in due time.

‘After this, about the Feaſt of the Nativity of the Virgin *Mary*, *Edmund Ætheling* marched toward the *Five Burghs* (places in the *North* of *England* to us unknown) and preſently invading the Lands of the ſaid *Sigeferth* and *Morchar*, ſubdued all that Countrey. About the ſame time King *Cnute* arrived at *Sandwic*, and forthwith ſail'd round about *Kent*, to the *Weſt-Saxons*, till he came to the mouth

‘of

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'of the River *Frome*, and there landing, plunder'd all about *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſetſcire*, and *Sumerſetſcire*. At the ſame time King *Ethelred* lay ſick at *Coſham* (in *Wiltſhire*) and then Earl *Eadric* got together an Army, and *Edmund Ætheling* another in the *Northern* parts; but when they came near one another, the Ealdorman lay in wait to entrap Prince *Edward*, and cut him off, but was not able to effect it, (for his Deſign was diſcovered); whereupon they ſhiered off without fighting at all, and by that means yielded the field to their Enemies. Then *Eadric* having firſt gained over to him Forty of the King's Royal Navy, ſubmitted to *Cnute*, as did alſo the *Weſt Saxons*, and gave him Hoſtages, and provided Horſes for his Army, and there he ſtay'd among them till *Chriſtmaſs*.

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'This year King *Cnute* came with his Fleet of a Hundred and ſixty Sail, and with him *Eadric* the Ealdorman, over the *Thames* into *Mercia*, as far as *Crecilade* (on the *North*-ſide of *Wiltſhire*); and then towards *Chriſtmaſs* they turned about to *Waringſcire*, (i.e. *Warwickſhire*), where they plunder'd without mercy, burning Towns, and killing all that came in their way. Upon this *Ædmund Ætheling* began to raiſe an Army againſt them; but when his Forces were got together, they were but of little ſervice to him, becauſe that neither the King was preſent there, nor did the Citizens of *London* come up to his aſſiſtance; ſo that that Expedition was utterly loſt, and every man went home again about his own buſineſs.

'But after the Holidays were over, another Expedition was appointed, under a great Penalty upon every one that ſhould not appear at the Muſter, though he lived never ſo far off: And a Meſſenger was ſent to the King at *London*, humbly beſeeching him to come and meet the Prince's Army with all the Forces he could raiſe; but (it ſeems) when they were all got together, they ſignified no more than what they had often done formerly; for it was told the King that ſome in the Army conſpired againſt him, whereupon he diſmiſſed his Forces, and ſo return'd to *London*.

So that whoever reads this Hiſtory, may perceive that this King through his own Cowardiſe or Ill Fortune, was conſtantly attended with ill ſucceſs where ever he went.

'Then Prince *Edmund* rode down to the *Northumbers* to Earl *Vhtred*, and all men thought they were about to raiſe another Army againſt King *Cnute*, but they went into *Stæford*, and *Scrobbesbyrig*, and *Legaceſter ſcires*, plundering in all places where they came; whilſt *Cnute* did the like in his Quarters, marching through *Buckingahamſhire*, and from thence into *Bedafordſhire*, and ſo through *Huntingtonſhire* over the Fens to *Stanford*, and from thence into *Lincolneſcire*, and afterwards into *Nottinghamſhire*, and ſo into *Northumberland*, towards *Eoforwic* (i.e. *York*); which when *Vhtred* had heard, he deſiſted from ſpoiling the *Northern* Parts; and ſo being compell'd through neceſſity, ſubmitted himſelf, together with all the *Northumbers*; and tho he gave Hoſtages, yet he was ſhortly after ſlain (by King *Cnute*'s Orders), as was alſo *Thurkytel* the Son of *Nafan* (as *Florence* relates) by *Thorebrand* a certain Noble *Dane*; but, according to *Malmesbury*, it was done at the Command of *Cnute* himſelf.

'After this, *Cnute* appointed *Tric* to be Earl of the *Northumbers*, inſtead of *Vhtred*, and then returned *Southward* another way by the *Weſtern* Coaſts, ſo that his whole Army arrived at their Ships before

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'*Eaſter*; but **Edmund** *Ætheling* returned to *London* to his Father. 'After the Holidays King *Cnute* with all his Ships ſail'd towards *London*; but it happened that before the *Daniſh* Fleet arrived there, King '*Ethelred* deceaſed on the Feaſt of St. *George*, after he had ſuffer'd many 'Afflictions and Miſeries in this life.] And was buried at St. *Paul's* in *London*.

This Prince has the Ill Character from *William* of *Malmesbury*, and the reſt of our Hiſtorians, of being given to Wine and Women; and that neglecting the Company of the Queen his Wife, he debaſed the Royal Majeſty by frequenting Miſtreſſes of mean Quality, which very much alienated his Conſort's Affections from him; though ſhe had two Children by him, *viz. Elfred* and *Edward*. He is alſo ſaid to have been Tyrannical to his own Subjects, taking away their Lives and Eſtates only for pretended Crimes. That he was alſo both Cowardly and Cruel, appears by that Barbarous Maſſacre of the *Danes* in time of Peace. But *William* of *Malmesbury* ſays it was a wretched and miſerable time; for every one was obliged to give up or murther his deareſt Gueſts; nay, thoſe whom a nearer Relation had yet render'd dearer to him. That this King was likewiſe Timerous and Unfortunate in all his Undertakings, appears through the whole courſe of his Reign; from whence he has the Title among our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, of *Ethelred the Unready*, becauſe his Preparations were always either ill-tim'd or unſucceſsful; but as he was a mean-ſpirited Prince ſucceeding a Magnanimous Father, ſo Prince *Edmund* his Son and Succeſſor equall'd his Grandfather King *Edgar* in Courage, tho not in good Fortune.

But though King *Ethelred* was no Great or Worthy Prince in his own Perſon, yet with the Aſſiſtance of his *Wites* or *Wiſe Men* of his *Great Council*, he made divers excellent Laws and Conſtitutions. There are in *Bromton*'s Chronicle four ſeveral Bodies of theſe Laws, made at as many ſeveral times, and in divers places, whereof there are only two extant among the *Saxon* Laws publiſhed by Mr. *Lambard*.

The Laws comprized in the firſt Diviſion are Six, there ſaid to have been made at *Woodſtock* in *Mercia*, for the reſtoration of Peace according to the Law of *England*.

The firſt is, That every Freeman ſhall find Sureties to be bound for him, that he ſhall do right in caſe he be accuſed.

The ſecond I ſhall omit, ſince it hath been already mentioned in the Laws of King *Edgar*; only the latter end of it is very remarkable; to wit, The Lord ſhall anſwer for his whole Family, and be *Surety* for the appearance of every Perſon in it. And if any of his Servants after they are accuſed, run away, the Lord or Maſter ſhall pay his man's *Were* to the King: And if the Maſter be accuſed as the Adviſer to, or Promoter of his Eſcape, he ſhall purge himſelf by five *Thanes*; and if he do it not, he ſhall pay to the King his *Were*, and his man ſhall be an Outlaw.

The Third ordains, That a Bondman being caſt by the *Ordeal*, ſhall be marked with a Hot Iron for the firſt Offence; and being caſt in the ſame manner the ſecond time, ſhall be put to Death. Which Law bears ſome reſemblance to our preſent Law or Cuſtom, whereby *Clergy* is allowed for the firſt Crime committed.

By the fifth the King's Reeve or Officer is obliged to require Sureties for the good behaviour of ſuch as are of ill fame amongſt all men; which

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which if ſuch a one obſtinately refuſes to give, he is to be put to death, and to be buried in an unhallowed place with Malefactors: And if any uſe force in his behalf to further his Eſcape, he is to undergo the ſame Puniſhment.

As for the next Set of Laws, they are ſaid to have been made at *Veneting*, or *Wanating* (now *Wantage* in *Berkſhire*), and for the increaſe of common Peace and Happineſs by King *Ethelred* and his Wiſe Men.

The firſt of them is concerning the keeping of the King's Peace, as it was in the days of his Predeceſſors, and for the puniſhment of the breach of it, in caſe of Manſlaughter: If it were in a *Gemot* or Aſſembly of five Boroughs, with the forfeiture of five Pounds weight in Silver: If in an Aſſembly of a Borough or Town, by a Mulct of Seven hundred (Shillings). [But how much this was, is not known; for we have not now any true account of the Standard of Money at that time.] If in a *Wapentake*, by One hundred; and if in an Ale-houſe a man be killed, with ſix half Marks; if he be not killed, with twelve *Ores*; for the Value of which, *Vid.* Sir *Hen. Spelman*'s Gloſs.

From hence (but eſpecially from the Laws of King *Ina*) we may obſerve, how Ancient the Liquor of Ale, and Ale-houſes, have been in *England*, as alſo (what commonly follows it) quarrelling, and breaking of the Peace in ſuch places.

The fourth commands, That Publick Meetings be obſerved in every Hundred or Wapentake; and that Twelve *Thanes*, (ſays *Bromton*) or Twelve Men of free condition, (as *Lambard* reads it) being Elderly Men, together with their *Præpoſitus* (or Chief) ſhall ſwear upon the Goſpels or Holy Reliques, That they will neither condemn an Innocent Perſon, nor acquit a Guilty One.

From whence we may obſerve the Antiquity of Trials by a Grand Inqueſt of more than Twelve Men, even in the *Engliſh Saxon* times, and was not introduced by *William* the *Conqueror*, as *Polydore Virgil*, an *Italian*, not much skill'd in the Antiquities of this Iſland, hath delivered in his Hiſtory.

And to confirm what we have here ſaid, the Third Chapter of the League betwixt King *Alfred*, and *Guthrun* the *Dane*, very much maketh out, which orders, *That if the King's* Thane *or Servant be accuſed of Homicide, he ſhall purge himſelf (if he dare) by twelve other* Thanes: Which you may ſee at large in thoſe Laws themſelves; and beſides theſe the Reader throughout the whole Collection of *Saxon* Laws may obſerve, there is frequent mention made of clearing and purging by ſo many men ſummoned for that purpoſe, as ſometimes by twelve, ſometimes by fewer, and ſometimes by more.

As for the Trial by *Ordeal*, it grew more in requeſt in the Reign of King *Cnute*, and his Succeſſors, being indeed originally a *Daniſh* Cuſtom.

The reſt of the Laws of King *Ethelred* made at *Wantage*, having many of them relation to this way of Trial by *Ordeal*, and containing many obſcure terms, I omit. But ſince ſeveral of them may very well be referred to other former Laws, I ſhall only ſelect from amongſt them, ſuch as are moſt worthy to be taken notice of here.

The twenty third appoints what Cuſtom ſhould be paid by Ships and Veſſels of all ſorts that unladed at *Billinggeſgate*; from whence it appears that this was the Ancient Port of *London*, Wines and all other Commodities being here unladed.

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The twenty ſixth impoſes the ſame Puniſhment upon ſuch as wittingly receive, as well as on thoſe that make Bad Money.

Whereby we may obſerve, That though the Coining of Bad Money was not as yet made Treaſon, yet it was puniſhable at the King's diſcretion, either by Fine or Death, as you will ſee in the following Law.

The twenty eighth puts it into the King's power, whether to fine or put to death ſuch Merchants as import Counterfeit Money: And further impoſeth upon all Port-reeves that ſhall be acceſſary, the ſame Puniſhment as upon thoſe that coin falſe Money, except the King think fit to pardon them.

There are alſo other Laws which we cannot certainly affirm to have been made in his time, though the general Conjecture is that they were. Theſe are compriſed in an Agreement or Act which the *Wiſe Men* of *England* and the Counſellors of *Wales* made, concerning the Inhabitants of the Mountains of that Countrey: But as for the particular Laws made in this Common-Council of both Nations, ſince they only concern Cattel or other Goods taken away on either ſide, or elſe the manner of giving Teſtimony both by *Welſh* and *Engliſh* Witneſſes in ſuch caſes, I refer the Reader to the Laws themſelves; and ſhall only deſire him to take notice, That Juſtice was to be equally adminiſtred by Twelve Judges, Six *Welſh* and Six *Engliſh* men, much after the ſame manner as the Commiſſion for the Borders of ***England*** and ***Scotland*** is now executed.

But that we may ſee how great a diſtance there was then between theſe two Nations (which, God be thanked, are now united into one) the ſixth Article of theſe Laws expreſly forbids the *Welſh* to come into *England*, or the *Engliſh* to enter *Wales*, except received at either Bank by the Borderers, who ſhall take care for their ſafe conduct and return: And in caſe any Borderer be accuſed of falſe dealing herein, and cannot by witneſs diſprove it, he ſhould be fined.

King EDMUND, ſirnamed Ironſide.

AFter the Death of King *Ethelred*, all the Wiſe and Great Men who were then at *London*, together with the Citizens of that place, elected *Eadmund* the Eldeſt Son of that King to reign over them, who held it but a ſhort time, and that with great ifficulty. *William* of *Malmesbury* ſays he was born of a Woman whoſe ame ~~he did not know~~; but * *Ethelred* Abbot *de Rievallis*, ſaith ſhe was he only Daughter of *Toret* a Noble *Earl*, whom the Chronicle of *John* f *Wallingford* calls *Ethelred*'s firſt Wife; But *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates therwiſe, that he was not born of Queen *Emma*, who was his only Wiſe, but of a certain Ignoble Woman; yet beſides the Obſcurity of is Birth, he was a Man without all exception, both for Strength of Body nd Mind, and therefore called by the *Engliſh*, *Ironſide*. He would ave made amends both for his Father's Cowardiſe, and his Mother's want of Birth, had he been but allowed ſome longer time to have lived. So that it appears by theſe Authors, that this King *Edmund* was born of a Concubine.

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or Ailred

* De Genealog. Reg. Ang.

[illegible] mansions [illegible] and wrote [illegible]

But to come to our Hiſtory: When King *Edmund* was thus declared King at *London* (as *Simeon* of *Durham* tells us) with great Acclamations of Joy, he alſo relates, That many of the Biſhops, Abbots, and Noblemen of *England* coming to *Southampton*, abjuring the Progeny of King *Ethelred*, at the ſame time choſe *Cnute* for their King; who (according to our Annals) 'immediately came with his Fleet to *Grenawic*, 'about *Lent*, and within a ſhort time after marched up to *London*, where 'they dug a great Trench on the *South*-ſide of the River, and drew 'their Ships to the *Weſt* ſide of the Bridge, and beſieged the City, inſo'much that none could go in or out, making ſuch frequent Aſſaults upon 'it; yet the Citizens reſiſted them vigorouſly: But King *Eadmund* was 'marched out before into *Weſt-Saxony*, where all that Nation willingly 'ſubmitted themſelves to him. Not long after, he fought with the '*Danes* at *Peonnan* (now *Pen*) near *Gillingam* (in *Somerſetſhire*.)

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But *Cnute* not being there, they do not tell us who commanded in his ſtead, for he was then with his Fleet at the Siege of *London*.

'After *Midſummer* King *Eadmund* fought another Battel at *Sceorſtan* (which place is ſuppoſed to be a Stone that now parts the four Counties of *Oxfordſhire*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and *Warwickſhire*): But our Annals do not mention who had the Victory; only, 'That there 'were many kill'd on both ſides, and that the two Armies marched off 'from each other of their own accord; for *Eadric* the *Ealdorman*, and '*Ælmer*, then ~~joined with~~ the *Danes* againſt King *Edmund*.

secretly combined ~~privately assist~~ with & agree

But as *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, *Eadric* the Traytor was the cauſe of the King's Soldiers running away; for holding up his Sword dipped in the Blood of ſome mean perſon, (or as *Simeon* ſays, his Head, which was very like King *Edmund*'s) whom he had newly killed, he cried out to the *Engliſh*, to fly, for their King was dead: Yet *R. Hoveden* adds, That the Fight was very bloody, and both Parties were forced to leave off, being quite tired.

Our

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Our Annals do then thus proceed, That King *Edmund* having gathered an Army the third time, march'd to *London*, and raiſed the Siege, driving the *Danes* to their Ships, and within two days after the King paſſed over at *Brentford*, and there fought the *Danes*, and put them to flight; but many of the *Engliſh* were drown'd by their own negligence, as they ran before the Army, being greedy of ſpoil.

‘ After this the King marched down toward the *Weſt-Saxons*, and there reinforced his Army; whilſt in the mean time the *Daniſh* Forces returned to *London*, and beſieged that City, aſſaulting it both by Land and Water, but God at that time alſo delivered it; whereupon the *Danes* departed from *London* with their Ships into *Arwan*, and there landing marched up into *Mercia*, killing and burning all they met with, according to their old cuſtom, and there furniſhed themſelves with Proviſions, and then drew all their Ships with their Spoil up the *Medway*.

But where this *Arwan* abovementioned lay, is very uncertain; That it could not be the River *Arrow* in *Warwickſhire* (as ſome fancy) is plain, that being no where Navigable: Therefore the *Ingenious* Editor of theſe *Annals*, in the explication of the Proper Names of Places at the end of the Book, does very probably gueſs, that this River was either that which we now call *Orwell*, which divides *Eſſex* from *Suffolk*; or elſe that there is an Error in the *Saxon Copy*, and inſtead of *into Arwan*, it ſhould be read *to Waran*, that is, they went up the River *Lee* as far as *Ware:* But this I leave to the Reader's Judgment, and ſhall again return to the Annals themſelves.

‘ Then King *Eadmund* aſſembled the whole *Engliſh* Nation a fourth time, and paſſed the *Thames* again at *Brentford*, and from thence went into *Kent*, and there put the *Daniſh* Horſe to flight in *Seapige*, and killed as many of them as they could meet with: But *Eadric* the Ealdorman by his ſubtle Artifices perſuaded the King to ſtay at *Æglesford*, which was the moſt perfidious advice that could be given him.

Florence of *Worceſter*, and *William* of *Malmesbury* are more particular in this Tranſaction; and ſay, That the Traitorous Earl above-mentioned ſo over-perſuaded the King by his plauſible Inſinuations, that he did not purſue the *Danes*, when almoſt routed, or elſe he might have obtained an abſolute Victory.

‘ Then (according to our Annals) the *Danes* turned againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*, and marched into *Mercia*, killing all before them; but when the King underſtood that the *Danes* were gone thither, he drew all the *Engliſh* Forces together the fifth time, and following them himſelf in the Rear, overtook them near a Hill called *Aſſandun* (now *Aſhdown* in *Eſſex*), where they had a very ſharp Engagement; but there *Eadric* the Ealdorman playing his old pranks, firſt of all began the flight with the *Mageſætons*, by *Cambden* ſuppoſed to be the *Radnorſhire* men; and ſo once more deceived his Natural Lord, and the whole Nation.

But here, though I cannot but admire the wonderful Courage and Conſtancy of this Brave Prince, yet can I not commend his Prudence, who could thus truſt a known Traytor, that had not only betrayed himſelf, but his Father before him: But I need make no long reflections upon this, ſince we find few Princes guilty of the like Eaſineſs in later Ages.

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‘ But this is certain from our Annals, That *Cnute* now obtained the ‘Victory againſt the greateſt part of the *Engliſh* Nation; and there ‘were ſlain on the ſpot *Eadnoth* the Biſhop, and *Wilſſige* the Abbot, *Ælfric* ‘and *Godwin* the Ealdormen, and *Wulfkytel* Earl of *Eaſt-England*, and ‘moſt of the *Engliſh* Nobility.

William of *Malmesbury* highly commends this *Wulfkytel*, and ſays that he deſerved perpetual Honour, becauſe he was the firſt in the time of *Sweyn*, who ſet upon the *Daniſh* Pyrates, and gave ſome hopes that they might be conquered. But as for *Eadnoth* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and the Abbot above-mentioned, they came not to fight, but as *Simeon* ſays, to pray to God for thoſe that did; ſo that the *Engliſh* Nation never yet received a greater Blow.

But King *Edmund* being left almoſt alone, got to *Glouceſter*, and there rallied and recruited his ſhatter'd Troops; but thither (according to our Annals) ‘King *Cnute* with all his Army purſued him: Then *Eadric* ‘the Ealdorman, and all the Great Men on both ſides adviſed the Two ‘Kings to come to Terms of Peace: Whereupon they both met toge- ‘ther at *Olanege* (an Iſland in the River *Severn*, now called the *Eighth*) ‘and there concluded a League between them (Hoſtages and Oaths ‘being mutually exchanged) and agreed, That the *Daniſh* Army ‘ſhould be paid.

A Peace being thus concluded, the two Kings parted from each other, *Edmund* going into *Weſt-Saxony*, and *Cnute* to the *Mercians*.

But ſince other Authors have more particularly related the Cauſe and Manner of making this Peace, I ſhall give you a larger account of it from *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *R. Hoveden*; the firſt of whom ſays, That the Traytor *Edric* and ſome others, when King *Edmund* would have fought again with *Cnute*, would by no means ſuffer him to do it; but adviſed him rather to make a Peace, and divide the Kingdom with him; to whoſe Perſuaſions the King at laſt (though unwillingly) conſented; and Meſſengers paſſing between them, and Hoſtages being interchanged, the two Kings (or rather, their Commiſſioners, as *Bromton*'s Chronicle relates it) met at a place called *Deorhurſt*, on the *Severne*, and there concluded a Truce. Then King *Edmund* with his men being on the *Weſt* ſide of *Severne*, and *Cnute* with his Followers ſitting down on the *Eaſt* ſide thereof, they paſſed over in Ferry-boats to the Iſland above-mentioned, where they met, and agreed upon the Terms of Peace.

But *Ethelred* Abbot of *Rieval*, tells the Story ſomewhat different, *viz.* That both Armies growing weary of the War at laſt, compelled the Great Men on each ſide to come to a Conference, where one of the moſt Elderly among them is brought in making a long Speech, (I ſuppoſe to ſhew the Wit of thoſe Authors); and therein he very pathe- “tically repreſents the Miſchiefs the Soldiers lay under, in thus expoſing “their Lives and Fortunes for Two Princes of equal Courage; and ſo “adviſed them before it was too late, That ſince King *Edmund* could not “endure a Superior, nor *Cnute* an Equal, they ſhould leave it to them “two to fight by themſelves for that Crown which they both ſo much “deſired to wear; leſt by this deſperate way of fighting, the Soldiers “ſhould be all kill'd, and then there would be none left to defend the “Nation againſt Foreign Invaders. Which Speech being highly approved of by all there preſent, both Armies cried out with one voice,

Let

Anno Dom. MXVI. *Let them either Fight, or Agree:* This Sentence of the Chief Commanders and Soldiers being brought to both the Kings, pleaſed them ſ well, that they met in the Iſland above-mentioned, and there fough ſingly in the ſight of both Armies; where having broken their Spears and then drawn their Swords, there follows in theſe Authors a long an Tragical Relation of this mighty Combat, which yet it ſeems happene without any Wounds on either ſide; but *Cnute* beginning at laſt to b out of breath, and fearing the greater Strength and Youth of King *Edmund*, propoſed a Peace to be made by diviſion of the Kingdom betwee them; and they give us alſo the fine Speech made by King *Cnute* upo this Subject; which Propoſal being willingly received by King *Edmun* they kiſſed and embraced each other, both Armies wondering and weeping for joy at this ſo happy and unexpected agreement. So mutuall changing both their Arms and Apparrel in token of Friendſhip, the each return'd to their own men, and there drew up the Conditions o the League; *viz.* That King *Edmund* ſhould enjoy *Weſt-Saxony*, an *Cnute* the Kingdom of *Mercia*; but what was to become of the reſt o *England*, they do not ſpeak one word.

But tho ſo many of our Writers ſeem pleas'd with this Romantic Story, yet I rather aſſent to the Teſtimony of our *Annals*, and the *Encomium Emmæ*, as alſo *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and ſevera Manuſcript Authors in the *Cottonian* Library, who all agree this Peac to have been made at the place aforeſaid, without any Combat at all between the two Kings: Only *William* of *Malmesbury* relates, that whe King *Edmund* had challenged *Cnute* to fight with him ſingle, to ſave th further Effuſion of their Subjects Blood, this Challenge being carried t King *Cnute*, he utterly declined it, ſaying, Though he had as great Courage as his Antagoniſt, yet he would not venture his own ſma Body againſt a man of ſo great Strength and Stature; but ſince bot their Fathers had enjoyed a ſhare of the Kingdom, it was more agreeable to prudence to divide it between them: Which Propoſal being joyfully received by both Armies, as a thing moſt juſt and equal in it ſel and which moſt tended to the good of both Nations, now haraſs'd ou by long and cruel Wars, King *Edmund* accepted of, and agreed (thoug with ſome reluctancy) to a Peace, upon the terms above-mentione Thus we find what a great uncertainty there is in moſt of the Relatio of thoſe times. But to proceed with our *Annals*:

'The *Danes* as ſoon as this Peace was concluded, went to their Shi
'with all the Plunder they had taken, and from thence ſail'd to *Londo*
'and there took up their Winter-Quarters.

For that City, as being part of the *Mercian* Kingdom, had now ſubmitted it ſelf to them.

'Not long after this, *viz.* at the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*, King *Eadmu*
'departed this life, and was buried with his Grandfather King *Eadg*
'at *Glæſtingabyrig*. The ſame year alſo deceaſed *Wulfgar* in *Abbandun*
'whereof he was Abbot, and *Æthelſige* ſucceeded him.

But ſince our *Annals* tell us only of the ſudden Death of this Princ without relating the manner of it, we ſhall give it you more at larg from other Authors, who almoſt generally agree, that he was murthere by that Traytor *Edric*, though they differ ſomewhat in the Actors or Inſtruments by whom it was committed; ſome will have him to be take off by Poyſon; others, with an Arrow ſhot by an Image made on pu

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poſe, which diſcharged it ſelf upon the King as ſoon as he touched it; but this is too improbable to beget any credit: And therefore what *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Bromton*, relate, is moſt likely to be true, *viz.* That this *Ædric* above-mentioned ſuborned two of this King's Servants to lye under the Houſe-of-Office, and to thruſt up a ſharp piece of Iron into his Fundament, as one night he ſate down to eaſe himſelf. Tho the Chronicle laſt-mentioned ſays this Murther was committed at *Oxford* by one of *Edric*'s Sons, who at the command of his Father ſtabbed him in the Hinder Parts with a long ſharp Knife, and left the Weapon ſticking in his Body. But *H. Huntington*, and *Alred* Abbot of *Rievalle*, ſay that *Edric* was the firſt who ſaluted *Cnute* Sole King of all *England*; to whom when he had told all the matter, the King anſwer'd, *Well, for ſo great a Good Turn, I will advance thy Head above all the Lords in* England; and thereupon commanding him to be beheaded, order'd his Head to be ſet upon the Tower of *London*: But this being related by no other Author beſides *Mat. Weſtminſter*, is not probable; for all others make him to have been alive ſome time after this. But *Simeon* of *Durham* and *R. Hoveden*; do with greater certainty relate, That as ſoon as he received the News of *Edmund*'s Death, he order'd all the Biſhops, Ealdormen, and Chief Men throughout *England*, to be ſummoned to *London*, and when they appeared before him, he cunningly asked them, If they were Witneſſes of the Agreement which had been made between him and King *Edmund*, concerning the Diviſion of the Kingdom; and whether there was any Condition inſerted, That either his Sons or his Brethren ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons?* Then they all began with one accord to ſay, They did not know that King *Edmund* had left any part of the Kingdom to his Brethren, either living or dying; but as for his Sons, they knew very well that *Edmund* would have left him to be the Protector of his Children, till they ſhould come of fitting age to reign: But they likewiſe add, that they bore falſe witneſs, and lied groſly, becauſe they hop'd to make King *Cnute* the more favourable to them, and ſhould thereby receive the greater Rewards for their pains: But ſome of them had a juſt Recompence for their Perjury, by being not long after put to death. Hereupon King *Cnute* after he had thus taken their Teſtimonies, received the Oaths of Fidelity from the ſaid Great Men and Biſhops, who all ſwore that they would chuſe him for their King, and willingly raiſe Taxes to pay his Army; and at the ſame time alſo they renounced the Sons of King *Edmund*, (*Edward* and *Edmund*) from ever being Kings of this Nation.

Alfred Edmund
and Edward.

But King *Cnute* growing jealous of theſe Young Princes, ſent them to the King of *Sweden*, that they might by him be made away; which he out of compaſſion not only refuſed, but generouſly ſent them to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, to be educated; and being there kindly received for ſome time, *Edmund* the elder of them died, but *Edward* the younger marrying *Agatha* the Queen's Siſter, had by her *Edgar*, ſirnamed *Ætheling*, *Chriſtina* a Nun, and *Margaret*, afterwards married to *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*; of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further, before we come to the end of this Book.

King CNUTE.

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'THis year (according to our *Annals*) *Cnute* King of *Denmark* 'began to reign over all *England*, which he divided into four 'Parts or Governments, reſerving *Weſt Saxony* to himſelf, 'committing *Eaſt-England* to Earl *Thurkyl*, *Mercia* to '*Eadric*, and the *Northumbers* to *Tric*; but not long after, the ſaid *Eadric* 'the Ealdorman was killed: The manner of which *Bromton*'s Chronicle thus relates, That at *Chriſtmaſs* the King being at *London*, in a certain upper room on the other ſide of the *Thames*, it happened that the Traytor *Eadric* upbraided the King with his ſervices, How that for his ſake he had betrayed King *Ethelred*, and alſo made away *Edmund* his own King, and yet he had received no very extraordinary advantage or benefit thereby, according to his Merits, (to be ſure, as he himſelf thought); at which *Cnute* being highly enraged, anſwered, *Out of thy own mouth ſhalt thou be judged, who plainly confeſſeſt thy ſelf a Traytor againſt both thy former Kings, therefore thou ſhalt certainly dye*: So he immediately commanded him to be tied hand and foot, and flung out of the Window into the River; though ſome other Authors relate that he was firſt ſtrangled: But we cannot find for certain which way it was done; for *William* of *Malmesbury* and *R. Hoveden* only ſay this, That the King commanded *Eadric*, ſirnamed *Streon*, to be ſlain in the Palace, becauſe he was afraid of being circumvented by his Treacheries; and ordered likewiſe his Body to be flung over the Wall of the City, and there to lye unburied.

The *Annals* do here further add, 'That *Northman* Son to Earl *Leofwin*, 'and *Æthelward* Son to *Æthelmær* the Great, and *Brihtric* Son to *Ælfger* Earl of *Defenanſcire*, were alſo put to death; but their Crimes are not ſet down: Therefore *R. Hoveden* ſuppoſes them to have been only the King's Jealouſy of their too great Power, being all *Engliſh* Noblemen, though I ſuſpect they were guilty of ſomewhat more than what we find related.

'The ſame year alſo the King baniſhed *Eadwig Ætheling*, called '*Ceorles Cyng*, (i.e. King of the Clowns) Brother to King *Eadmund*. But the Annals ſeem to make this *Eadwig* two perſons, though for what reaſon I know not; but however he was not immediately baniſhed after *Cnute* came to the Crown, as ſome Writers ſuppoſe; neither yet was he put to death, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Bromton*, relate; for the latter tells us this Story of him, That *Cnute* not thinking himſelf ſafe ſo long as *Edwig* was alive, conſulted with Earl *Eadric* how to have him diſpatched out of the way; by whoſe advice the King ſent for one *Ethelward*, and tempted him privately with large Rewards; but he abhorring in his heart ſo foul a deed, however promiſed to do it as ſoon as he found a fitting opportunity, and by this means ſtill deferred it. But then the ſame Author adds, That having by the ſaid *Eadric*'s Counſel baniſhed Prince *Edwin*, the year following, under a feign'd Reconciliation, he was by King *Cnute*'s Order made away; which is contrary to what

William

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William of *Malmesbury* relates ; for he ſays that this Prince, having been long toſſed about both by Sea and Land, and being broken as well in Body as in Mind, ſecretly return'd into *England*, and lay conceal'd till he died, and then was buried at *Taviſtock*.

But the *Annals* further ſay, 'That before the *Kal.* of *Auguſt*, the King commanded Queen *Emma*, Widow of the late King, his Predeceſſor, to be brought over to him, and ſome time after took her for his Conſort.

Ethelred

This he did to gain the Friendſhip of the Duke of *Normandy* her Father; but ſhe is highly cenſured for marrying the ſworn Enemy of her Husband and her Children: Though this only lets us ſee that it is no new thing for Princes to prefer the wearing of a Crown even before their own Honour.

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'Now again (according to our Annals) was paid that Tax or Tribute called *Danegelt*, throughout all the *Engliſh* Nation, to wit, Seventy two thouſand Pounds ; beſides that which the Citizens of *London* paid, *viz.* Eleven thouſand Pounds more. Which Tax being raiſed when there ſeemed to be no more fear of the *Danes*, it looks as if King *Cnute* now took upon him to govern as a Conqueror. From which alſo you may obſerve the flouriſhing Trade and Wealth of that City in thoſe days, ſince it could even at that time pay above a Seventh of this exceſſive Taxation.

'Then alſo a great part of the *Daniſh* Army return'd into *Denmark*, and only forty Ships remain'd with King *Cnute*; the *Danes* and *Engliſh* were likewiſe now reconciled and united at *Oxnaford*: *Bromton* ſays it was done at a Great Council or Parliament at *Oxford*, where King *Cnute* ordained the Laws of King *Edgar* (i. e. of *England*) to be obſerved.

'The ſame year alſo *Æthelſige*, Abbot of *Abbandune* deceaſed, and *Æthelwin* ſucceeded him.

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'This year King *Cnute* returned into *Denmark*, and there ſtayed all the Winter. *Bromton*'s Chronicle ſays he went over to ſubdue the *Vandals*, who then made War againſt him, and carried along with him an Army both of *Engliſh* and *Danes* ; the former being commanded by Earl *Godwin*, ſet upon the Enemies by ſurprize, and put them to flight ; after which the King had the *Engliſh* in as much eſteem as his own *Daniſh* Subjects. But the year following,

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'He returned into *England*, and then held a *Mycel Gemot*, or Great Council at *Cyrenceſter*, where *Ethelward* the Ealdorman was outlaw'd. The ſame year alſo King *Cnute* went to *Aſſandune* (the place where he had before fought the great Battel with King *Edmund*) and there cauſed a Church to be built of Lime and Stone for the ſouls of thoſe men that had been ſlain there : Which being (as *R. Hoveden* relates) conſecrated in the King's preſence by *Wulſtan* Archbiſhop of *York*, and divers other Biſhops, was committed to the care of his Chaplain, whoſe Name was *Stigand*.

'Alſo Archbiſhop *Living* deceaſed, and *Ethelnoth* a Monk and Dean of *Canterbury*, was conſecrated Biſhop by *Wulſtan* Archbiſhop of *York*.

But before we proceed farther, I will give you ſome account of the Affairs of *Wales* in theſe times: Where after the death of *Kynan*, or *Conan*, the Uſurping Prince of *South-Wales* above-mentioned, *Lewelyn* Prince of *North-Wales* had, according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle, poſſeſſed

7a Snorro (in his above mention'd History, gives a more particular account th found in any other Authour of the Crisis &c.

Anno Dom. MXX.

himſelf of *South-Wales*, and had for ſome years governed both thoſe Countries with great Peace and Proſperity, ſo that from the *North* to the *South* Sea, there was not a Beggar in the whole Countrey, but every man had ſufficient to live of his own, inſomuch that the Countrey grew daily more and more populous.

But this year produced a notable Impoſtor; for a certain *Scot* of mean Birth came now into *South-Wales*, and called himſelf *Run*, or *Reyn*, (as the Manuſcript Copies have it) the Son of *Meredyth ap Owen*, late Prince of *Wales*, as you have already heard: Upon which the Nobility of that Countrey, who loved not *Lewelyn*, ſet up this *Run*, or *Reyn*, to be their Prince; But *Lewelyn* hearing of it, aſſembled all the Forces of *North-Wales*, and marched againſt this *Run*, who had now alſo got all the ſtrength of *South-Wales* together; and going as far as *Abergwily* (i.e. the mouth of the River *Gwily*) there waited the coming of *Lewelyn*; but when he arrived, and both Armies were ready to join Battel, *Run*, full of outward confidence, encouraged his men to fight; yet no ſooner was the Battel begun, but this Impoſtor ſoon diſcovered what he was, by withdrawing himſelf privily out of the fight; whereas on the contrary, *Lewelyn* like a Couragious Prince ſtanding in the Head of his Army, called out aloud for this baſe *Scot*, *Run*, who durſt ſo belye the Blood of the *Britiſh* Princes: Both Armies then meeting, fought for a while with great Courage, and Malice to each other; but it ſeems the *South-Wales* men being not ſo reſolute in the Quarrel of this Impoſtor, as thoſe of *North-Wales* were to defend the Right of their Lawful Prince; the latter being alſo encouraged by the Speeches and Prowes of their Prince, put the former to the Rout, and purſued this *Run* ſo cloſely, that he had much ado to eſcape; Prince *Lewelyn* having got thus a great deal of Spoil, return'd home, and for a ſhort time govern'd theſe Countries in Peace. But to return to our Annals;

Anno Dom. MXXI. 8

'This year, about *Martinmaſs*, King *Cnute* outlaw'd (*i.e.* baniſhed) 'Earl *Thurkyl*:] But they tell us not the Crime. ~~Yet~~ *William* of *Malmesbury* makes it a Judgment, for being the principal Promoter of the Murther of Archbiſhop *Ælfeage*; and that as ſoon as he return'd ~~into~~ *Denmark*, he was killed by ſome Noblemen of that Nation.

This year alſo, (according to an Old Manuſcript belonging to St. *Edmundsbury*, ~~and~~ cited by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*, in the Preface to the 9th Book of his *Reports*), King *Cnute* held a Parliament at *Wincheſter*, wherein were preſent the two Archbiſhops, and all the other Biſhops, as alſo many Ealdormen and Earls, with divers Abbots, together with a great many Knights, and a vaſt multitude of People; and there, in purſuance of the King's deſires, it was decreed, That the Monaſtery of St. *Edmund the King* ſhould be free and for ever exempt from all Juriſdiction of the Biſhops and Earls of that Country.

But Sir *H. Spelman* here very well obſerves, that this Manuſcript could be no Ancienter than the Reign of *Henry* the Third, becauſe th word *Parliament* was not in uſe before that time.

Though thus much is certain, That King *Cnute* the year before founded this Monaſtery, afterwards called St. *Edmundsbury*, (but then known to the *Saxons* by the name of *Beadricheſworth*) where there had been Church built before; and King *Edward* the Elder, in the year 942, ha alſo given ſeveral Lands to it, and upon which Foundation King *Cnu* had lately built and endowed the ſaid Abby, which was one of the La geſt and Richeſt in all *England*.

Lewel

[illegible] original of the War between the two Kings Cnute and Olave, viz: that the [illegible] sometime before sent Embassadors to the latter, who demanded Norway of him or that he should do Homage to King Cnute for it wch Olave refused, and

Anno Dom. MXXI.

Lewelyn ap Sitſylt, Prince of *Wales*, but a ſhort time enjoyed the fruits of his late Victory; for this year the *Welſh* Chronicles tell us, he was ſlain by *Howel* and *Meredyth*, the Sons of Prince *Edwin*, or *Owen*, above-mentioned, who yet did not ſucceed in the Principality; for *Jago*, Son to *Edwal* late Prince of *Wales*, was now advanced to the Throne as Lawful Heir, having been long debarr'd of his Right: But it ſeems he could not do the like in *South-Wales*, which one *Rytheric ap Juſtin* ſeiz'd upon, and held by force.

Anno Dom. MXXII.

'This year King *Cnute* ſail'd with his Fleet to the Iſle of *Wight*; (but upon what account, our Annals do not ſhew us) Alſo Archbiſhop *Æthelnoth* went to *Rome*, and was there received by Pope *Benedict* with great Honour, who put on his Pall with his own hands, and being ſo habited, celebrated Maſs, as the Pope commanded him; and then after he had dined with him, return'd home with his Benediction.

'Alſo *Leofwin* the Abbot, who had been unjuſtly expell'd from the Monaſtery of *Elig*, was his Companion, and there cleared himſelf of thoſe Crimes of which he had been accuſed, before the Pope: the Archbiſhop and all the Company that were there preſent, teſtifying on his behalf.

Anno Dom. MXXIII.

'*Wulſtan* Archbiſhop of *York* deceaſed, and *Ælfric* ſucceeded, *Edelnoth* the Archbiſhop conſecrating him at *Canterbury*. Alſo this year the ſame Archbiſhop tranſlated the Reliques of St. *Ælfeage* (his Predeceſſor) from *London* to *Canterbury*.

The King himſelf, as *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, removed them with his own hands, paying them all due Veneration; and further adds, that his Body remain'd as uncorrupt as if he had been but lately kill'd.

Anno Dom. MXXIV.

'*Richard* the Second, Duke of *Normandy* died, and *Richard* his Son ruled after him one year; and then *Rodbert* his Brother ſucceeded him, and ruled eight years.

Anno Dom. MXXV.

'This year King *Cnute* ſail'd with his Fleet into *Denmark*, to a Plain near the Holy River, but where that was, I know not; and there came againſt him *Wulf* and *Eglaf*, with a very powerful Army out of *Sweden* both by Land and Sea; and many on King *Cnute*'s ſide were there killed, both *Danes* and *Engliſh*, the *Swedes* keeping the field of Battel. After which *Cnute* returning into *England*, I find no mention made of any Action here in any Author, for the two ſucceeding years. But then,

Anno Dom. MXXVIII.

'King *Cnute* ſail'd with fifty Ships of *Engliſh Thanes* into *Norway*, and drove King *Olaf* out of that Countrey, and conquer'd it for himſelf.

Bromton's Chronicle relates, That this *Olaf* being a Soft and Eaſy Prince, was already in a manner driven out by his own Subjects; and ſo *Cnute* only went as it were to receive the Kingdom from the Nobility and People, who ſubmitted themſelves preſently to him.

Anno Dom. MXXIX.

'King *Cnute* came back into *England*.] And (as *R. Hoveden* adds) upon his Return baniſhed *Hacun* a *Daniſh* Earl, that had married his Niece *Gunhilda*, who was his Siſter's Daughter, ſending him away under pretence of an Embaſſy; for the King was afraid leſt otherwiſe he might deprive him both of his Kingdom and Life.

King

sending away the Embassadors he immediately entred into a League offensive & defensive with [illegible] King of Sweden, so that when King Cnute's Embassadors arrived there they were but coldly received. Cap. CXLI. Sometime after wch the Kings of Sweden and Norway had an Interview whilst King Cnute [illegible] in Denmark where they treated privately of several Affairs of great moment [illegible] event declared, for no sooner was Cnute arrived in England but the [illegible] before hand with him then at the same time invaded Denmark by Land and by Sea, & enforced a great [illegible] People to submit to them. C.147. But as soon as King Cnute heard of this Invasion he raised a [illegible] fleet with which he sail'd into Denmark & recovered and settled that Kingdom [illegible] upon the late Invasion [illegible] Cnute [illegible] the land. By the means and perswasion of Ulf a Danish Earl, after which ~~[illegible]~~ the two Kings Olave and Anund made [illegible] upon Sconen but without any great effect (C.CLX) [illegible] of Sweden, and [illegible]

[illegible] this, King Cnute in revenge invaded ~~the Kingdom~~ [illegible] the mouth of the Holy River, received a Repulse by reason of the Rivers being [illegible] by a great Palisado of firr trees, wch had been made on purpose by King Olave, wch [illegible] breaking the [illegible] forced down these trees with such force against the fleet that it was [illegible] away, & many of the Ships broken to peeces. After wch [illegible] upon Cnute's Ship, but he being assisted by the coming up of Earl Ulf, they [illegible] knowing that King [illegible] was indeed too strong for them both by ~~sea~~ and land ~~[illegible]~~ so that arriving with their Fleet at the [illegible] of [illegible] they [illegible] to watch the motions of King Cnute, since [illegible] River. But ~~he~~ as soon as he heard of the retreat of the two Kings and that many had gone home [illegible] turned into Sealand and came to ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] on [illegible] [illegible] over. C.CLXXIV. C.CLXXIII

Anno Dom. MXXX.

'King *Olaf* return'd ~~again~~ into *Norway*, to regain his Right; but the 'People riſing up againſt him, he was there ſlain.

This is he who was afterwards canoniz'd under the Title of *King Olaf the Martyr*.

About this time (as *Guil. Gemeticenſis*, and *John* of *Walingford*, do both relate) *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* pitying the long Exile of his Nephews *Edward* and *Alfred*, ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Cnute*, requiring him to reſtore them to their Right; but he not at all valuing his threatning, ſent the Ambaſſadors back with a Repulſe; whereat the Duke conceiving great indignation, aſſembled his Nobles, and by their Advice caus'd a great Navy to be prepar'd, which in a ſhort time came to Anchor at *Feſcam*; then the Duke with his Army put to Sea, but by Tempeſt was driven into the Iſle of *Guernſey*, and ſo ſhatter'd, that he was forced to return home, where they were detain'd a long time by contrary Winds, which was an extreme mortification to him.

But not long after, Ambaſſadors came over to him from King *Cnute*, ſignifying, That he was contented to reſign to the Young Princes half the Kingdom, which they ſhould peaceably enjoy during his life, (and that was not like to be long) for he then laboured under a languiſhing Diſtemper: Wherefore the Duke thought good for ſome time to defer his Expedition till he ſhould be come back from *Jeruſalem*, whither he had vowed to undertake a Pilgrimage. And when he had recommended to *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, and other Nobles, his Son *William*, then a Child of Seven Years old, and received from them Aſſurances of their Fidelity to him, he began the ſaid Voyage; and having perform'd it, as he was returning homewards the next year, he fell ſick, and died about the *Alpes*. But of this *William* his Son, by *Harlotte* his Concubine, he not only ſucceeded his Father, but was alſo afterwards King of *England*; as you ſhall hear when we come to his Reign. in the enſuing

Anno Dom. MXXXI.

'This year, as ſoon as King *Cnute* return'd into *England*, he gave 'the Port of *Sandwic* to *Chriſt*'s Church in *Canterbury*, with all the Iſſues 'and Profits ariſing from thence on both ſides the Haven, according to an Extract from his Charter (preſerved among the * Evidences of that Church); and that as far as, when the Tide of Flood was higheſt, and a Ship lying near the Shore, a man could from thence caſt a little Axe on land, ſo far the *Chriſt-Church* Officers ſhould receive all Rights and Dues.

This year alſo, according to † *Monaſt. Angl.* King *Cnute* founded another Monaſtery for *Benedictines* in *Norfolk*, which from its being ſeated in a Woody Place, was called St. *Ben.. t's* in *Holme*; the Lands and Scite of which Abby being by King *Henry* the VIIIth, after the Diſſolution of Monaſteries, exchanged with the Biſhop of *Norwich* for other Lands; he is the only Biſhop of *England* who has ſtill the Title of an Abbot.

Norway

Alſo under this year I find a Charter in the *Manuſcript* Copy of *Florence* of *Worceſter*, in the *Bodleian* Library, made to the Monaſtery of St. *Edmundsbury*, granting and confirming all its Lands and Privileges; the beginning of which Charter being ſomewhat remarkable, I ſhall here recite: *Cnute, Rex Totius Albionis Inſulæ, aliarumque Nationum adjacentium, in Cathedra Regali promotus, cum Conſilio & Decreto Archiepiſcoporum, Epiſcoporum, Abbatum, Comitum, omniumque meorum Fidelium elegi ſanciendum*,

* Vid. X Script. col. 2225.

† Tom. I. p. 282.

But when Olave and Onund heard that King Cnute was gone home, they [illegible] in the Autumn proposed to stay in the field & carry on the war during the winter, but the Swedes would by no means agree to this, but fearing the sharpnesse of the winter season returned home, leaving King Olave and his fleet (C.CLXXVI) But whilst he lay at the lake of [illegible] King Cnute took an opportunity by sending to corrupt many of the Norwegian noblemen about King Olave with great presents and promises brought them over to his [illegible] C.CLXXVII [illegible] King [illegible] discovered [illegible] [illegible] too late for [illegible] [illegible] he marched away with a small [illegible] over the [illegible] Norway to Sweden till he arrived at [illegible] where he passed the winter [illegible] But in the mean time King Cnute's [illegible] [illegible] he sent [illegible] privately with great summe of money who corrupted more and bought many of the Norwegian nobility so that the greater part of the Norwegians promised not to fight for King Cnute against Olave who for his great rigidnesse & severity in forcing them to the Christian faith was not at all beloved: so that not thinking himself safe long [illegible] farther into the uplands where Olave finding divers noblemen had been corrupted by [illegible] put them to death: (C.LXXVIII) In the mean time it being told in Norway that [illegible] raising a great army to conquer Norway, the Norwegians being afraid many of them [illegible]

[illegible] marched to~~ward~~ the Lake of [illegible] & passing also over the easter[illegible] to the country of [illegible] where he summoned the People to a Council [illegible] made King of Norway, appointed governors over all the Provinces, receiving

ciendum, & perpetuo ſtabilimento ab omnibus confirmandum, quod Monaſterium, quod Badriceſwerde nuncupatur, &c. which is alſo printed from the Original, at the end of Mr. *Petyts* Treatiſe of the Rights of the Commons, &c.

Anno Dom. MXXXI.

King *Cnute* having performed theſe great Deeds of Charity and Devotion, not long after (in the ſame year, as our *Annals* inform us) began his Journey to *Rome*.

But ſince our Annals do not tell us what he did there, I ſhall give it you in ſhort from his own Letter, as I find it in *William* of *Malmesbury*, which upon his return from *Rome*, he wrote and ſent into *England*, by *Living* Abbot of *Taviſtock* ; and begins thus :

"*Cnute*, King of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and all *Swedeland*, to *Ailnoth* (or "*Egelnoth*, the Metropolitan), and to *Alfric* of *York*, with all the Biſhops and Primates, and to the whole *Engliſh* Nation, as well *Noblemen* as *Plebeians*, Health : Wherein he gives an account of his Journey, as alſo the reaſon of his undertaking it ; then how honourably "he was received at *Rome*, and what he had there negotiated for the "benefit of his Subjects : Then he gives Directions and Commands to "his Officers to do all Juſtice and Right to the People in his Abſence, "a thing which he reſolved on (as he ſays) long before, but never "could till now accompliſh what he had deſigned for the Pardon of his "Sins and the Safety of all his Subjects ; he further ſignifies, that he "was received by all the Princes, who at that time were with Pope *John*, "ſolemnizing the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, with extraordinary Reſpect and Honour, but eſpecially by *Conrade* the *German* Emperor ; that he had dealt "with them all about the concernments of his people both *Engliſh* and "*Danes*, that their Paſſage to *Rome* might be more free and open ; and "had obtained, that as well Merchants as others ſhould with all ſafety "paſs and repaſs without any Toll or Impoſition : He had alſo complained to the Pope, that his Archbiſhops paid vaſt Sums of Money "before they could obtain their Palls, which Grievance was by the "Pope's Decree taken off. All theſe Immunities procured from the "Pope, the Emperor, *Rodolph* King of *France*, and all other Princes "throughout whoſe Territories he travelled, were confirmed by Oath, "under the Teſtimonies of Four Archbiſhops, and Twenty Biſhops, "with an innumerable Company of Dukes and other Noblemen there "preſent. Then follows a Thankſgiving to Almighty God, for giving "him ſuch Succeſs in what he had undertaken. After this, he deſires "it might be publiſhed to all the world, that having devoted his Life to "God's ſervice, he reſolved to govern the People ſubject to him in all "Piety, Juſtice, and Equity ; And in caſe any thing blameworthy had "been done by him in his Youth, by the help of God he was now "ready to make full amends for it. Therefore he charges all his Miniſters whatſoever, as well Sheriffs as others, That for fear of him they "ſhould not pervert Juſtice, becauſe there was no neceſſity that Money "ſhould be raiſed by any unjuſt exactions. And at laſt, after great "Aſſeverations how much he ſtudied the Profit and Conveniency of his "People, he adjures all his Miniſters before he arrived in *England* that "they ſhould procure all Dues to be paid according to the ancient Cuſtom ; as the Alms of the Plow, the *Tythes* of all Cattel brought forth "in the ſame year, *Peter-Pence* in *Auguſt*, with the Tythes of Corn, "and at *Martinmaſs* the Firſt fruits of the ſame, called *Curceſcot*, or

"*Cyrce-*

tribute of the inhabitants without any [illegible], but Cnute remained in England [illegible] whilst Cnute [illegible] being strong enough to march out against him. [illegible] King Cnute [illegible] to Nidrosheim where calling a Council he was solemnly proclaimed King of Norway in a full assembly [illegible] CXXXI

[illegible] when King Cnute had thus subdued Norway he made his cousin Earl Haquin [illegible] Vice Roy of [illegible] Harda-Cnut King of Denmark [illegible] then King Cnute having got~~ten~~ Norway without striking a stroke returned into Denmark, from whence he [illegible] over into [illegible] After this King Olave having received some assistance from his [illegible] subjects was forced at last to retire into Sweden where he stayd some time, till he had raised some forces [illegible] where few [illegible] slain by the Norwegians in a battle [illegible] Kalfar [illegible] Norwegian [illegible] who [illegible] those parts for [illegible]. This Battle was fought at a place called Stiklestade in Norway [illegible] the same [illegible] CXXVIII hath related at large [illegible] gives a full Account of the [illegible] miracles of this [illegible] believe after his death.

Anno Don. MXXXI.

" *Cyrceſcot* (*i.e.* Money given to the Church); in caſe this was not paid " before his Return, he threatens ſeverely to animadvert upon every one " according to the Laws.

William of *Malmesbury* further adds, That at his Return he was as good as his word; for he commanded all the Laws which had been made by former *Engliſh* Kings, and chiefly by *Ethelred* his Predeceſſor, " to be obſerved under great Penalties; for the true obſervation where- " of, our Kings (ſays he) are at this very day ſworn under the name " of the Good Laws of King *Edward*; not that he only ordain'd them, " but becauſe he obſerved them.

So that from hence we may take notice, That Kings who have the leaſt of Hereditary Title, if they mean to reign happily, ought in Policy, as well as Conſcience, to obſerve the Laws of that Kingdom to which they have been advanced without any Right of Blood.

C. S

I suppose he means Macbeth

But to return again to our *Annals*; they further tell us, 'That upon 'the King's return from *Rome* (where it ſeems he ſtaid not long ~~after~~) 'he marched into *Scotland*, and there King *Malcolm* became ſubject to 'him, with two other Kings (of the Iſles) called *Mælbæth* and '*Jehmarc*. — as is related by Henry of Hunting

'The ſame year alſo *Robert* Earl of *Normandy* went to *Jeruſalem*, and 'there died; and *William* who was afterwards King of *England*, began 'to reign, being an Infant.

From whence we may plainly ſee, that the *Cottonian* Copy of theſe Annals was wrote in the form we have them, after the Conqueſt; and though the other Copies do not expreſly call him King of *England*, yet they give him the Title of King *William*, which is all one.

About this time (as the *Welſh* Chronicles relate) the *Iriſh Scots* invaded *South-Wales*, by the means of *Howel* and *Meredyth*, the Sons of *Edwin* above-mentioned, who hired them againſt *Rythaerch ap Jeſtyn*, the Uſurping Prince of that Countrey, whom by the aſſiſtance of theſe *Scots* they ſlew in Battel, and by that means got the Government of *South-Wales*, which they ruled jointly, but with ſmall quiet; for the Sons of *Rythaerch* gathered together a great number of their Father's Friends, to revenge his death; with whom Prince *Howel* and *Meredyth* meeting at *Hyarthwy*, after a long Fight routed them, and made them fly; but the year following Prince *Meredyth* himſelf was ſlain by the Sons of *Conan ap Sitſylt*, Brother to Prince *Lewelyn*, to revenge their Father's death, whom *Meredyth* and his Brother *Howel* had ſlain.

Anno Dom. MXXXII.

'This year appeared a ſtrange kind of *Wild-Fire*, ſuch as no man ever 'remembred, and did a great deal of miſchief in divers places. The ſame 'year alſo deceaſed *Ælfſige* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Ælfwin* the King's 'Chaplain ſucceeded in that See.

Anno Dom. MXXXIII.

'*Merehwit* Biſhop of *Somerſetſhire* (i. e. *Wells*) deceaſed, and was 'buried at *Glaſtingabyrig*.)

Anno Dom. MXXXIV.

'*Ætheric* the Biſhop died (the Annals tell us not of what See): But *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *R. Hoveden* add, That *Malcolm* King of *Scots* died this year, to whom ſucceeded *Mactade*.

Anno Dom. MXXXV.

The ſame Authors farther tell us, That King *Cnute* before his Death appointed *Swane* his Eldeſt Son to be King of *Norway*; and *Hardecnute*, his Son by Queen *Æmma*, to be King of *Denmark*; and *Harold*, his Son by *Ælgiva*, a *Hampſhire* Lady, to be King of *England* after himſelf.

‘This year King *Cnute* deceaſed at *Scæfteſbyrig*, and was buried at the ‘new Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, having been King of *England* almoſt ‘twenty years.

Anno Dom. MXXXVI.

There is no King that can deſerve a more various Character than this; ſince none who came in ſo roughly, after govern'd more mildly: He was naturally Cruel, and very Ambitious, and ſtuck not at any thing to gain a Kingdom, as appears by his dealing with his Predeceſſor's Children, and Brothers; but more particularly with *Olaf* King of *Norway*, whom *Simeon* of *Durham* relates to have been turn'd out of it by the ſecret Practices and Bribes which he liberally beſtow'd upon the Great and Factious men of that Kingdom; but however, toward his latter end he reigned both prudently and moderately; and we may ſay of him what a *Roman* Author does of one of his Emperors, That it had been well for this Kingdom if he had never reign'd at all, or elſe had continued longer; none of his Sons reſembling him either in Valour or Wiſdom.

But to let you ſee that this King was really ſenſible before his death, of the Vanity of Worldly Empire, I ſhall, to divert the Reader, give you this ſtory of him, out of *H. Huntington*, who thus relates it, *viz.* That King *Cnute* being once at *Southampton*, caus'd his Royal Seat to be plac'd on the ſhore, while the Tide was coming in; and with a Majeſtick Air ſaid thus, “Thou *Sea* belongeſt to me, and the Land where-“on I ſit is mine; nor hath any one unpuniſhed reſiſted my Commands; “I charge thee therefore come no further upon my Land, neither pre-“ſume to wet the Feet of thy Sovereign Lord. But the Sea, as before, came rowling on, and without any Reverence at all not only wet but daſhed him; whereupon the King quickly riſing up, bade thoſe that were about him to conſider the weak and bounded Power of Kings; and how none indeed deſerved that Title, but He whoſe Eternal Laws both Heaven, and Earth, and Seas obey. A Truth ſo evident of it ſelf, that were it not to ſhame his Court-Flatterers, (who would not elſe be convinced) *Cnute* needed not to have gone wet-ſhod home. From thenceforth he would never afterwards wear his Crown, but commanded it to be put upon the Head of the Crucifix at *Wincheſter*.

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From whoſe Example, as *Petrus Pictavienſis* relates, aroſe that cuſtom of hanging up the Armour of Great Men in Churches, as Offerings made to God, by whoſe aſſiſtance they had attained any Honour to themſelves, or Benefit to their Countrey, either by Victory, or an Honourable Death.

I ſhall conclude his Reign with his Laws, which ſince we have not the time when they were made, I have reſerved to this place: They begin thus:

This is the Law (or Decree) which *Cnute* King of all *England*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, hath ordained with the Conſent of his *Wiſe Men* at *London*, as well for the Maintenance of his own Royal Dignity, as for the Benefit of his People, and were made at *Wincheſter* in *Midwinter*, (*i.e.* at *Chriſtmas*) which, you muſt note, was one of the ſtated times when all the Great Men of the Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity, uſed of courſe to attend upon the King, whether he ſummoned them, or not.

But ſince theſe Laws are very long, and contain a Repetition and Confirmation of divers Laws formerly made by his Predeceſſors, I ſhall only here extract ſome of them, and refer the Reader to Mr. *Lambard* for the reſt.

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“ The *firſt* of Civil Concernment commands Juſtice to be faithfully “ and indifferently adminiſtred both to Poor and Rich, and aboliſhes all “ unjuſt Laws.

“ The *ſecond* requires Mercy to be uſed, and that no man be put to “ death for a ſmall offence.

“ The *eighth* ordains, that all people keep the Peace; and orders one “ and the ſame good Money to be current, and no man to refuſe it. If “ any one embaſe the Coin, his hands ſhall be cut off without any Redemption: And if a Reeve or Magiſtrate be accuſed that it was done “ by his conſent, he ſhall purge himſelf by a treble Purgation; and if “ he be caſt, incur the ſame Puniſhment with the Offender.

“ The *twelfth* is remarkable, ſince it comprizes all thoſe Forfeitures “ which the King challenges as due to himſelf, in the Counties of *Weſt-* “ *Saxony*, except he pleaſe to confer them upon any other; *(viz.)* the “ Penalties incurr’d for the breach of the Peace, for breaking into a “ Houſe, ſtopping up a Paſſage, and forſaking a man’s Colours. If alſo “ for any Crime a man be outlaw’d, the Reſtitution of him to his former ſtate belongs to the King. He alſo that poſſeſſeth *Bocland* (i. e. “ Land convey’d by Deed) forfeits to the King, let his Lord be who he “ will; as alſo whoever relieves or Harbours a Fugitive.

“ The *fourteenth* Law appoints Mulcts for divers Offences, and particularly, That if any Judge have out of Hatred or Lucre perverted Juſtice, by the Law of the *Engliſh* he is to pay to the King the value of “ his Head; and alſo to be removed from his Place, or redeem it as the “ King ſhall pleaſe, except he plead that what he did was from Ignorance, and then he muſt confirm this Aſſertion by Oath: And by the “ Law of the *Danes* he is to incur the Mulct of the breach of that Law, “ except he can plead Ignorance.

“ The *nineteenth* renews the former Laws of King *Alfred*, commanding every ~~one of free~~ condition to enter himſelf into ſome Hundred or Tything; that being in a condition to purge himſelf, he may “ alſo be in a capacity to claim from another the value of his Head; “ otherwiſe none that exceeds twelve years of age, in caſe he receive any “ wrong, ſhall be capable of enjoying the ſame privilege with a Freeman; and be he a Maſter of a Family, or a Retainer, he muſt be “ entred into ſome Hundred or other, and muſt find Pledges or Sureties “ for his appearance, in caſe he be accuſed of a Crime. Some Great “ Men (ſays the King) if they can do it, will protect their Servants, “ giving out ſometimes that they are Free, other times that they are “ Slaves; but we not enduring any ſuch unjuſt practiſes, enjoin, That “ every one of twelve years of age ſhall give Security by Oath, that he “ will neither ſteal himſelf, nor be acceſſary to the Theft of any other.

Thus doth he revive what King *Alfred* had before ordained, That no Freeman ſhould be out of *Tything*, or live at random, without this moſt efficacious Tye of Suretyſhip; and to what was enacted before, adds this caution of twelve years, beyond which, for the Publick Peace and Security, none were to live without being admitted and received into ſome Hundred and Tything.

“ The *twentieth* Law of King *Cnute* ſo far indulges a man unblameable and of good Repute, who never brake his Oath in the Hundred, “ nor was caſt by the *Ordeal*, that his ſingle Purgation ſhall be accepted. “ But a man of the contrary Reputation, ſhall either be compelled to ta

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“his ſingle Oath in three Hundreds, or a threefold one, according to the cuſtom of that Court, or be put to the *Ordeal*; but a ſingle Purgation is to be made with a threefold preparatory Oath.

“By virtue of the *fifty fourth* Law, whoſoever conſpires againſt the King, or his Lord, ſhall forfeit Life and Fortunes, except he purge himſelf by the threefold *Ordeal*.

“The *ſixty firſt* declares breaking down or burning Houſes, as alſo Theft, manifeſt Murthers, and betraying of ones Lord, according to Human Laws, to be Crimes for which there is no *Bote* or Satisfaction to be made, by way of Mulct or Compenſation: Which is an alteration of the former Laws, by which all theſe Crimes were redeemable by Money.

“The *next* wills, That Mercy be ſhewn, as much as may be, to ſuch as truly and unfeignedly amend their ways.

“And by that which follows, the King declares he will put a difference betwixt Small and Great, Rich and Poor, Young and Old, Infirm and Healthful; foraſmuch as ſome men may offend out of a kind of neceſſity; and that a diſtinction is to be made betwixt a forced and a voluntary act: Therefore he promiſes to ſuccour where there is moſt need of his help.

“The *ſixty ſeventh* contains an Act of Grace of the King to his Subjects, whereby he relieves ſuch as were formerly oppreſſed: He alſo enjoins all his Officers, that they make proviſion for his Houſe out of his own Lands and Tillage, and that they compel no man to furniſh him with any Proviſions in this kind, upon pain of paying the value of their heads, if they impoſe any Mulct upon Refuſers.

“The *ſixty eighth* ordains, That in caſe any man by neglect, or ſudden Death, depart this world inteſtate, his Lord ſhall take nothing of his Goods, except what is due to him as an *Herriot*; but all is to be diſtributed by his Judgment to the Wife, Children, and next Kindred, juſtly, according to their ſeveral Rights.

“The *ſixty ninth* ſettles the rates of all *Herriots* to the King, ordering that the *Herriot* of every one be according to his dignity; as firſt, That of an Earl eight Horſes, whereof four with Furniture, and four without; four Helmets, as many Corſlets, eight Spears, and as many Shields; four Swords, and two hundred *Mancuſes* of Gold. That of the King's chief *Thane* four Horſes, whereof two with Furniture, and two without; two Swords, four Spears, and as many Shields; one Helmet, one Corſlet, and fifty *Mancuſes* of Gold. The *Herriot* of an inferior *Thane*, an Horſe with Furniture and Arms; or amongſt the *Weſt-Saxons* the Sum of Money that is paid, called *Halfſange*; in *Mercia* and *Eaſt-England*, two Pounds: But amongſt the *Danes* the *Herriot* of a King's *Thane*, who hath free Juriſdiction, is four Pounds; and if he be nearer to the King, his *Herriot* is two Horſes, whereof the one with Furniture, and the other without; a Sword, two Spears, as many Targets, and fifty *Mancuſes* of Gold. But the *Herriot* of a *Thane* of the loweſt condition, is two Pounds.

This word *Herriot*, (or as the true *Saxon* word is written) *Heregeate*, ſignifies Furniture for War, given by the Vaſſal to his Lord, probably at firſt deſigned for the driving away Thieves and Robbers, which abounded when the *Daniſh* or *Northern* Nations ſo frequently invaded the Land: For though the word *Here* does in the *Saxon* Lan-

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guage ſignify an Army, yet it is in our *Saxon* Authors (when without compoſition) generally taken in the worſt ſenſe, for Invaders and Spoilers: A Lawful Army collected by the King for the defence of the Nation being called by the name of *Fyrd*.

“The *ſeventy firſt* requires Widows to continue in Widowhood for the ſpace of Twelve Months, and then permits them to marry: If a Woman marry before her Twelve Months be out, ſhe ſhall loſe her Dower, with all that her Husband left her, which is to come in ſuch caſe to the next of kin; and he that marries her, ſhall pay the value of his Head to the King, or to whomſoever he aſſigns it.

“The *ſeventy fifth* Law deprives him of Life and Eſtate, who either in an Expedition by Land or Sea deſerts his Lord, or his Fellow-Soldier; and in ſuch caſe the Lord is to have back the Land he gave him; or if it was *Bocland*, it goes to the King. But in caſe any one dye in Fight in the preſence of his Lord, either at home or abroad, his *Herriot* ſhall be remitted, and his Children ſhall ſucceed both to his Goods and Lands, and equally divide them.

“The *ſeventy ſixth* gives him liberty that hath defended his Land, and cleared it from all doubts and incumbrances in the *Sciregemote*, or County-Court, to poſſeſs it quietly whilſt he lives, and to leave it to whom he pleaſes when he dies.

From whence we may obſerve, that before the Conqueſt men might bequeath their Lands by their Laſt Will.

“The *ſeventy ſeventh* gives liberty to every man to hunt in his own Grounds, but forbids all men under a Penalty to meddle with the King's Game, eſpecially in thoſe places which he had fenced by Privilege.

By thoſe places thus privileged, he means thoſe which afterwards the *Normans* called *Foreſts*, being Ground Deſart and Woody, lying open to the King's Deer, not fenced about with any Hedge or Wall, but circumſcribed and privileged, or (as here he words it) fenced with certain Bounds, Laws, and Immunities, under Magiſtrates, Judges, Officers, *&c.* Concerning theſe Foreſts, the King publiſhed certain Conſtitutions (Thirty four in number), which you may ſee at large in Sir *Hen. Spelman*'s Gloſſary, *tit. Foreſta.* But becauſe he mentions them not in this nor any other of his Laws, they ſeem to have been made afterwards: But the Thirtieth Article is therein almoſt the very ſame with this Law, forbidding all men to meddle with his Game; and yet permitting them to hunt in their own Grounds, *ſine Chaſea*; but what that ſignifies, unleſs it be following their Game out of their own Grounds, I will not take upon me to determine.

King Harold, ſirnamed Harefoot.

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NOT long after the Death of King *Cnute*, our Annals relate, 'That there was a great *Witena Gemot*, or Council of the '*Wiſe Men*, held at *Oxnaford*, where Earl *Leofric*, and al'moſt all the *Thanes* on the *Eaſt* part of *Thames*, with the 'Seamen of *London*, choſe *Harold* for King of all *England*, whilſt his 'Brother *Hardecnute* was in *Denmark*: But Earl *Godwin* and all the 'Great Men of the *Weſt-Saxons*, withſtood it as much as they could, 'though they were not able to prevail againſt them. Then was it alſo 'decreed, That *Elgiva* (or *Emma*) the Mother of *Hardecnute*, ſhould 'reſide at *Wincheſter*, with the Domeſtick Servants of the late King, and 'ſhould poſſeſs all *Weſt-Saxony*, where Earl *Godwin* was Governor, or 'Lord Lieutenant. It is ſaid alſo by ſome concerning this King *Ha'rold*, that he was the Son of King *Cnute*, and of *Ælgiva* the Daughter 'of *Ælfhelm* the Ealdorman; but that ſeems ſcarce probable to many, 'however, he was full (or Real) King of all *England*.

That which gave cauſe to this ſuſpicion, was (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *Radulph de Diceto* relate) That this *Ælgiva* not being able to have Children by King *Cnute*, commanded the Son of a certain Shoomaker, then newly born, to be brought to her, and feigning a formal Lying in, to have impoſed upon the credulous King her Husband, that ſhe was really brought to bed of a Son; which, if true, ſhews that it is no new or ſtrange thing for a Queen of *England* to impoſe a ſuppoſititious Birth upon the King her Husband, and the whole Nation.

But this Contention about the Election of *Harold*, gives us great reaſon to doubt the Truth of the Relation in *Simeon* of *Durham*, and other Authors, of this *Harold*'s being appointed by his Father's Will to ſucceed in the Kingdom of *England*; ſuch a Nomination or Recommendation ſeldom or never failing to be obſerved by the States of the Kingdom without any diſpute, at the Election of a New King: And beſides, Queen *Æmma* ~~his Mother~~, who had then the greateſt power with King *Cnute*, would ſure much rather have had her own Son *Hardecnute* to have ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *England*, than *Harold*, at beſt ſuppoſed to be her Husband's Son by another Woman: So that if *Harold* was now choſen King, it is moſt likely that it was not in purſuance of King *Cnute*'s Will, but purely from the prevailing Faction of the *Danes* and *Londoners*; who, as *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, were by their long converſation with them, become wholly *Daniſh* in their Inclinations.

his mother in Law

But if *Ingulph* may be believed (who lived as well before as after the Conqueſt), there was then ſo great a Diſpute about the Election of a King, that many fearing a Civil War would enſue, it cauſed multitudes of people to quit their Habitations, and betake themſelves into Wateriſh and Fenny Places, where they thought the Enemy could not, or would not eaſily purſue them; and particularly to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, where they cauſed ſuch a diſturbance, that the Monks of that

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place could neither meet in the Church nor in the Refectory: When at laſt, to avoid the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, it was agreed at the aforeſaid Council at *Oxnaford*, That the Kingdom ſhould be divided between the two Brothers, *Harold* and *Hardecnute*, ſo that the former ſhould have all the Countries lying *Northward* from the *Thames*, together with the City of *London*, and *Hardecnute* enjoy all the *Southern* Provinces. But *Hardecnute* having received his ſhare of the Kingdom, went into *Denmark*, where making unneceſſary delays, *Harold* ſeized the whole Kingdom to himſelf. Which is in part confirmed by an Ancient *Manuſcript* Chronicle in the * *Cottonian* Library; which relates, That *Harold* King of the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians*, was elected King of all *England*; and *Hardecnute*, becauſe he ſtaid in *Denmark*, was caſt off. To which may be added certain old †*Manuſcript* Annals, now in the ſame Library (part of which is ſuppoſed to be written by *Henry* of *Huntington)*, That *Harold* was elected by the Chief Men of the *Eaſt-Angles* (*i.e.* the *Danes* of that Countrey) together with the *Londoners*; ſo that he uſurped the Kingdom of his Brother *Hardecnute*, being then in *Denmark*. And *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, That by the Conſent of the Great Men of *England*, *Harold* began to reign as true and juſt Heir, but not ſo indiſputably as King *Cnute* his Father had done; becauſe *Hardecnute*, who was a truer Heir than he, was then expected; yet that in a ſhort time the Kingdom became divided after the ſame manner as *Ingulph* hath related. But it ſeems very unlikely, that *Hardecnute*, if he had been choſen King of any part of *England*, would have left it, and gone over into *Denmark*, before he was well ſettled at home. It is therefore more likely (what *Florence* of *Worceſter* aſſerts), That *Harold* was at firſt elected King only of the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, *Hardecnute* being to enjoy all the reſt; but that not coming out of *Denmark* in due time, *Harold* got himſelf choſen King of the whole Kingdom the year following.

* *Otho*, D. 7.

† *Julius*, D. 4.

But leaving this matter concerning *Hardecnute*'s Succeſſion, which muſt be confeſſed is much in the dark, the Author laſt mentioned does ſay, That *Harold* after he had obtained the Royal Dignity, ſent his Guards ſpeedily to *Wincheſter*, and there tyrannically ſeized on the greater part of the Treaſures of the King his Father, which had been bequeathed by *Cnute* to the Queen his Mother-in-Law.

But I cannot omit taking notice of the moſt Cruel and Bloody Treatment of Prince *Alfred* (Brother to King *Edward*) and his Followers; which becauſe many of our Beſt and moſt Ancient Hiſtorians, as well Printed as Manuſcript, refer to this year, and that too not long after King *Harold*'s coming to the Crown, I ſhall here ſet down, ſince it ſeems moſt likely to have happened now, rather than at any other time: For though our Authors differ much about it, yet ſeeing moſt of the Ancient *Manuſcript* Annals in the *Cottonian* Library, (as alſo that old Treatiſe called *Encomium Emmæ*, being a Panegyrick wrote on that Queen by a Monk of her own time) agree in relating the Circumſtances of this horrid Action, I ſhall from thence tranſcribe this following Account of it; *viz.*

"That King *Harold* ſeeking by Treachery how to get thoſe two young "Princes, (Sons to the late King *Etbelred*) into his power, forged a "Letter in the Name of Queen *Emma* their Mother, inviting them into "*England*; wherein, perſonating her, ſhe ſeemed to chide them gently "for

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“ for their delay, in not coming over to look after their own concerns; “ ſeeing they could not but know that it procured the daily confirming “ of the Uſurper in his power, who omitted no arts or means whatſo- “ ever, to gain the chief Nobility over to his Party; yet alſo aſſures them, “ that the *Engliſh* Nation had much rather have one of them to be their “ King; and in concluſion, deſires they would come as ſpeedily and as “ privately as they could, to conſult with her, what courſe was beſt to “ be taken.

This Letter was ſent to the Princes, then in *Normandy*, by an expreſs Meſſenger, with Preſents alſo, as from their Mother; which they joyfully receiving, returned word by the ſame hand, That one of them would be with her ſhortly, naming both the Time and Place. * *Alfred* who was the younger (for ſo it was thought beſt) at the appointed time, with a few Ships, and ſome ſmall number of *Normans* about him, appeared on the Coaſt, and no ſooner came aſhore, but fell into the Snare that Earl *Godwin* had laid for him, being ſent on purpoſe to betray him; and being cajoll’d into a belief that he was ſent for by the King then at *London*, he was in the way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all ſeeming Friendſhip at firſt kindly entertained him, but in the night ſurprized the Prince, and made him Priſoner, with all his Company, moſt of whom (in all about Six hundred men) were put to various kinds of cruel deaths, and being twice decimated, every Tenth man ſuffered without mercy. The Prince was brought to *London*, and by the King ſent bound to *Ely*, and had his eyes put out as ſoon as he landed there; and being delivered to the Monks to be kept, died ſoon after in their Cuſtody; but whether of the Pain, or Grief, or ſome other Indiſpoſition, is left uncertain.

Yet though this Author makes no mention of Prince *Edward* his Brother’s coming over with him; but rather aſſerting the contrary, that he never came at all; however, ſeveral other Hiſtorians will have this Prince to have either come over then, or ſome time before; and that being with his Mother when his Brother was thus treated, ſhe immediately ſent him back into *Normandy*; which I muſt confeſs ſeems very improbable, ſince *Harold* had it then in his power to deſtroy them both.

But though it is certain that this unfortunate Prince was made away, yet ſince our *Annals* are wholly ſilent in it, there is nothing about which our Hiſtorians ſo much vary, as concerning the time when it was done. *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Bromton* place it after the death of *Harold*, and before the coming over of *Hardecnute*; when they ſay that Prince *Alfred* arrived, with ſome expectations of the Kingdom; but the former plainly confeſſes, that he related this ſtory only upon common fame; yet becauſe the Chronicles (*i. e.* the *Saxon* Annals) are ſilent, he will not affirm it for truth; ſo it ſeems he had never ſeen the abovemention’d *Encomium Emmæ*. But that Prince *Alfred* was made away by the means of Earl *Godwin*, we ſhall further make out when we come to the Reign of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*.

And the reaſon that ſome of our Hiſtorians give for *Godwin*’s cruel uſage of Prince *Alfred*, whilſt he let his Brother eſcape, is, that *Godwin* was afraid of the High Spirit and Wit of this young Prince; becauſe he knew that if ever he came to be King, he would never be governed by him, nor marry his Daughter; both which he hoped for from *Edward*, in caſe he ſhould be choſen King by his means (as afterwards

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* Note, *Some other Hiſtorians make him the Elder.*

wards happen'd). This, whether true or not, I will not determine; yet it ſuits well enough with the Intereſt of that Politick Earl. I ſhall ſay no more of this, only we cannot but hence obſerve the great Uncertainty of Traditional Accounts, though of no long ſtanding, ſince this Story, tranſacted not many years before the Conqueſt, is told ſo many ſeveral ways.

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'This year (according to our Annals) *Ælgiva* the Widow of King '*Cnute*, and Mother of King *Hardecnute* and King *Edward*, was ba'niſhed; but going over to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, he aſſign'd her '*Bricge* (i.e. *Bruges*) for her Retirement, where he protected her, 'and provided for her as long as ſhe ſtaid there.

But the Reader is to take notice, that this Queen, who is here called *Ælgiva* in the *Engliſh-Saxon*, is the ſame with *Emma* in the *Norman-French* Dialect, and who was now baniſhed *England* by King *Harold*, as all Writers agree. But the reaſon why this Queen did not retire into *Normandy*, her own Countrey, was, that her Father and Brother were both dead; and though *William* her Nephew then ſucceeded in the Dukedom, yet he was but an Infant, under the Tutelage of the King of *France*.

This year alſo produced a great Revolution in *Wales*; for *Griffyth ap Lewelyn ap Sitſylt*, ſometimes Prince of *Wales*, raiſed a great Army againſt Prince *Jago*, who now enjoyed the Principality of *North-Wales* (as you have already heard); and *Jago* alſo provided for himſelf as well as he could; but the greater part, and the better Soldiers were of *Griffyth*'s ſide, for the love they bore to his Father, as plainly appeared when it came to a trial; for after the Battel was joined, *Jago*, his Soldiers deſerting him, was ſoon overthrown and ſlain; and then *Griffyth* reigned in his ſtead. From whence we may obſerve the ſtrange fickleneſs of the *Welſh* Nation in thoſe times, who notwithſtanding their ſeeming Affection to this Prince the Right Heir, yet left him as ſoon as ever they met with one of the ſame Race whom they liked better. From which evil cuſtom theſe Countries were never long without Civil Wars, till the total Conqueſt of them by the *Engliſh*.

But *Griffyth ap Lewelyn*, after he had thus ſlain Prince *Jago*, governed *North-Wales* very well, following his Father's ſteps; and in the very firſt year of his Government he fought with the *Engliſhmen* and *Danes* at *Crosford* upon *Severne*; and from thence he led his Army to *Lhanpadarn vawr* in *Caerdiganſhire*, and deſtroyed that place; and thence paſſing into *South-Wales*, totally ſubdued it; *Howel ap Edwin*, at that time Prince thereof, being forced to fly his Countrey; and when he had thus reduced *South Wales*, he returned home again with Honour. But the next year,

Anno Dom. MXXXVIII.

Howel Prince of *South-Wales* (as the *Engliſh* as well as *Welſh* Chronicles relate) having now procured *Edwin* the Brother of *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia* to aſſiſt him, marched with a great Army of *Engliſh* and *Danes* againſt Prince *Griffyth*, who meeting them in the field, overcame them, and ſlew *Edwin* at *Pencadair*, and purſued *Howel* ſo cloſely, that though he eſcaped himſelf, yet his Wife was taken Priſoner; whom *Griffyth* liked ſo well, that he kept her for his Miſtreſs.

But though *Howel* after this made ſeveral Attempts to regain his Countrey, yet he could never ſucceed, for that Prince *Griffyth* held it all his time. But the *Cottonian* Chronicle relates, that fighting afterwards

wards with *Griffyth* at a place called *Paldiwach*, he obtained the Victory, and again made himſelf Prince of *South-Wales*: But this I leave to the Reader's Judgment. To return again to our Annals:

Anno Dom. MXXXVIII.

'*Ethelnoth* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed, and a little after '*Ethelric* Biſhop of the *South-Saxons*; and alſo a little before *Chriſtmas* '*Bryteh* Biſhop of *Worceſter*; and a little after, *Ælfric* Biſhop of the '*Eaſt Angles*: Then *Ædſige* was made Archbiſhop, and *Grymkytel* Biſhop of the *South-Saxons*; and *Living* ſucceeded in the Biſhopricks of '*Worceſter* and *Glouceſter*.

Anno Dom. MXXXIX.

'This year King *Harold* deceaſed at *Oxnaford*, 16. *Kal. April*, and 'was buried at *Weſtminſter*. He governed *England* Four Years, and 'Sixteen Weeks.] But there is certainly an Error in this Copy of the *Annals*; for either he deceaſed not till the next year, as the *Cambridge* Copy and *Mat. Weſtminſter* place it; or elſe he could reign but Three Years, and perhaps ſo many odd Weeks as theſe *Annals* mention.

'In his time was again paid a great Tax for the ſetting out Sixteen 'Sail; to wit, Eight Marks to every Rower (which ſhews it conſiſted of only Gallies, and not Ships); and as *Florence* alſo adds, Twelve Marks more to every Maſter, which he order'd to be rais'd through all *England*; as was before done in the Reign of King *Cnute*.

But it ſeems every Port was bound to pay ſuch a proportion, to ſet out theſe Sixteen Sail (as *H. Huntington* relates) whereby nevertheleſs he ſo much incenſed the minds of the *Engliſh* againſt him, that the *Welſh* perceiving it, or elſe for ſome other reaſon, began to be very unruly; inſomuch that ſome Inſurrections happened thereupon, wherein many of the *Engliſh* Nobility were ſlain; as *Eawin*, Brother to Earl *Leofric*; *Turketil* and *Algeat*, the Sons of *Effi*, both of them Great Perſons; and ſeveral others.

And to this time (I ſuppoſe) we may refer what *Caradoc* in his *Welſh* Chronicle relates, That *Griffyth ap Lewelyn*, Prince of *North-Wales*, in the firſt year of his Reign, fought with the *Engliſh* and *Danes* at *Croſsford* upon *Severne*, and put them to flight; and from thence he led his Army to *Lhanpadan vawr* in *Caerdiganſhire*, and deſtroyed the place utterly; and from thence paſſed all over *South-Wales*, receiving the people into his ſubjection, for *Howel ap Edwin* their King fled before him, and forſook the Land.

As for the Character of this King *Harold*, and the reaſon why he was called *Harefoot*, they are very uncertain: *H. Knighton* in his Chronicle writes very oddly, That he had a Body like a Hare, ſure he means hairy like that Creature, and from thence was called *Harefoot*; which is very improbable. But others with more appearance of truth, derive it from his Swiftneſs of Foot. *Bromton* gives him this Character, That in all reſpects he degenerated from the Worth of his Father King *Cnute* (inſomuch that divers ſuſpected him not to have been his Son), for he was altogether careleſs both as to matters of War and Peace; only he would purſue his own Will and Pleaſure, and what was very unbecoming his Royal Eſtate, chuſing rather to go on foot, than ride; whence, for the lightneſs and ſwiftneſs of his Feet, he ſeems to have been called *Harefoot*.

As for his Laws, we have only this one mentioned by Mr. *Selden* in his *Janus Anglorum*, which was, That whatever *Welſhman*, coming into *England* without leave, was taken on this ſide *Offa*'s Ditch, ſhould have his Right Hand cut off by the King's Officers.

King HARDECNUTE.

Anno Dom. MXXXIX.

(in the book of Rom-
sey [illegible]) [illegible]
[illegible] & [illegible]
Abbey of Romsey
[illegible]
[illegible]

KING *Harold* dying thus ſuddenly, the Chief Men of *England*, with whom alſo the *Londoners* now joined, ſent Meſſengers to *Hardecnute* (who was then at *Bruges* with his Mother) intreating him to come and receive the Crown; whereupon he haſted into *Denmark*, there to ſettle his Affairs; which when he had done, with Forty (or as ſome ſay, Sixty) Ships, well mann'd with *Daniſh* Soldiers, according to our Annals, he arrived at *Sandwich* ſeven ‘days before *Midſummer*, being joyfully received both by the *Danes* and ‘*Engliſh*; (and as *H. Huntington* relates, was by both of them *elected* ‘*King*); though afterwards the Great Men that did it, paid dearly for ‘it; for not long after, it was decreed, That a Tax of Eight Marks ‘ſhould be again paid to the Rowers in Sixty two Sail of Ships. The ‘ſame year alſo a *Seſter* (*i. e.* a Horſe-load) of Wheat was ſold for ‘Fifty five Pence, and more.

Anno Dom. MXL.

‘This year *Eadſige* the Archbiſhop went to *Rome*; and alſo another ‘Military Tax was paid, of Twenty nine thouſand twenty nine pounds: ‘And after this, was paid Eleven thouſand forty eight pounds for two ‘and thirty Sail of Ships.

But whether theſe Taxes were raiſed by Authority of the Great Council of the Kingdom, our Authors do not mention; but I believe not; for this *Danegelt* was now by conſtant uſage become a Prerogative.

‘The ſame year came *Eadward* the Son of King *Æthelred* into this ‘Kingdom from *Wealand* (by which our Annals mean *Normandy*): After which time Prince *Edward* returned no more thither, but ſtaid in *England* till his Brother died.

But the ſame year, not long after his Coronation, he ſent *Alfric* Archbiſhop of *York*, and Earl *Godwin*, and divers Great Men of his Court to *London*, attended by the Hangman, and out of Hatred to his Brother *Harold*, and Revenge of the Injuries done to his Mother (as he pretended) commanded his Body to be dug up, and the Head to be cut off and flung into the *Thames*; but ſome Fiſhermen afterwards pulling it up with their Nets, buried it again in St. *Clement*'s Church-yard, being then the Burying-place of the *Danes*.

The ſame year alſo (according to *Bromton*'s Chronicle) King *Hardecnute* ſent over his Siſter *Gunhilda* to the Emperor *Henry*, to whom ſhe had been in her Father's life-time betroth'd: But before ſhe went, the King kept the Nuptial Feaſt with that Magnificence in Cloaths, Equipage, and Feaſting, that as *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates, it was remembred in his time, and ſung by Muſicians at all great Entertainments. But this Lady was received and treated by the Emperor her Husband with great kindneſs for ſome time; till being accuſed of Adultery, ſhe could find, it ſeems, no beter a Champion to vindicate her Honour, than a certain little Page ſhe had brought out of *England* with her, who undertaking her defence, fought in a ſingle Combat againſt a man of a vaſt

Stature,

Anno Dom. MXL.

Stature, named *Rodingar*, and by cutting his Hamſtrings with his Sword, and falling down, he obtained the Victory, and ſo cleared his Lady's Honour; of which ſhe yet received ſo little ſatisfaction, that ſhe forſook her Husband, and retired into a Monaſtery, where ſhe ended her days.

About this time alſo (as *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Bromton*'s Chronicle, and other Authors inform us) King *Hardecnute* was highly incenſed againſt *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Earl *Godwin*, for the death of his Half Brother *Alfred*, Son to King *Ethelred*; *Alfric* Archbiſhop of *York* accuſing them both of having perſuaded King *Harold* to uſe him ſo cruelly as you have already heard: The Biſhop and Earl being thus accuſed before King *Hardecnute*, the former was deprived of his Biſhoprick, and the latter was alſo in very great danger. But not long after, the King being appeaſed with Money, the Biſhop was again reſtored; and as for Earl *Godwin*, he had alſo incurred ſome heavy Puniſhment, had he not been ſo cunning as to buy his peace (as theſe Authors relate) by preſenting the King with a Galley moſt magnificently equipp'd, having a gilded Stern, and furniſhed with all Conveniences both for War and Pleaſure, and mann'd with Eighty choice Soldiers, every one of whom had upon each Arm a Golden Bracelet weighing ſixteen Ounces, with Helmet and Corſlet all gilt, as were alſo the Hilts of their Swords; having a *Daniſh* Battel-Axe adorned with Silver and Gold, hung on his Left Shoulder, whilſt in his Left Hand he held a Shield, the Boſs and Nails of which were alſo gilded, and in his Right a Launce, in the *Engliſh-Saxon* Tongue called a *Tegar*: But all this would not ſerve his turn, without an Oath, That Prince *Alfred* had not his eyes put out by his Advice, but he therein merely obeyed *Harold*'s Commands, being at that time his King and Maſter.

Anno Dom. MXLI.

This year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) King *Hardecnute* ſent his *Huiſceorles* (*i.e.* his Domeſtick Servants, or Guards) to exact the Tax which he had lately impoſed: But the Citizens of *Worceſter*, and the *Worceſterſhire* men riſing, ſlew two of them, called *Feadar* and *Turſtan*, having fled into a Tower belonging to a Monaſtery of that City. Thereupon *Hardecnute* being exceedingly provoked to hear of their deaths, ſent to revenge it, *Leofric* Ealdorman of the *Mercians*, *Godwin* of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Siward* of the *Northumbrians*, and others, with great Forces, and orders to kill all the men, plunder and burn the City, and waſte the Countrey round about. On the evening preceding the thirteenth of *November*, they began to put his Commands in execution, and continued both waſting and ſpoiling the City and Countrey for four days together; but few of the Inhabitants themſelves could be laid hold of, the Countrey-men ſhifting for themſelves every man as well as they could, and the Citizens betaking themſelves to a little Iſland in the *Severne*, called *Beverege*, which they fortified, and vigorouſly ſtood upon their Defence, till their Oppoſers being tired out and ſpent, were forced to make Peace with them, and ſo ſuffered them to return quietly home. This was not done till the fifth day, when the City being burnt, the Army retreated, loaded with the Plunder they had got.

Simeon next after this cruel Expedition, places the coming over of Prince *Edward*; but our Annals with greater probability put his Return under the year before.

Anno Dom. MXLI.

‘This year alſo King *Hardecnute* deceaſed at *Lambeth* (6. *Id. Junii*). ‘He was King of *England* two years, wanting ſeven days, and was ‘buried in the New Monaſtery (of *Wincheſter*); his Mother giving ‘the Head of St. *Valentine* to pray for his Soul.

But ſince our Annals are very ſhort in the Relation of his Death, we muſt take it from other Authors; who all agree, That the King being invited to a Wedding at the place above-mentioned, which with great Pomp and Luxury was ſolemnized betwixt *Tovy*, ſirnamed *Prudan*, a *Daniſh* Nobleman, and *Githa* the Daughter of *Oſgod Clappa*, a great Lord alſo of that Nation; as he was very jolly and merry, carouſing it with the Bridegroom and ſome of the Company, he fell down ſpeechleſs, and died in the Flower of his Age.

He is to be commended for his Piety, and Good-Nature to his Mother, and Brother Prince *Edward*: But the great Faults laid to this Prince's charge, are Cruelty, Gluttony, and Drunkenneſs: For the firſt of theſe you have had a late Example; and for the latter, take what *H. Huntington* relates, That Four Meals a day he allowed his Court; and it muſt be then ſuppoſed he loved eating well himſelf; though this Author attributes it to his Bounty; and how he rather deſired that the Meat ſhould be taken away untouch'd from ſuch as were invited, than that thoſe who were not invited, ſhould complain for want of Victuals; whereas, ſaith he, the cuſtom of our time is (either out of Covetouſneſs, or, as they pretend, becauſe their people cannot eat) for Great Men to allow their Followers but one Meal a day; which ſhews, that the cuſtom of Set-Suppers hath had divers Viciſſitudes, being not commonly uſed in *England* in Great Mens Families at the time when *H. Huntington* wrote, and therefore is an *Engliſh* Cuſtom prevailing ſince that time; the *Norman* Faſhions being then moſt uſed.

John Rouſe alſo, in his *Manuſcript* Treatiſe *de Regibus Ang.* already cited, relates, That the day of King *Hardecnute*'s Death was in his time kept by the *Engliſh* as an Holiday, being called *Hock-Wedneſday*; on which they danced, and drew Cords croſs the way, as they do in ſeveral Pariſhes in *England* even at this day, to ſtop people till they will pay them ſome Money.

King Edward (called) the Confeſſor.

Anno Dom. MXLI.

‘Before King *Hardecnute* was buried, all the People choſe *Edward* *Ætheling* King at *London*; who reigned as long as God permitted him.

But *William* of *Malmesbury* with greater probability ſays, That this King did not come to the Crown without ſome difficulty; for when he had received the News of his Brother *Hardecnute*'s Death, he was in great perplexity what was moſt adviſable for him to do; at laſt, after mature deliberation, he thought it the ſafeſt courſe to truſt his Fortune to Earl *Godwin*'s Advice; who being ſent for to a friendly Conference, for ſome time he was conſidering whether he ſhould come to him or not; but at length he agreed to ſpeak with him; and upon the Enterview *Edward* was about to lay himſelf at his Feet, but that he would by no means ſuffer: Then the Prince earneſtly deſired he would aſſiſt him in his ſafe return to *Normandy*; when immediately *Godwin* gave him this unexpected anſwer, That he had better live gloriouſly King of *England*, than dye ignominiouſly in Exile: That the Crown did of Right belong to him as Son of *Ethelred*, and Grandchild of *Edgar*: That he was one of mature Age, inur'd to Labour, and who had learnt by experience how to order Publick Affairs with Juſtice; and had been taught by his own late Afflictions how to remove and prevent the Miſeries of the People: That to bring this about, there would be no great Obſtacle; for if he would but truſt himſelf to him, he ſhould find that his Intereſt was very powerful in the Nation, and that Fortune would be favourable to his juſt Pretenſions; and if he would accept of the Royal Dignity, he was confident there would be none to oppoſe it; but on condition that he would eſtabliſh a firm Friendſhip with him and his Family, by promiſing to prefer his Sons, and marry his Daughter, that then he ſhould ſoon find himſelf a King.

Edward's caſe at this time was ſuch, as not to reject ſo fair Propoſals, but rather agree to any Conditions, and comply with the preſent ſtate of Affairs; whatſoever therefore *Godwin* required, he promiſed and ſwore to perform. Now the Earl was a Man fitted by Nature for managing ſuch an Intrigue, having a very ſmooth and plauſible Tongue, ſo Eloquent, that he could move and charm the Affections of the People, inſinuate into them whatſoever he pleaſed, and bring them entirely over to his Intereſt and Service. Upon this he procures a Great Council to be ſummoned at *Gillingham* (ſome Copies have it, at *London*); and there he influenced ſome by his own Authority, gain'd over others by his Promiſes; and thoſe who were inclined before to Prince *Edward*'s Cauſe, he fully ſettled and confirmed to his Party; the reſt, that made oppoſition, being over-power'd, were firſt of all turn'd out of their Places, and then baniſhed the Land.

The *Annals* of the Abby of *Wincheſter* (printed in the *Monaſt. Ang.* from the Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library) not only agree with *William* of *Malmesbury* in this Relation, but are alſo much more particular; *viz.* That Prince *Edward* coming to *Godwin* one morning in diſguiſe

Anno Dom. MXLI.

diſguiſe to *London*, fell at his Feet, begging him to preſerve his Life; but the Earl taking him up, promiſed to uſe him like his Son; and alſo gave him farther Encouragements and Aſſurance; ſo that *Edward* returning again to *Wincheſter* to his Mother, *Godwin* ſhortly after ſummoned all the Great Men of the Kingdom to meet there, to conſult about making a New King. Then theſe *Annals* proceed to relate the manner of this *Election*; *Viz.* That Earl *Godwin* raiſing the Prince from the place where he ſate at his feet (being then *incognito*, having his Hood over his Face), ſaid thus, *Behold your King: This is Prince* Edward, *the Son of King* Ethelred *and Queen* Emma: *This is He whom I Elect*, &c.; and ſo firſt did him Homage: Then after ſome Debates among themſelves, they all at laſt conſented to his *Election*; ſo that if it diſpleaſed any there, they durſt not ſhew their Diſcontent, ſince Earl *Godwin* would have it ſo; and *Edward* being thus Elected, was, not long after, crown'd at *Weſtminſter*.

Which is alſo confirmed by an Ancient Chronicle * in the *Cottonian* Library (already cited), ending with this Prince, which ſaith, That *Hardecnute* being dead, *Eadward* was advanced to the Crown by the endeavours chiefly of Earl *Godwin*, and *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

Bromton's Chronicle farther adds, That at this Grand Council all the Great Men of *England* agreed and ſwore with one conſent, That no *Danes* ſhould reign over them any more, becauſe of the great Affronts and Contempts they had received from that Nation: For they held the *Engliſh* in ſuch ſervile ſubjection, That if an *Engliſhman* had met a *Dane* upon a Bridge, he was obliged to ſtand ſtill till the other had paſſed by; and if he had not bowed to the *Dane*, he was ſure to be well baſted for his neglect; ſo that as ſoon as King *Hardecnute* was dead, the *Engliſh* drove all the *Danes* out of the Kingdom.

But notwithſtanding the great happineſs the *Engliſh* now received by having a King of their own Nation; yet it ſeems, 'This year was unfortunate for the Intemperance of the Seaſon, which (as our *Annals* 'relate) deſtroyed the Fruits of the Earth; ſo that a great number of 'Cattel died. Alſo about this time *Ælf*——, Abbot of *Burgh* deceaſed, and *Arnwi* a Monk was choſen Abbot, being a mild and good 'man.

About the ſame time alſo, according to the *Welſh* Chronicle, Prince *Conan* the Son of *Jago*, who had fled into *Ireland* to ſave his life, and coming now over from thence, being aſſiſted with the Forces of *Alfred* the *Daniſh* King of *Dublin*, entred *North-Wales* by ſurprize, took Prince *Griffyth* Priſoner, and was carrying him away to his Ships: But the people of the Countrey hearing of it, they immediately roſe and purſued the *Iriſhmen*, and at laſt overtaking them, reſcued their Prince, and made a great ſlaughter among them, the reſt with much difficulty got to their Ships, and returned with *Conan* into *Ireland*.

Anno Dom. MXLIII.

or According to the
Evangelical yea[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 22 years
more 1065.

But notwithſtanding K. *Edward* had been elected King ever ſince the laſt *Summer*, 'yet was he not Anointed or Crowned till this year, when '(as our *Annals* relate) that Ceremony was performed on *Eaſter*-day 'with great Solemnity, by *Eadſige* the Archbiſhop, who alſo preached 'before the people, and inſtructed them for the King's good, as well as 'their own advantage.

This is the firſt Diſcourſe or Sermon that we can find was ever made of this nature at any King's Coronation.

'The

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* Otho, D. 7.

Anno Dom. MXLII.

' The ſame year alſo *Stigand* the Prieſt was conſecrated Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles*; and preſently after the King ordered all the Lands his Mother held from him to be ſurveyed, taking from her whatſoever Gold and Silver ſhe had, with many other things, becauſe ſhe had been too ſevere to him, as well before he was King, as after; and as *Roger Hoveden* obſerves, had given him leſs than he expected from her.

So that in this Undutifulneſs to his Mother, he does not ſhew himſelf ſo great a Saint as the Monks repreſent him: But they ſay for his excuſe, that he did it by the Advice of the Earls *Leofric*, *Godwin*, and *Syward*, by whom this Weak and Eaſy Prince was chiefly managed.

This year alſo, according to the *Welſh* Chronicles, *Howel ap Edwin* late Prince of *South-Wales*, with all the Forces he could raiſe of his own Countrey-men, and the *Engliſh*, entred *South Wales*, and began to ſpoil and havock it; of which when Prince *Griffyth* was informed, he gathered his People together in *North-Wales*, and came courageouſly to meet his Enemies (whom he had twice before diſcomfited), and overcame and chaſed them the third time, as far as the Spring of the River *Towy*; where after a long and dangerous Battel, *Howel* was ſlain, and his Army routed, and was ſo cloſely purſued, that few or none eſcaped alive: After whoſe Death *Rytherch* and *Rees*, the Sons of *Rythaerch ap Jeſtyn*, aſpiring again to the Rule and Government of *South-Wales*, which their Father had once before acquired, gathered a great Army as well of ſtrangers, as out of *Guentland* and *Glamorgan*, and meeting with *Griffyth* Prince of *Wales*, he courageouſly animated his men with the remembrance of their former Victories under his Standard, and joined Battel with his Enemies, whom he found diſpoſed to try if they could regain the Honour which before they had loſt: Wherefore when they were come up to engage, the Fight was ſo bloody and deſperate, that it continued till night parted both Armies, and then being quite ſpent, they retreated. But ſtill each being fearful of one another, they thought it their beſt way to return to their own Countries to raiſe freſh Recruits.

Vid. *Cambden's* Britan. *Warwickſhire.*

About this time was founded a Noble Monaſtery near *Coventry* in *Warwickſhire*, by *Leofric* Earl of the *Mercians*, and the Lady *Godiva* his Wife, who was not only one of the moſt Beautiful, but moſt Pious Women of that Age; they alſo enriched this Monaſtery with great Preſents both of Gold and Silver.

By reaſon of which Monaſtery the Town adjoining became much more flouriſhing, and took the name of *Coventry* from this Convent: And we farther read in *Bromton's* Chronicle, That this worthy Lady *Godiva* being deſirous to exempt the ſaid Town from the grievous Taxes and Tolls impoſed on it, ſhe earneſtly and frequently ſollicited her Husband to take them off, but yet was ſtill denied: However, ſhe ceaſing not to renew her requeſt, he told her jeſtingly at laſt, That if ſhe would be content to ride naked through the Town, he would grant her Petition; which ſhe readily undertook to do, and ſo commanding all people at that time to keep within doors, ſhe covered her Body with her own Hair, of which ſhe had ſo great a quantity, that it ſerved inſtead of a Mantle.

Thus did ſhe generouſly free the Citizens from thoſe heavy Exactions which they then lay under, though by the no-very-decent expoſing of her ſelf; and afterwards gave them a Charter of Exemptions, affixing her

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her Husband's and her own Seal to it. Now how the Epiſcopal See came afterwards to be removed hither from *Litchfield* and *Cheſter*, we ſhall in its due place declare.

The Charter of the Foundation of this Monaſtery, dedicated to our Bleſſed Lady, St. *Peter*, and all the Saints, is printed in * *Monaſt. Angl.* though without any date; wherein are named all the Mannors given by the ſaid Munificent Founder; and the ſame is ratified by the Charter of King *Edward*, and a Bull of Pope *Alexander*, bearing date *Anno Dom.* 1043. Neither did the Piety of theſe Liberal Perſons reſt here, for Earl *Leofric*, with the Aſſent of his Lady *Godiva*, repaired alſo the Monaſteries of *Leon* (or *Lemſter*) near *Hereford*; of *Wenlock*; of St. *Wereburga* in *Cheſter*; of St. *John* in *Worceſter*; and laſtly, that of *Eveſham*.

* Vol. I.

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'This year Archbiſhop *Eadſige* reſigned his Archbiſhoprick, by reaſon 'of great Bodily Infirmities; and by the King's leave, and the advice 'of Earl *Godwin*, he conſecrated *Syward* Abbot of *Abbandune* to ſucceed 'him; which thing was known but to few, till it was actually done, 'becauſe the Archbiſhop was afraid leſt ſome other, leſs Learned and 'Able, would either by Money or Intereſt obtain that See, if ſo be it 'was once divulged before it was done.

But of this *Syward*, * *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, That though he was ~~thus conſecrated~~ Archbiſhop, yet notwithſtanding he was ſoon after depoſed for his Ingratitude ~~to his Predeceſſor~~, in that he defrauded the weak Old Man of his neceſſary maintenance: But ~~however~~ to make this *Syward* ſome amends, he was ~~tranſlated to the~~ Biſhop~~rick~~ of *Rocheſter*; which was a ~~great Fall indeed from the See of an Archbiſhop, to~~ that of his principal Chaplain; but it ſeems he was reſolved to be a Biſhop~~, though a mean one, comparatively.~~

* De Pontif. Lib. I.

[illegible]

The Annals alſo relate, 'That this year there was ſo great a Famine 'in *England*, that a *Seſter* of Wheat (which, as *Roger Hoveden* tells us, 'was then a Horſe-load) was ſold for Sixty Pence and more.

Which was then a great deal of Money, conſidering the ſcarcity of Silver in thoſe times, and that every Penny then weighed **Four** Pence of our Money.

'Alſo the ſame year the King ſail'd to *Sandwic* with Five and thirty 'Ships.] And as *R. Hoveden* informs us, it was to meet *Magnus* King of *Norway*, then deſigning to invade *England*; but a War breaking out with *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, it put an end to that Expedition.

'Alſo *Æthelſtan* the *Oeconomus*, or Steward of the Abby of *Abbingdon*, was made Abbot; and *Stigand* again received his Biſhoprick of 'the *Eaſt-Angles*]; from which, it ſeems, by the cunning and Simoniacal practices of Biſhop *Grymkytel*, he had been before deprived.

'The ſame year King *Edward* married the Daughter of Earl *Godwin*, 'whoſe Name was *Edgitha*, or *Editha*.] A Woman (as *William* of *Malmesbury* ſays) not only of great Beauty and Piety, but alſo Learned above what Women uſually were in that Age wherein he lived; inſomuch that *Ingulph* tells us, when he was but a Boy, and lived at Court with his Father, ſhe was wont to meet him as he came from School, and took delight to poſe him in Verſes; and would alſo, paſſing from *Grammar*, argue with him in *Logick*, in which ſhe was well skill'd; and when ſhe had done, would order her Waiting-Woman to give him ſome Money.

But

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But as King *Edward* had till now deferr'd the performance of his Promiſe in marrying this Lady ever ſince he came to the Crown, ſo it had been no great matter whether he had married her or not, becauſe he never enjoyed her.

But notwithſtanding the temptation of ſo fair a Lady, he not only kept his own Virginity inviolable, but alſo perſuaded her to do the like; and this, (as the Abbot of *Rieval* in his Life relates) he did not do out of any hatred to her Father, (as is commonly reported by ſeveral of our other Hiſtorians) but becauſe the *Engliſh* Nobility, being deſirous that one from his Loins ſhould ſucceed him, had importun'd him to marry, which he could not well refuſe (for then the ſecret Reſolution of his dying a Virgin, would have been diſcloſed); therefore he wedded her, both to ſecure himſelf againſt her Father, as alſo to make the Virtue of his Continence appear more conſpicuous; which, as this Author tells us, was no Secret, being then divulged, and believed all over *England*; and divers Cenſures paſſed concerning the motives why he did ſo.

Vid. X. Script.

'The ſame year *Brightwulf* Biſhop of *Scirebone* deceaſed, who had held that Biſhoprick Thirty eight years; and *Hereman* the King's Chaplain ſucceeded to that Biſhoprick.

'Alſo *Wulfric* was conſecrated Abbot of St. *Auſtin*'s at *Chriſtmas*, with the King's good Conſent, becauſe of the great Bodily Infirmity of *Ælfſtan* (the former Abbot.)

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'This year deceaſed *Living* Biſhop of *Devonſhire* (*i.e.* of *Exeter*), and *Leofric* the King's Chaplain ſucceeded thereunto. The ſame year *Ælfſtan* Abbot of St. *Auguſtin*'s in *Canterbury* deceaſed; and alſo *Oſgot Glappa*, the *Daniſh* Earl, was expelled *England*.

The ſame year likewiſe, (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *William* of *Malmesbury*) *Alwold* Biſhop of *London*, who had been before Abbot of *Eveſham*, being by reaſon of his great weakneſs unable to perform his Epiſcopal Function, would have retired to his old Monaſtery; but the Monks not permitting it, he reſented it ſo ill at their hands, that taking away all the Books and other Ornaments which he had conferred upon them, and retiring to the Abby of *Ramſey*, he beſtowed them all upon them, and there within a ſhort time after ended his days; and then King *Edward* made one *Robert*, a *Norman* Monk, Biſhop of *London*.

Alſo the ſame year the Noble Matron *Gunhilda*, Niece to King *Cnute*, was baniſhed *England*, together with her two Sons.

This year likewiſe, in a great Council held at *London*, (as *Florence* relates) *Wulmar* a Religious Monk of *Eveſham* was choſen Abbot of that Monaſtery, and was ordained the 4th of the *Ides* of *Auguſt* following.

About this time, according to the *Welſh* Chronicles, Prince *Griffith* having ruled in Peace ever ſince the laſt great Battel above-mentioned, till now, the Gentlemen of *Yſtrad Towy* did by Treachery kill a Hundred and forty of his beſt Soldiers; ſo that to revenge their deaths, the Prince deſtroyed all thoſe Countries.

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'*Grymkitel* Biſhop of the *South-Saxons* (i. e. *Selſey*) deceaſed; as did alſo the ſame year, *Ælfwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Stigand*, who was before Biſhop in the *North-Eaſt* parts (*i. e.* of *Helmham*) ſucceeded in that See: And Earl *Sweyn* the Son of *Godwin*, went over

‘ to Baldwin Earl of *Flanders* to *Brycge*, and ſtaid there all Winter, and at Summer departed; (being it ſeems at that time in diſgrace at Court for deflow'ring an Abbeſs whom he loved).

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‘ This year *Æthelſtan* Abbot of *Abbandune* deceaſed; to whom ſucceeded *Sparhafock*, a Monk of St. *Edmundsbury*. Whence you may obſerve, that the Abbots were at that time ſeldom choſen out of Monks of the ſame Abby.

‘ Alſo this year Biſhop *Syward* deceaſed; and then Archbiſhop *Eadſige* retook that Biſhoprick.] Which is contrary to what *William* of *Malmesbury* hath already related.

‘ The ſame year likewiſe *Lothen* and *Yrling*, *Danes*, came to *Sandwic* with Twenty five Ships, and there landing, committed great havock, and carried away abundance of Booty, as well of Gold as Silver; ſo that no man can tell how great it was: From whence they ſailed about *Thanet*, and attempting there to commit the like Outrages, the people of that Countrey vigorouſly reſiſted them, and hindred their landing, and ſo made them to direct their courſe towards *Eſſex*, where they committed the like Barbarities, carrying away all the men they could lay hold on; and then paſſing over into the Territories of Earl *Baldwin*, and there ſelling all their Plunder, they ſail'd towards the *Eaſt*, from whence they came.

Alſo the ſame year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Harold*, ſirnamed *Hairfax*, Brother to the late King *Olaf*, having put *Sweyn* King of *Denmark* to flight, ſubdued that Kingdom. King *Sweyn* being thus driven out of his Countrey, ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Edward*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance with his Fleet againſt the King of *Norway*; which Earl *Godwin* much approved of, but the reſt of the Great Men diſſuading him from it, nothing was done; but the King of *Norway* dying ſoon after, *Sweyn* recovered his Kingdom. But *Florence* of *Worceſter* places this Tranſaction two years later; but which of them is in the right, I will not diſpute.

‘ Alſo this year (according to our *Annals*, as well as other Authors) was the great Battel of *Valleſdune* in *Normandy*, between *Henry* King of *France*, and the Nobility of that *Dukedom*, becauſe they refuſed to receive *William* the Baſtard for their Duke: But when he afterwards got them into his power, he beheaded ſome of them, and others he baniſhed.

I have mentioned this, to let you ſee with how great difficulty this young Duke (who was afterwards King of *England*) was ſettled in that Dutchy, which he could never have obtained without the Protection and Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*.

About this time alſo the *Welſh* Chronicles tell us *South-Wales* was ſo infeſted by the *Daniſh* Pyrates, that the Sea-Coaſts were almoſt quite deſerted.

‘ The ſame year, or elſe in 1048 (as it is in the *Cottonian* Copy of the *Annals*) was held the great Synod or Council at St. *Remy*, where were preſent Pope *Leo*, and the Archbiſhop of *Burgundy* (*i. e.* of *Beſanſon*, tho they are here mentioned as two ſeveral Archbiſhopricks) as alſo the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, and *Remes*, with many other Wiſe Men both of the Clergy and Laity; and thither King *Edward* ſent Biſhop *Dudoce*, and *Wulfric* Abbot of St. *Auguſtine*'s, with Abbot *Ælfwin*, that they might acquaint the King what was there decreed concerning the Chriſtian Faith.

Earl Sweyn [illegible] Leave

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'This year King *Edward* ſail'd to *Sandwic* with a great Fleet, and there 'met Earl ~~*Sweyn*, who came with ſeven Ships~~ at *Boſenham* (i. e. *Boſham* 'in *Suſſex*) where he made a League with the King, and received a 'Promiſe from him to be reſtored to all his poſſeſſions; but Earl *Harold* 'his Brother, and *Beorne*, very much oppoſed him, ſaying, He was utterly unworthy of thoſe Favours the King had promiſed him; ſo he 'had only four days allowed him to go back again to his Ships.

'In the mean time a Report was brought to the King, That a Fleet of 'Enemies were landed on the Coaſt of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and there ~~taking~~ '~~of Prey. Then~~ Earl *Godwin* ſail~~'d about~~t toward the *Eaſt* with two of 'the King's Ships, one of which his Son *Harold* commanded, and the 'other Earl *Totſige* his Brother, ~~and alſo~~ Two and forty Sail ~~of~~ the 'people of the Countrey: Then was Earl *Harold* with the King's Ships 'driven by a Storm into *Pevenſee*, and there detain'd by contrary 'Winds; but within two days after, Earl *Sweyn* came thither, and had 'Conference with his Father, Earl *Godwin*, and ~~Earl~~ *Beorne*, whom he 'intreated to accompany him to the King at *Sandwic*, and there uſe 'their intereſt to make his Reconciliation with him; but whilſt 'they were on their way, *Sweyne* begged of *Beorne* (~~his Couſin~~) that 'he would go back along with him to his Ships, ſaying, He feared leſt 'his men would deſert him, unleſs he ſpeedily returned; whereupon 'complying with him, they went back to the place where the Ships 'rode, and there *Sweyn* was very importunate with him to go on Shipboard; but he utterly refuſing ~~that~~, the Mariners bound him, and 'then put him into a Pinnace, and ſo carried him on board by force; 'then hoiſting up Sail, they ſteered *Eaſtward* to *Axamutha*, and there 'kept him till they had ~~made him~~ away.

provided

'Then they took his Body, and buried it ~~in a~~ certain Church; ~~but~~ 'afterwards his Relations and the Mariners of *London* came, and digging up ~~his Body~~, carried it with them to the old Church of *Winche-ſter*, where they buried it near his Uncle King *Cnute*: Then *Sweyn* 'ſailing *Eaſtward* towards *Flanders*, ſtaid there a whole Winter in *Brycge*, 'with Earl *Baldwin*'s good leave. The ſame year deceaſed *Eadnoth*, 'Biſhop in the *North* parts; and one *Vlf* was conſecrated Biſhop in 'his ſtead.

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'This year was a great Council held at *London* in *Midlent*, and there 'were ſent out Nine Ships well mann'd with Seamen, Five only being 'left in Port; alſo this very year Earl *Sweyn* return'd into *England*.

For *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* had by his Interceſſion made his Peace with the King.

'The ſame year was a Great Synod aſſembled at *Rome*, whither King '*Edward* ſent the Biſhops *Hereman* and *Aldred*, who arrived there on '*Eaſter*-Eve; after which the Pope held a Synod at *Vercelle*, whither was 'ſent Biſhop *Vlf*, who was afterwards like to be deprived, becauſe he 'could not perform his Function as he ought, had he not paid a good 'round Sum of Money. This year alſo deceaſed *Eadſige* the Archbiſhop, (4° *Kal. Novemb.*)

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'King *Edward* now appointed *Rodbyrd* Biſhop of *London*, to be 'Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in *Lent*, who immediately went to *Rome* to 'obtain his Pall: Then the King beſtowed the Biſhoprick of *London* on '*Sparhafoc* Abbot of *Abbandune*, and gave that Abby to Biſhop *Rothulf* 'his Kinſman.

K 2 'About

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'About the ſame time the Archbiſhop, returning from *Rome* the day 'before the Vigil of St. *Peter*, was Inſtalled in the Epiſcopal Throne 'at *Chriſt-Church*, on St. *Peter*'s Day: Then came to him *Sparhafoc* 'with the King's Letters and Seal, commanding that he ſhould conſe-'crate him Biſhop of *London*; but the Archbiſhop refuſing it, ſaid, 'The Pope had forbad him to do it: After which, the Abbot return'd 'to the Archbiſhop, and deſired his Epiſcopal Orders, but he pe-'remptorily denied them, ſaying, The Pope had ſtrictly charged him not 'to do it. Then the Abbot went to *London*, and held the Biſhoprick 'notwithſtanding all that Summer, and the Autumn following. ^

'Then *Euſtatius* (Earl of *Bologne*, the King's Brother-in-Law) 'came from beyond the Seas, and having been with the King, and told 'him his Buſineſs, he return'd homewards; and when he came to *Canterbury*, he refreſhed himſelf and his Company, and ſo went on to '*Dofra* (i. e. *Dover*), but when he was within a Mile of this ſide 'thereof, he and his Retinue put on their Breaſt-plates, and ſo entred 'the Town: As ſoon as they were come thither, they took up their 'Quarters in what Houſes they liked beſt; but one of his Followers re-'ſolving to quarter in the Houſe of an Inhabitant there whether 'he would or no, becauſe he told him he ſhould not, he wounded 'him; whereupon the Maſter killed him; At which News Earl *Euſtatius* being very much incenſed, mounted to Horſe, with all his Fol-'lowers, and ſetting upon the Good Man of the Houſe, killed him even 'within his own doors; and then going into the Town, they killed 'partly within, and partly without, more than Twenty men. But 'the Townſmen (to be even with them) killed Nineteen of their men, 'and wounded many more.

'Upon this Earl Euſtatius making his Eſcape with a few Followers, 'went to the King, and told him what had happen'd, ſo much as made 'to his purpoſe; at which the King being highly provoked with the 'Townſmen, ſent Earl *Godwin*, and commanded him to march to *Dofra* 'in a Hoſtile manner; for *Euſtatius* had only inſinuated to the King, as 'if what had happen'd had been wholly through the Townſmens fault, 'though indeed it was quite otherwiſe: But the Earl was very unwil-'ling to go into *Kent*, becauſe he looked on it as an odious thing for him 'to deſtroy his own people.

For as *William* of *Malmesbury* farther relates, he plainly ſaw the King was impoſed on, and had paſſed ſentence upon them, when he had only heard one ſide: And indeed the Earl was much concerned to ſee Strangers find greater favour with the King, than his own Subjects; for *Euſtatius* had got a Friend near the King, who had very much exaſperated him againſt them; therefore though the King continually preſs'd Earl *Godwin* to go into *Kent* with an Army, to be revenged of the men of *Dofra*, yet he ſtill declined it, which much diſpleaſed the King; yet nevertheleſs the Earl's Propoſal ſeem'd but juſt and reaſonable, That the Officers of the Caſtle (who it ſeems had a hand in this buſineſs) ſhould be firſt ſummoned to anſwer in the King's *Curia* or Court, concerning this Sedition; and that if they could clear themſelves there, they might be diſcharged; but if not, that they might make ſatisfaction to the King and the Earl with their Bodies and Eſtates; for Earl *Godwin* told the King, that it would ſeem very unjuſt to condemn thoſe unheard, whom he ought chiefly to protect and defend.

^ of wch. Sparhavoc
wee have a very bad
character in the book
of Abingdon above
cited (Lib. 1. f. 27.) yt
having [illegible] first
a Monk of [illegible]
at Bury Abbey and
there leaving the [illegible] and
made of an excellent
Goldsmith, the King
reposed that confidence
in his honesty and skill
yt after his promotion
to the Bishoprick he
committed some Gold
and Jewells of great
value to his care wch
he was to make a Crowne
Imperial wth.
instead of performing this he knavishly
[illegible] conveyd himself
away with the Jewells
out of [illegible], together
with a great summe
of money wch. is [illegible]
the Bishoprick and
was never more heard
of wch. is very impro-
bable were it not in
so credible an Author.
But if it were so it is likely he did it when he himself had no hopes of ever
having ye Bishoprick confirmed to him by the Pope.

And

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And ſo far no doubt the Earl was in the right, and behaved himſelf like a true *Engliſhman*, in thus declining to execute the King's unjuſt Commands; though not in what he did afterwards. But to return again to our *Annals*.

'The King hereupon ſummoned all his Chief and *Wiſe Men* to appear at *Glouceſter*, a little after the Feaſt of St. *Mary*; for the *Welſhmen* had in the mean time built a Caſtle in *Herefordſhire*, upon the Lands of Earl *Sweyn*, and had done a great deal of miſchief to the King's Liege-People in the Neighbourhood: Then Earl *Godwin* (with *Sweyn* and *Harold*, his Sons) met at *Byferſtane* (i. e. *Beverſton* in *Glouceſterſhire*) together with a great many in their Retinue, to attend on the King their Natural Lord, and all the Chief and *Wiſe Men* that waited on him, whereby they might have the King's Conſent and Aſſiſtance, as alſo that of his Great Council, to revenge the Affront and Diſhonour which had been lately done to the King and the whole Nation: But the *Welſhmen* getting firſt to the King, highly accuſed the Earls, inſomuch that they durſt not appear in his preſence, for they ſaid they only came thither to betray him: But then there came to the King the Earls *Syward* and *Leofric*, with many others from the *North* parts, being (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates) almoſt all the Nobility of *England*, who had been ſummoned by the King to come thither: But whilſt (according to our *Annals*) it was 'told Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, that the King and thoſe that were with him were taking Counſel againſt them, they on the other ſide ſtood reſolutely on their own defence; though it ſeem'd an hard thing for them to act any thing againſt their Natural Lord.

But *William* of *Malmesbury* adds farther, That Earl *Godwin* commanded thoſe of his Party not to fight againſt the King; yet if they were ſet upon, that they ſhould defend themſelves; ſo that there had then like to have happen'd a Cruel Civil War, if calmer Counſels had not prevailed.

By this you may ſee the great Power of Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, who could thus withſtand the King, and all the Nobility that were with him. But to proceed with our *Annals*:

'Then it was agreed by the chief men on both ſides, that they ſhould deſiſt from any further violence; and thereupon the King gave them God's Peace, and his own Word.

'After this, the King and his Great Men about him reſolved a ſecond time to ſummon a *Witena Gemot*, or Great Council at *London*, at the beginning of *September*: He alſo commanded an Army to be raiſed, as great as ever had been ſeen in *England*, both from the *North* and *South* ſide of *Thames*. When this Council met, Earl *Sweyn* was declared outlaw'd, and Earl *Godwin* and Earl *Harold* were cited to appear at the Council with all ſpeed. As ſoon as they were come there, they deſired *Peace* (i. e. *Security*) and alſo Pledges to be given them, whereby they might have ſafe ingreſs and regreſs to and from the Council: But the King required all the Earl's Servants to deliver them up into his hands; after which the King ſent to them, commanding them to come with Twelve men to the Great Council; but the Earl again demanded Securities and Pledges to be given him, and then he promiſed to clear himſelf from all Crimes laid to his charge: But the Pledges were ſtill denied him, and there was only granted him a five

'days

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England [illegible] any thing of note this year [illegible]

Emperour of Germany [illegible]

for burning his Palace [illegible] and plundering the [illegible] being a [illegible]

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MXLVIII.

'days Peace (or Truce) in which he might depart the Land; Then Earl *Godwin*, and Earl *Sweyn* his Son, went to *Boſenham* (in *Suſſex*) and their Ships being brought out of the Harbour, they ſail'd beyond the Seas, and ſought the Protection of Earl *Baldwin*, ſtaying with him all that Winter; but Earl *Harold* ſailed *Eaſtward* into *Ireland*, and there took up his Reſidence, under that King's Protection: Soon after this the King ſent away his Wife, who had been crown'd Queen, and ſuffer'd all her Money, Lands, and Goods, to be taken from her, and then committed her to the Cuſtody of his Siſter, at the Nunnery of *Werwell*.

But note, that *Florence* of *Worceſter* places this Quarrel with Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, three years later, *viz.* under *Anno* 1051; and farther adds, That the reaſon why Earl *Godwin* fled thus privately away, was, that his Army had forſook him, ſo that he durſt not ~~plead the mat~~ter with the King, but fled away the night following with his five Sons, carrying away all their Treaſure with them into *Flanders*.

This is the Relation which *Florence* and the Printed Copy of theſe *Annals* give us of this great difference between the King and Earl *Godwin* and his two Sons; in the carriage of which both Parties are to be blamed; the King in yielding ſo eaſy an ear to the falſe Accuſations brought againſt them, and they in refuſing to ſtand to the Determination of the Great Council of the Kingdom, without Pledges firſt given them by the King, which is more than any Subject ought to require from his Prince: But certainly the King ſhewed himſelf a very Weak Man, in being perſuaded to deal thus ſeverely with his Innocent Queen, for the Faults of her Father and Brothers, which it was not in her power to help.

But to conclude the Affairs of this unhappy year; our *Annals* proceed to tell us, That

'About the ſame time the Abbot *Sparhafoc* was depoſed from the Biſhoprick of *London*, and *William* the King's Chaplain ordained to that See. Alſo Earl *Odda* was appointed Governor of *Defenaſcire*, *Somerſetſcire*, and *Dorſetſcire*, and of all the *Welſh*; and the Earldom which Earl *Harold* lately held, was given to *Ælfgar* the Son of Earl *Leofric*.

Anno Dom.
MXLIX.

About this time the Biſhoprick of *Credington* in *Cornwal*, was (as we find in the * *Monaſticon*) at the Requeſt of Pope *Leo* removed from thence to *Exeter*, where the Monaſtery of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* was made a Biſhop's See, the Monks being removed from thence to *Weſtminſter*, and Secular Chanons placed in their ſtead: Which ſhews that the humour of Monkery did not ſo much prevail now, as in the days of King *Edgar*. And this year *Leofric* Biſhop of that Dioceſs was enthron'd at *Exeter*, after a ſolemn Proceſſion, where the Biſhop walked to Church between King *Edward*, and Queen *Editha* his Wife.

Anno Dom.
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* Vol. 2 p. 222.

at Rome [illegible] with [illegible] Alfric [illegible] Augustines Canterbury. and Altwin Abbot [illegible] being sent over by the King as his Embassadors to the Council being returned from thence brought over the Decrees there [illegible] wch the King had caused to be transcribed in English Characters, & layd up in his Treasury by Hugolin his Chamberlayn among those things wch he esteemed most preti

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Anno Dom. MLII.

This year deceaſed *Ælgiva* (alias *Ymma*) the Mother of King *Ead-ward* and King *Hardecnute*.

She hath a various Character given her by our Hiſtorians; *William* of *Malmesbury* repreſents her to be very Covetous, and Unkind to her firſt Husband's Children; which ſeems to have been true enough: But then ſhe was very Devout, and had a great Reſpect for the Biſhops and Monks, from whom ſhe was ſure to have their good word; yet however ſhe did not eſcape Scandal, for ſhe had ſeveral Enemies that incenſed the King againſt her, but eſpecially Archbiſhop *Robert* the *Nor-*

"then if ſhe eſcape untouch'd, let her paſs for Innocent.

Upon this the Day for Trial was appointed, and ſhe having the night before at his Shrine earneſtly invoked the Aſſiſtance of St. *Swithin*, ſhe came to the place, where the King and all the Biſhops (except *Robert*) were preſent; and there paſſed unhurt over all the Red-hot Plowſhares, to the great Joy and Wonder both of her ſelf and all the Spectators, eſpecially of the King her Son, that ſhe had ſo well cleared her ſelf; then he was very ſorry that he had been ſo credulous as to admit thoſe Calumnies againſt his own Mother, whoſe Pardon he now begged, as alſo the Biſhops; and (as divers of the Monkiſh Writers relate) received Penance from them on his bare back.

Queen *Emma* for this ſignal Deliverance gave to St. *Swithin* Nine Mannors, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* as many, the Innocency of them both being hereby abſolutely cleared. Moreover the King is ſaid to have beſtowed on the Church of *Wincheſter* the whole Iſle of *Portland*, and other Poſſeſſions.

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Anno Dom. MXLVIII.

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Ao MXLIX England [illegible] Emperour of Germany [illegible] for [illegible] his Father [illegible]

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[illegible] wales, they ravaged the [illegible] and [illegible]

Anno Dom MXLIX.

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Upon this the Biſhops met, and had eaſily prevailed with the King to put up the buſineſs, had not Archbiſhop *Robert* ſtifly oppoſed them, demanding of his Brethren, "How they could have the confidence to take "upon them the Defence of that Beaſt rather than Woman, (meaning "the Queen Mother) who had ſo detracted from the King her Son, and "yet had called her Paramour, *The Anointed of the Lord*? But (ſaid "he) this Woman will purge the Biſhop, but who ſhall purge her that "conſented to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and prepared Poyſon for "his Brother (now King) *Edward*? But if ſhe deſires to be acquitted, let her accept of her own Propoſal, and walk barefoot over Nine "Red-hot Plowſhares, four for her ſelf, and five for the Biſhop, and "then if ſhe eſcape untouch'd, let her paſs for Innocent.

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The

Anno Dom. MLII.

The ſubſtance of this Story is both delivered by *John Bromton* and *Henry de Knighton*; but Dr. *Harpesfield* hath embelliſhed it with divers other trivial Circumſtances, ~~whilſt~~ our more Ancient Authors, as *Malmesbury* and others, ſay ~~nothing of it~~. But methinks that which follows ſpoils all the reſt, *viz.* That Archbiſhop *Robert* (whom ſome will have Biſhop, and others Archbiſhop at this time) thereupon fled out of the Land; whereas indeed he continued here much longer, and fled out of *England* upon another occaſion, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. But to return again to our *Annals*:

‘The ſame year it was alſo decreed by the King and his Chief Men, ‘That Ships ſhould be ſent to *Sandwich*, and that Earl *Rolfe* and Earl ‘*Odda* ſhould command them; in the mean time Earl *Godwin* departed ‘from *Brycge* with his Ships to *Yſera* (a place we know not), and then ‘landing the next day but one to *Midſummer-Eve*, he came to the Head ‘or Point lying on the *South* ſide of *Rumenea* (now *Rumney* in *Kent*) ‘which when it was told the Earls at *Sandwic*, they immediately ſail'd ‘out in purſuit of him, and alſo commanded the Land-Forces to ‘be in a readineſs to join them: But it ſeems Earl *Godwin* had timely no‘tice of it, and ſo he fell back to *Pevenſea* (i. e. *Penſey* in *Suſſex*); and ‘then ſo violent a Tempeſt aroſe, that the Earls could not inform them‘ſelves which way *Godwin* was gone; but afterwards he returned ‘and came to *Brycge*, and the King's Ships went to *Sandwic*, and from ‘thence they were order'd back to *London*, and other Captains to com‘mand them; but the matter was ſo long delay'd, that all the Seamen ‘left their Ships, and returned to their own homes.

‘As ſoon as Earl *Godwin* heard this, he ſet out his Fleet again to Sea, ‘and ſail'd directly *Weſtward* to the Iſle of *Wight*, where his men going ‘aſhore, plundered ſo long till at laſt the people would give them what ‘Contributions ſoever they demanded. Then they ſail'd further *Weſt‘ward* till they came to the Iſle of *Portland*, and there going again on ‘ſhore they did all the damage they could to the Inhabitants. In the ‘mean time *Harold* return'd from *Ireland* with Nine Ships, and landed ‘at *Portloc* Bay (in *Somerſetſhire*) where much people were got toge‘ther againſt him; but he not being at all afraid of them, marched out ‘to ſeek Proviſions, and there killed all before him, taking Men, Cat‘tel, and Money, whatſoever he met with. From thence he ſail'd ‘*Eaſtward* towards his Father, whom having met, they went together ‘to the Iſle of *Wight*, and there plunder'd whatſoever was left; and ‘thence coaſted to *Pevenſea*, where they took all the Ships that were in ‘that Harbour; afterwards they went to the *Næſſe Point*, and carried ‘away all the Ships that were in *Rumenea*, *Hythe*, and *Folceſtane*, (now ‘*Folcſton* in *Kent*). Thence they ſail'd *Eaſtward* again to *Doſra*, and ‘going on ſhore, took there as many Ships and Hoſtages as they could; ‘and then went to *Sandwic*, where alſo they did the like; ſo that they ‘had Hoſtages and Proviſions given them where ever they came, as ‘much as they required; then again they ſail'd to *Northmuthe* (ſuppo‘ſed to be that which we call now the *Buoy in the Nore*) and thence up ‘towards *London*; they alſo ſent ſome Ships to *Scepige*, and there did ‘a great deal of miſchief; then they turn'd to *Middle-tune*, a Town of ‘the King's (in *Eſſex*) and burnt it down to the ground; and after‘wards the Earls went towards *London*, but when they came thither, they ‘found the King with all his Great Men ready to receive them with Fifty

‘Sail

Anno Dom. MLII.

'Sail. Then the outlaw'd Earls ſent to the King, beſeeching him, that 'they might be reſtor'd to their Eſtates, of which they had been unjuſtly deprived; but for a long time the King would not hearken to 'them by any means, till at laſt the men who were with the Earl were 'ſo enraged againſt him and his people, that the Earl had much a-do 'to appeaſe them.

'Then were aſſembled by God's aſſiſtance Biſhop *Stigand* and other 'Prudent Men, as well within the City as without, and there they agreed 'upon a Peace to be made, Hoſtages being firſt given on both ſides; 'which when Archbiſhop *Rodbert* and the other *Frenchmen* underſtood, 'they took Horſe, and fled ſome *Weſtward* to *Pentecoſt*'s Caſtle, (but 'where it was we do not now know) and others *Northward* to a Caſtle 'of Archbiſhop *Rodbert*'s, who together with Biſhop *Ulf* and all their 'Party, going out at the *Eaſt* Gate (I ſuppoſe of *London*) kill'd and 'wounded many young men (who ~~I ſuppoſe~~ went about to ſeize them); 'thence they went directly to *Ealdulphe*'s-*Næſe* (now the *Neſſe-Point* 'in *Eſſex*) where the Archbiſhop going on board a ſmall Veſſel, left his 'Pall and Biſhoprick behind him (as God would have it) ſince he had 'attain'd that Honour without God's Approbation.

From all which Tranſactions we may draw theſe Obſervations, That all this Conteſt between the King and Earl *Godwin*, ſeems to have been chiefly from the two great Factions, that of the *Normans* whom the King brought over with him, and that of his *Engliſh* Subjects; and which happening under a Weak and Eaſy King, that had neither the Prudence nor Courage to keep the Balance even, it produced this Pyratical War, made by Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, to force the King to reſtore them to their Eſtates. All which not only ſhews the great Power of this Earl and his Partizans, but alſo that thoſe who have the Command at Sea, may force a King of *England* to what Terms they pleaſe. It is alſo evident, that theſe *Annals* were wrote by ſome Monk of the *Engliſh* Party, who was wholly of Earl *Godwin*'s ſide. But to return again to them.

'Then was appointed a Great Council without *London*, where all 'the Earls and Chief Men then in *England* were preſent; and there 'Earl *Godwin* pleaded for himſelf, and was acquitted before the King 'and the whole Nation; and affirmed that he and *Harold* his Son, with 'the reſt of his Children, were innocent of the Crimes whereof they 'ſtood accuſed: Whereupon the King received the Earl and his Sons, 'with all thoſe of his Party, into his full Grace and Favour, reſtoring 'him to his Earldom, and whatſoever elſe he before enjoyed, as like'wiſe to every one his own again. And then too the King reſtored to 'the Queen his Wife (who had been before ſent away) whatſoever ſhe 'had been poſſeſſed of; but Archbiſhop *Rodbert* and all the *Frenchmen* 'were outlaw'd and baniſh'd, becauſe they were thoſe who had been 'the chief Incendiaries of this Quarrel between the King and the Earl; 'and Biſhop *Stigand* was then made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Though our *Annals* are in the Relation of what paſſed at this Great Council much more particular than moſt of our Hiſtorians, yet in the Account of this War between the King and Earl *Godwin*, there are ſome things to be further taken notice of; as what *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, That Earl *Harold* when he came out of *Ireland*, firſt entred the Mouth of *Severne*, and there ſpoiled the Coaſt of *Somerſetſhire*, plun-

Anno Dom. MLII.

dering both the Towns and Countrey round about; and then coming back to his Ships loaden with Prey, he preſently ſail'd round *Penwith-ſteot (i. e.* the *Land's-End)* and met his Father, as you have heard before; and when it was told King *Edward* that Earl *Godwin* was come to *Sandwic*, he commanded all thoſe who had not revolted from him, to make haſte to his Aſſiſtance; but they delay'd ſo long their coming up, that in the mean while *Godwin* with his Fleet ſail'd up the River *Thames* as far as *Southweork*, and there lay till the Tide, but yet not without ſending Meſſengers to ſome of the chief Citizens of *London*, whom he had before drawn over to his Party by fair Promiſes, and ſo far prevailed with them, that they abſolutely engaged themſelves to be at his ſervice, and do whatever he would command them: Then all things being thus prepared, the next Tide they weighed Anchor, and ſail'd *Southward* up the Stream, no body oppoſing them on the Bridge. From whence we may obſerve, that thoſe Ships he had, were only ſmall Galleys, with Maſts to be taken up and down at pleaſure, much like our Huoys at this day.

Then came the Earl's Land-Army, and flanking themſelves all along the ſide of the River, made a very thick and terrible Body, inſomuch that he turned his Fleet toward the *Northern* Shore, as if he were reſolved to have encompaſſed that of the King's (which it ſeems then lay above-Bridge, over-againſt *London):* And though He had at that time both a Fleet, and a Numerous Land-Army of Foot-Soldiers, yet they being all *Engliſh*, abhorred to fight againſt their own Kinsfolks and Countreymen; and therefore the wiſer ſort of both ſides laid hold on this Opportunity, and became ſuch powerful Mediators between the King and the Earl, as made them mutually to ſtrike up a Peace, and ſo diſmiſs their Armies.

The next day the King held a Great Council, and reſtored Earl *Godwin* and his Sons to their former Honours and Eſtates, except *Sweyn*; who, being prick'd in Conſcience for the Murther of his Couſin *Beorn*, was gone from *Flanders* barefoot as far as *Jeruſalem*, and in his return homeward died in *Lycia* of a Diſeaſe contracted through extreme Cold.

A firm Concord and Peace being thus concluded, both the King and the Earl promiſed right Law *(i. e.* Juſtice) to all people, and baniſhed all thoſe *Normans* that had introduced unjuſt Laws, and given falſe Judgments, and committed many Outrages upon the *Engliſh*; though ſome of them were permitted to ſtay, as *Robert* the Deacon, and *Richard Fitzſcrob*, his Son-in-Law, as alſo *Alred* the Yeoman of the King's Stirrup, *Anfred* ſirnamed *Cocksfoot*, and ſome others who had been the King's greateſt Favourites, and always faithful to him and the People; all the reſt were ſent away, and amongſt them was alſo *William* Biſhop of *London*; but he being a good honeſt man, was called back again in a ſhort time: *Osbern*, ſirnamed *Pentecoſt*, (from whom the Caſtle above-mention'd was ſo called) and his Companion *Hugh*, ſurrender'd their Caſtles; and by the Licenſe of Earl *Leofric*, paſſing through his Earldom of *Mercia*, went into *Scotland*, and were there kindly received by King *Macbeth*.

* P. 525.

Mr. *Selden* in his * Titles of Honour refers that Relation in *Bromton*'s Chronicle, to this Great Council held this very year; in which the manner of King *Edward*'s Reconciliation with Earl *Godwin* is more particularly

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ticularly ſet down; *viz.* That the King having ſummoned a Great Council, as ſoon as he there beheld Earl *Godwin*, immediately accuſed him before them all, of having betrayed and murthered his Brother Prince *Alfred*, in theſe words; "Thou Traytor *Godwin*, I accuſe thee "of the Death of *Alfred* my Brother, whom thou haſt traitorouſly "murthered; and for the Proof of this, I refer my ſelf to the Judg-"ment of *Curiæ Veſtræ*, (*i. e.* your Court.) Then the King proceeded thus, "You, moſt Noble *Lords*, the *Earls* and *Barons* of the Kingdom (where note, That by *Barons* are to be underſtood *Thanes*, for they were one and the ſame before the Conqueſt) "You who are my Liege-men, "being here aſſembled, have heard my Appeal, as alſo the Anſwer of "Earl *Godwin*; I will that you now give a Right Sentence between us "in this my Appeal, and afford due Juſtice therein. Then the *Earls* and *Barons* having maturely debated this matter among themſelves, ſome were for giving Judgment for the King; but others differed from them, ſaying, That Earl *Godwin* had never been obliged to the King by either Homage, Service, or Fealty, and therefore could be no Traytor to him; and beſides, that he had not kill'd the Prince with his own hands. But others replied, That no *Earl*, *Baron*, nor any other Subject of the King, could by Law wage Battel againſt him in his Appeal, but ought upon the whole matter to ſubmit himſelf to the King's Mercy, and offer him reaſonable Amends. Then *Leofric* Earl of *Cheſter*, who was an upright and ſincere man both with reſpect to God and the world, ſpoke thus: Earl *Godwin*, who next to the King is indeed a Perſon of the beſt Quality in *England*, cannot deny but that by his Counſel *Alfred* the King's Brother was killed; and therefore my opinion is, That both he himſelf and his Sons, and Twelve of us Earls that are his Friends and Kinſmen, ſhould appear humbly before the King, each of us carrying as much Gold and Silver as he can hold in his Arms, and offering it to him, moſt humbly ſupplicate for his Pardon; and then the King ſhould remit to the Earl all Rancor and Anger whatſoever againſt him, and having received his Homage and Fealty, peaceably reſtore him to all his Lands. To this the Aſſembly agreed; and thoſe that were appointed, loading themſelves with Treaſure after the manner aforeſaid, went unto the King, ſhewing him the order and manner of their Judgment, which he being unwilling to contradict, complied with, and ſo ratified whatever they had before decreed.

This, tho written a long time after the Conqueſt, as appears by the Words there uſed, *viz. Parliament*, *Baron*, *Homage* and *Fealty*; yet it might be true in the main, as being tranſcribed out of ſome Ancient Records of the Great Councils of thoſe times, which are now loſt; and if ſo, would be a Notable Precedent of the large Authority of the *Witena Gemot*, or Great Council of the Nation, not only in aſſenting to new Laws, but alſo of their Judicial Authority in giving Judgment upon all Suits or Complaints brought before them, as well in Appeals between Subject and Subject, as alſo where the King himſelf was a Party; and if Authentick, would alſo ſhew, not only that this Tenure of the King by Homage and Fealty was in uſe before the Conqueſt, but alſo (according to the Judgment of this Great Council) that there was no Allegiance due by Birth, nor until a man had actually performed his Homage, or ſworn Fealty to the King; and laſtly, that a ſatisfaction made by Money, was looked upon as ſufficient for the Death even of the

Anno Dom. MLII. King's own Brother. Yet to deal ingenuouſly with the Reader, notwithſtanding this fair ſtory, **Bromton** himſelf ſeems to doubt the truth of it; for after he hath there told us from ſome nameleſs Author, that Earl *Godwin* (out of fear of ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility, who had ſworn to be revenged of him for the murther of Prince *Alfred*) retired into *Denmark*, during the Reign of King *Hardecnute*; but returning in the beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign, he appeared at a Parliament at *London*, where the King impeached him of the Death of his Brother in the manner as you have already heard; and if ſo, this could not fall out as Mr. *Selden* ſuppoſes in this Great Council, after this laſt return of Earl *Godwin*, which happen'd not in the beginning, but the middle of this King's Reign. With which Relation alſo agree two Ancient Chronicles in *French*, written in the time of *Edward* the Third, and are both in the *Cottonian* Library.

And *Bromton* himſelf acknowledges, that according to moſt Authors Earl *Godwin* never went into *Denmark* at all, nor left *England* during the Reign of King *Hardecnute*; ſo that this Tranſaction (if it ever happen'd at all) ſeems moſt likely to have fell out in the Reign of King *Hardecnute*, when that King charged Earl *Godwin* with his Brother's Death, and made him redeem it with a great Preſent, as we have above told you.

But to conclude this year; From the *Peterburgh* Copy of theſe *Annals*, it appears that about this time *Arnwy* Abbot of *Burgh* reſigned his Dignity, by reaſon of his bad Health, and conferred it with the King's Licenſe, and the Conſent of the Monks, upon *Leofric* a Monk of that Abby: But Abbot *Arnwy* lived eight years after: During which time Abbot *Leofric* ſo adorned that Monaſtery with rich Guildings, that it was called the *Golden Burgh*; he alſo endowed it very much with Lands, as well as other Treaſures.

This year, according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *Griffyn* Prince of *Wales* entring *England*, ſpoiled great part of *Herefordſhire*; againſt whom many Inhabitants of that County marched, together with the *Norman* Gariſon of *Hereford* Caſtle; but Prince *Griffyn* meeting with them, killed a great many, and putting the reſt to flight, carried away a great deal of Booty.

Anno Dom. MLIII. 'This year Earl *Godwin* deceaſed (17th *Kal.* of *May*) and was buried in the Old Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*.

Of the manner of whoſe Death, though our *Annals* are ſilent, yet I ſhall here ſet down what I find concerning it by almoſt all our Hiſtorians, and it is thus; That King *Edward* celebrating the Feaſt of *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter* (or at *Windſor*, as ſome will have it) Earl *Godwin*, as his Cuſtom was, ſitting at Table with him, was ſuddenly ſeized with ſo violent a Diſtemper, that it ſtruck him ſpeechleſs, and made him fall off from the Chair on which he ſate; and his Three Sons *Harold*, *Toſti*, and *Gyrth*, being preſent, they immediately removed him into the King's Chamber, hoping it was but a ſudden Fit, and would be ſpeedily over; but he lay in that languiſhing condition four days, and died on the fifth. This is the account of his Death; to which the *Norman* Monks, and ſuch as write in favour of them, add other Circumſtances, which ſhew either his Guilt, or their Malice; ſince they relate, That mention being made by ſomebody at the King's Table, of *Alfred* his late Brother, he thereupon looked very angrily at Earl *Godwin*, when he

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he to vindicate himſelf told King *Edward*, He perceived that upon the leaſt mentioning of that Prince, he caſt a frowning Countenance upon him; *But* (ſaith he) *let not God ſuffer me to ſwallow this Morſel, if I am guilty of any thing done either toward the taking away his Life, or againſt your Intereſt:* After which words, being preſently choaked with the Bit he had juſt before put into his Mouth, he ſunk immediately down, and never recovered more. But let the manner of his death be as it will, he was a Man of an Active and Turbulent Spirit, not over-nicely conſcientious either in getting or keeping what he could; not to be excuſed for his too much forcing his Sovereign to whatever he liſted: But had he not been ſo great a Lover of his Countrey, and an Enemy to Strangers, thoſe that wrote in the *Norman* times (and who durſt not write any thing but what they knew would pleaſe their Maſters) would have paſſed him over without this Story, and have given him a fairer Character.

His firſt Wife was the Siſter of King *Cnute*, by whom he had a Son; but in his Infancy happening to mount an unruly Horſe that was preſented him by his Grandfather, he was run away with into the *Thames*, and there drowned. His Mother was kill'd by Thunder, which (as then was believed) fell upon her as a Judgment, on the account of her great Cruelty; for ſhe made a Trade of ſelling handſome *Engliſh* Boys and Girls into *Denmark*.

After her Death Earl *Godwin* married another Wife, and by her had Six Sons, *viz. Harold*, *Sweyn*, *Wined*, *Toſti*, *Gyrth*, and *Leofwin:* His Earldom of *Weſt-Seax* was given to his Son *Harold*; and the Earldom that *Harold* had before, viz. *Eſſex*, was conferred on *Alfgar* the Son of *Leofric*, Earl of *Mercia*; which is alſo confirmed by our *Annals*.

And the ſame year, according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Rees* the Brother of *Griffyn* King of *South-Wales*, being taken Priſoner, for the many Inſolences he had committed againſt the *Engliſh*, was by the Command of King *Edward* put to death at a place called *Bulendun*, and his Head ſent to the King then lying at *Glouceſter*, on the Vigil of *Epiphany*: But this is omitted in the *Welſh* Chronicles, as commonly every thing is that makes to the diſadvantage of their own Nation.

Anno Dom. MLIV.

'This year *Leo*, that Holy Pope of *Rome*, deceaſed, and *Victor* was 'elected in his ſtead. And there was alſo ſo great a Murrain of all ſorts 'of Cattel in *England*, that none could ever remember the like.

And now, according to the *Welſh* Chronicles, *Griffyth* the Son of *Ratherch ap Juſtin*, raiſed a great Army both of Strangers and others, againſt *Griffyth* Prince of *North Wales*, who delaying no time, but getting all the Forces of that Countrey together, and meeting the other, *Griffyth* fought with him and ſlew him on the place, though none of theſe Chronicles have told us where that was. This was the laſt Rebellion or *Welſh* Civil War that happened in this Prince's Reign.

The ſame year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Roger Hoveden*) *Siward*, that Valiant Earl of *Northumberland*, at the Command of King *Edward*, being attended with a powerful Army and a ſtrong Fleet, marched into *Scotland*, to reſtore *Malcolm* the Right Heir to the Crown of that Kingdom, where joining Battel with *Macbeth*, the then Uſurping King of *Scots*, many both of that Nation, and of the *Normans* who took their part, were ſlain, and the Earl put the Uſurper to flight. But in this Battel the Earl's Son, and ſeveral of the *Engliſh* and *Danes* were ſlain.

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Anno Dom. MLIV. *H. Huntington* further adds, That when the News was brought to the Earl, of the Death of his Son, he preſently asked, *Whether he had received the Wound behind or before?* And being told it was *before*, he only replied, *I am glad to hear that, for ſo it became my Son to dye.* He ſays alſo, That this Son of his (whom he does not name) had been ſent into *Scotland* before his Father, and was there killed; and that Earl *Siward* did not ſubdue *Macbeth* till the ſecond Expedition; in which he differs from all the reſt of the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians.

Buchanan indeed acknowledges, that this Prince *Malcolm* having taken Refuge in the Court of *England*, obtain'd of King *Edward* the Aſſiſtance of Ten thouſand men under the Conduct of Earl *Siward*, and that the reſt were raiſed for him by *Macduf* and others of his Party that took Arms on his behalf. But *John Fordun* in his Hiſtory writes much more improbably; and though he allows that King *Edward* offered *Malcolm* an Army ſufficient to place him on the Throne, yet that he refuſed it with Thanks, and only took Earl *Siward* of all the *Engliſh* Lords along with him; as if this Earl's ſingle Might, though he was a Man of great Strength and Stature, ſignified any thing againſt the Forces of *Macbeth*, unleſs he had alſo brought a powerful Army along with him.

Mat. Weſtminſter alſo adds, That *Scotland* being thus conquered by the Forces of King *Edward*, he beſtowed it upon King *Malcolm*, to be held of himſelf: But ſince this is not found in any of our Ancient Hiſtorians, and this Author does not acquaint us from whence he had it, I do not look upon it as worthy of any great Credit.

About this time (according to *Simeon*) *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* was ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor with Noble Preſents; and being received with great Honour by him, as likewiſe by *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, he ſtaid in *Germany* a whole year, to prevail with the *Emperor* on the King's behalf to ſend Ambaſſadors into *Hungary*, to bring back Prince *Edward* the King's Couſin, Son of King *Edmund Ironſide*, into *England*.

The ſame year alſo, according to the *Latin* Copy of the *Annals*, ‘Was a Battel at *Mortimer* in *Normandy*.] But though they do not tell us by whom it was fought, yet from others we learn it was between *William* Duke of *Normandy*, and the King of *France*; where the former obtain'd a moſt ſignal Victory.

Anno Dom. MLV. ‘This year *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland* deceaſed; and the King ‘gave that Earldom to *Toſtig*, Son of Earl *Godwin*.

Of this *Siward*'s death, our Hiſtorians give us divers remarkable Circumſtances; That being near his End by a Bloody-Flux, he ſaid, He was aſham'd to dye thus like a Beaſt; ſo cauſing himſelf to be compleatly Armed, and taking his Sword in his hand (as if he would have fought even Death it ſelf) he in this Poſture expired, as he ſuppoſed, like a Man of Honour.

‘King *Edward* not long after this ſummoned a *Witena Gemot* (or ‘Great Council) ſeven days before *Midlent*, wherein Earl *Ælfgar* was ‘outlaw'd upon a Charge of being a Traytor to the King and the ‘whole Nation; and of this he was convicted before all there aſſembled. ‘Then Earl *Ælfgar* went to the Caſtle of Prince *Griffyn* in *North-Wales*; ‘and the ſame year they both together burnt the City of *Hereford*, with ‘the Monaſtery of St. *Æthelbert*, (once King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, ‘whoſe Bones were here enſhrin'd.)

This

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This Earl had the greater reaſon to do what he did, having been unjuſtly baniſh'd, as moſt of our Hiſtorians write. *Simeon* of *Durham* is ſomewhat larger in his account of this Affair; and ſays, That this Earl *Ælfgar* firſt went into *Ireland*, and there procuring Eighteen Pyrate-Ships, ſail'd with them into *Wales* to aſſiſt Prince *Griffyn* againſt King *Edward*, where joining with the *Welſhmen*, they laid waſte the Countrey about *Hereford* with Fire and Sword; againſt whom was ſent that Cowardly Earl *Rodolph*, King *Edward*'s Siſter's Son; who gathering an Army, and meeting with the *Welſhmen* about two miles from that City, he commanded the *Engliſhmen* (contrary to their cuſtom) to fight on Horſeback; but ſo ſoon as they were ready to join Battel, *Rodulph* with all his *Frenchmen* ran away; which the *Engliſh* ſeeing, quickly followed: By which you may ſee, that it is no new thing for a Cowardly General to make Cowardly Soldiers.

The Victory being thus eaſily obtained, the Prince and the Earl entred *Hereford*, and having killed ſeven of the Chanons that defended the doors of the Church, they burnt it, together with the Monaſtery above-mention'd, with all the Reliques of St. *Æthelbert*, and the Rich Ornaments that were in it; and ſo having ſlain divers of the Citizens, and carried away great Numbers of them Priſoners, they returned home laden with Booty: But as ſoon as the King was acquainted with it, he preſently commanded an Army to be raiſed through all *England*; which being muſtered at *Glouceſter*, He appointed the Valiant Earl *Harold* to be Commander in chief; who obeying the King's Orders, immediately purſued Prince *Griffyn* and Earl *Ælfgar*, and entring the Borders of *Wales*, pitched his Camp beyond *Strætdale*, as far as *Snowdon*; but they who knew him to be a Brave and Warlike Commander, not daring to engage him, fled into *South-Wales*; which *Harold* perceiving, left there the greater part of his men, with Orders to fight the Enemy if they could come at them; and with the reſt he returned to *Hereford*, which he fortified by drawing a new Trench about it. But whilſt he was thus employed, the two Captains on the contrary ſide thinking it beſt for them to make Peace, ſent Meſſengers to him, and at laſt procuring a Meeting at a place called *Byligeſeage*, a firm Peace and Friendſhip was there concluded; in purſuance whereof Earl *Ælfgar* ſent his Ships to *Cheſter* till they could be paid off, and he himſelf went up to the King, from whom he received his former Earldom.

Anno Dom. MLVI.

'*Henry* Emperor of the *Germans* now died; and *Henry* his Son ſucceeded him.] This is only mentioned in the *Latin* Copy of theſe '*Annals*.

But the ſame year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *R. Hoveden*) *Leofgar*, who was lately ordained Biſhop of *Hereford* in the room of Biſhop *Athelſtan*, deceaſed, being together with his Clerks and the Sheriff *Agelnoth* ſet upon by *Griffyn* Prince of *Wales*, at a place called *Glaſtbyrig*, and was there ſlain with all his followers; after which *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* (to whom the King had committed the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*), as alſo the Earls *Leofric* and *Harold*, mediated a Peace between King *Edward* and the ſaid *Griffyn*.

Anno Dom. MLVII.

'This year *Edward Ætheling*, Son to King *Edmund*, returned into 'this Kingdom (together with his Children) and ſhortly after deceaſed, whoſe Body lies buried in St. *Paul*'s Church at *London*. Alſo Pope '*Victor* now dying, *Stephanus* Abbot of *Mountcaſſin* was conſecrated in

'his

Anno Dom. MLVII. ‘ his ſtead.] But the *Cottonian* Copy of theſe *Annals*, as alſo *Florence* of *Worceſter*, place the death of this Pope under the year preceding. ‘ Earl *Leofric* alſo deceaſed, and *Ælfgar* his Son received the Earldom ‘ which his Father enjoyed.

This is that *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*, who together with his Wife *Godiva* built the rich and ſtately Monaſtery of *Coventry* (as hath been already related) in which Church he was buried: He died this year in a good Old Age; whoſe Wiſdom and Counſel was often profitable to *England*.

Anno Dom. MLVIII. ‘ This year Pope *Stephanus* deceaſed, and *Benedict* was conſecrated in ‘ his ſtead: This Pope ſent the Pall to Archbiſhop *Stigand*.

Upon whom *William* of *Malmesbury* is here very ſharp, ſaying, That *Stigand* was ſo intolerably Covetous, that he held both the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* and that of *Canterbury* at the ſame time; but could never obtain the Pall from the Apoſtolick See, until this *Benedict*, an Intruder, (as he calls him) ſent it to him, either as firſt being brib'd by Money, or elſe becauſe (as is obſerved) evil men love to favour one another.

‘ The ſame year alſo (according to the *Annals*) deceaſed *Heacca* Biſhop ‘ of the *South Saxons*, (*i. e.* of *Chicheſter*) and Archbiſhop *Stigand* ‘ conſecrated *Ægelric* a Monk of *Chriſt-Church*, Biſhop of that See; ‘ as alſo *Syward* the Abbot, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

Alſo this year, according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Florence* of *Worceſter*, Earl *Ælfgar* was the ſecond time baniſhed by King *Edward*, but by the help of *Griffyn* Prince of *Wales*, and of a *Norwegian* Fleet which came to his aſſiſtance, he was ſoon reſtored to his Earldom again, though it was by force.

In ſo deplorable a condition was this poor King *Edward*, that thoſe of his Nobility who were ſtrong enough to make any Reſiſtance, were ſure to be pardoned.

The ſame year alſo (according to the above-mentioned Authors) *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, having newly rebuilt the Church of St. *Peter* in *Glouceſter*, went on Pilgrimage through *Hungary* to *Jeruſalem*, (as ſays *Simeon* of *Durham*); which no *Engliſh* Archbiſhop or Biſhop was ever known to have done before.

Anno Dom. MLIX. ‘ This year *Nicholaus* Biſhop of *Florence* was made Pope; and *Benedict* was expell'd, who was Pope before him.

Anno Dom. MLX. ‘ *Kynſige* Archbiſhop of *York* deceaſed, the xi. *Kal. Jan.* and Biſhop ‘ *Ealdred* ſucceeded in that See: (This was that *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who had been lately at *Rome*.) ‘ Alſo *Walter* was now made ‘ Biſhop of *Hereford*] And in the *Latin* Copy of the *Annals* it is related, ‘ That *Henry* King of *France* now dying, *Philip* his Son ſucceeded ‘ him.

Anno Dom. MLXI. ‘ This year alſo deceaſed *Duduc* Biſhop of *Somerſetſhire* (i. e. *Wells*) ‘ and *Giſa* was his Succeſſor. The ſame year alſo deceaſed Biſhop *Godwin* at St. *Martins* (*vii. Id. Martii.*) Alſo *Wulfrick* Abbot of St. *Auguſtine*'s in *Canterbury*, deceaſed in the *Eaſter* Week (xiv. *Kal. Maii.*) ‘ Which News being brought to the King, he appointed *Æthelſige* a ‘ Monk of the old Church at *Wincheſter*, to be Abbot, who was conſecrated by Archbiſhop *Stigand* at *Windleſore* (i. e. *Windſor*) at the ‘ Feaſt of St. *Auguſtine*.

And this year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York* went with Earl *Toſtige* to *Rome*, and there received his Pall from Pope *Nicholaus*: But in the mean time *Malcolm* King of *Scots* entred *Northumberland*, and depopulated the Earldom of *Toſtige*, formerly his ſworn Brother.

Anno Dom. MLXII.

'This year (according to the *Latin* Copy of our *Annals*) the City 'of *Man* was taken by *William* Duke of *Normandy*.

Alſo about this time Earl *Harold*, afterwards King of *England*, founded the Abby of ~~the~~ *Holy Croſs* at *Waltham* (in *Eſſex*), ſo called from a certain Crucifix ſaid to be found (by a Viſion to a Carpenter) at a place called *Montacute*; which Crucifix being brought to *Waltham*, and many Miraculous Stories told there of it, one *Tovi* the *Stallere*, ~~or Chief Standard-Bearer~~ to King *Cnute*, built here a Church for two Prieſts to keep it; which place coming into the hands of Earl *Harold*, he built this Church anew, together with a Noble Monaſtery for a Dean and Twelve Secular Chanons (which in the time of *Henry* the Second were turned to Chanons Regular): This Abby being richly endow'd, the Foundation was confirmed by King *Edward*; as may be ſeen by his Charter, bearing date *Anno* 1062. All which appears from an Ancient *Manuſcript* Hiſtory of the Foundation of this Abby, now in the * *Cottonian* Library.

Histor. [illegible] Bib. Cotton.

Mareschal, or ~~Master of the Horse~~

not long after

* *Julius*, D 6.

Anno Dom. MLXIII.

'This year (according to our *Annals*) Earl *Harold*, and Earl *Toſtige* 'his Brother, marched with a great Army both by Land and Sea into '*Brytland* (i. e. *Wales*) and ſubdued that Countrey; ſo that the Inha'bitants giving them Hoſtages, became ſubject [to King *Edward*.] 'Afterwards marching farther, they ſlew King *Griffyth*, and brought 'his Head to *Harold*, who placed another King there.

All this, though done in the two following years, is here related all at once: But *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Florence* of *Worceſter*, are much more large in their Account of theſe *Welſh* Affairs, which they give us under the following year, *viz.*

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Griffyn Prince of *Wales* having by his frequent Inroads highly exaſperated King *Edward*, being then at *Glouceſter*, he after the *Chriſtmas* Holidays from thence diſpatch'd Earl *Harold* againſt him with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, if poſſible, to ſurprize him; yet he got timely notice of his coming, and by that means made a ſhift to eſcape, but left behind him moſt of his Ships, which the Earl taking, commanded to be burnt, and ſo returned into *England*: But about *Rogation* Week, *Harold* having got a Fleet in readineſs, he ſet ſail from *Briſtol*, and compaſſing the greateſt part of *Wales*, joined himſelf to the Horſe, with which his Brother *Toſtige* met him, and did ſo much miſchief in *Wales*, that tho Prince *Griffyn* had muſtered up an Army to oppoſe them, yet the *Welſhmen* being thus hard put to it, at laſt yielded themſelves to Earl *Harold*, delivering up Hoſtages, and conſented to pay him Tribute, and abſolutely renounced *Griffyth* their Prince. So that not long after, Prince *Griffyth* being betrayed by his own People, was by them murthered; and his Head being cut off, was ſent to Earl *Harold*, together with the Gilded Stern of his Ship; all which the Earl immediately cauſed to be carried to the King.

Thus fell *Griffyth ap Lhewelyn*, to whom the *Welſh* Chronicles give a Noble Character, of a Valiant and Generous Prince, who had been hitherto for the moſt part victorious in all his Undertakings, till now he periſhed by the Treachery of his own Servants.

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After this, King *Edward* (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) made *Blechen* and *Rithwalla* (whom the *Welſh* Chronicles call *Blethyn* and *Rithwallen*) Joint-Princes of *North-Wales*, being Half-Brethren to *Griffyth* the laſt Prince on the Mother's ſide, as being Sons to *Angharat* Daughter to *Meredyth* Prince of *Wales*.

Florence of *Worceſter* alſo adds, That theſe *Welſh* Princes abovementioned, when they received from the King this Grant of *North-Wales*, ſwore Fealty not only to Him, but alſo to Earl *Harold*, who it ſeems delivered it to them; ſwearing to perform their Commands both by Sea and Land, and to pay thoſe Tributes which had been formerly paid to King *Edward*'s Predeceſſors. Which, if true, ſhews that Earl *Harold* was already adopted and declared Heir of the Crown. But this being not found in our Annals, nor in any other Hiſtorian, I cannot paſs my word for the Truth of it.

‘This year alſo (according to the *Annals*) the *Northumbers* took Arms againſt *Toſtige* their Earl, and ſlew as many of his Servants as they could lay hold on, as well *Engliſh* as *Danes*; they alſo ſeized upon all his Arms that were in *York*, and his Treaſure where ever they could find it, and then ſent for Earl *Morchar*, the Son of Earl *Ælfgar*, and choſe him for their Earl; who then marched *Southward* with all that *Province*, as alſo all the men of *Snotingaham*, *Deorbie*, and *Lincolnaſcires*, till they came even to *Northamtune*, where his Brother *Eadwin* with all his Company met him.

‘But there Earl *Harold* came againſt them, to whom they ſent a Meſſage, which they deſired might be conveyed to the King, as alſo the Meſſengers, by whom they beſought to let them have *Morchar* for their Earl: The King hereupon granting their Requeſt, afterwards ſent Earl *Harold* to them to *Hamtune*, at the Feaſt of St. *Simon* and *Jude*, farther aſſuring them of it; and he alſo at their requeſt confirmed and renewed the Laws of King *Cnute*. But the *Northern* men had done much damage to the Countrey about *Hamtune*, whilſt their Meſſage was thus tranſacting; for they ſlew their Men, and burnt the Houſes and Corn, and took away ſeveral Thouſand Head of Cattel, together with ſome Hundreds of Men, whom they carried Captives into the *North*-Parts; ſo that this Country, and the others adjacent, felt the damage for many years after. But Earl *Toſtige*, with his Wife and as many as were of their Party, went over to Earl *Baldwin*, where they tarried all that Winter.

The occaſion of which Inſurrection (as *Florence* and *Simeon* of *Durham* inform us) was this; There was one *Goſpatrick* a great Officer in *Northumberland*, with whom Earl *Toſtige* having a Quarrel, his Siſter Queen *Edgitha* cauſed him to be murthered at Court the *Chriſtmas* before; though this ſeems very unſuitable to the Meek and Pious Temper of this good Queen: Yet however, ſo much is certain, That this *Goſpatrick* being ſlain, the Earl alſo killed in his own Lodgings two of his Friends, *viz. Gammel* the Son of *Orne*, and *Vlf* the Son of *Dolphin*, having treacherouſly drawn them thither; and had beſides laid intolerable Impoſitions on the People; all which ſo incenſed them againſt him, that three or four of the principal *Thanes* of that Countrey, *viz. Gammelbearne*, *Dimſtan* the Son of *Agelnoth*, and *Gloincorn* the Son of *Eardulf*, with Four hundred (*Florence* ſays Twenty thouſand) men in Arms, entred *York* a little after *Michaelmaſs*, and there firſt ſlew two

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of the Earl's *Huiſceorles* (*i.e.* Domeſtick Servants) *Amund* and *Ravenſheart*, though fled out of the City; and the day following above Two hundred more of his men, on the *North*-ſide of the River *Humber*: *Toſtige* hereupon made loud Complaints to the King, and at his Requeſt *Harold* his Brother and others were appointed to take up the buſineſs; but as they were going down into the *North* for this purpoſe, the whole Countrey in a manner roſe, and met them at *Northampton*, where (as alſo afterwards at *Oxford*) they ſtrenuouſly refuſed to receive Earl *Toſtige*, and by no means would admit of a Reconciliation: And ſo violent were they, and reſolute, that after the Feaſt of *All Saints*, they cauſed both him and his Adherents to be baniſhed the Land.

William of *Malmesbury* alſo adds the reaſon which the *Northumbers* gave to juſtify this their Riſing, *viz. That they were Freemen born, and as freely educated; and that they would not endure the Inſolence of an Earl; for they had learned from their Anceſtors to chuſe either Liberty or Death.* In ſhort, if the King meant to have them ſtill his Subjects, he ſhould ſet Earl *Morchar* over them, and then he ſhould ſoon find they could, if kindly uſed, willingly ſubmit.

This was the moſt probable occaſion of *Toſtige*'s Baniſhment: Tho *H. Huntington* (who lived after the Conqueſt, and had heard many Tales of the Hatred which Earl *Godwin*'s Sons bore to each other) tells us another ſtory of this matter; *viz.* That as the King ſate at Dinner at *Windſor*, he commanded Earl *Harold* to ſerve him with the Cup: *Toſtige* his Brother being preſent, and not able to endure that his younger Brother ſhould be preferred before himſelf, in the King's very preſence flew in his face, and catching him by the hair, flung him on the ground: The Scuffle being ended, the King foretold that their Deſtruction was nigh, and that the Wrath of God would not much longer be deferred: For, ſays this Author, they were come to that height of Barbariſm and Cruelty, that if they but liked the Houſe or Poſſeſſions of any one, they would by night procure the Owner to be murthered, with all his Children, to get his Eſtate; and theſe were at that time the chief Juſticiaries of the Kingdom. But this ſeems to have been a ſtory invented long ſince out of hatred to the Memory of *Harold*, afterwards King, for he hath the Character of a Valiant and Worthy Prince; and who (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates) in this Quarrel with the *Northumbers*, preferred the Peace of his Countrey to his Brother's private Intereſts.

That ~~But~~ *Toſtige* in a great Rage leaving the Court, went to a Houſe of his brother Earl Harold's ~~at~~ near *Hereford*, where at that time he ~~heard his Brother *Harold*~~ had order'd mighty Preparations for the Entertainment of the King, and there made a moſt terrible havock of his Servants; divers of whom being killed, he flung their mangled Members into all the Veſſels of Wine, Mead, Ale, and other Liquors, and then ſent word to his Brother, That he need take no care for Pickled Meats, but as for all other ſorts he might bring them down along with him: And it was therefore for this moſt horrid Villany, that the King commanded him to be baniſhed; which the *Northumbers* underſtanding, for this as well as ſeveral other Murthers he had committed, they expell'd him their Countrey, as hath been already ſhewn. But this does not well agree with what *Simeon* of *Durham* hath already with more probability related of him; for if Earl *Toſtige* had been found guilty of ſo great an Inſolence, and that he was there-

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upon baniſhed the Kingdom, it had certainly been very needleſs for the *Northumbers* to have roſe up againſt him, and to have driven him out of the Countrey, or at leaſt to have deſired another Earl in his room; ſince the King would have appointed them a new one, without giving them ſo juſt an Occaſion for a Rebellion againſt him.

To this year alſo we may refer Earl *Harold*'s going over into *Normandy*, which ſome of our Hiſtorians place a year or two ſooner; but they differ much more about the manner and occaſion of it, ſome making it to be a meer Caſualty, others ſaying it was on purpoſe: But *William* of *Malmesbury*'s account of it is thus; That *Harold* being at his Houſe at *Boſenham* in *Suſſex*, near the Sea-ſide, he for his Recreation with ſome of his Retinue, took a Fiſher-boat, meaning only to row up and down; but ſailing a little further to Sea than they were aware, a Tempeſt roſe and carried them croſs the Channel to the *French* Coaſt, where (glad to be ſafe any where) they were forced to land in the Territories of the Earl of *Ponthieu*; the men of that Countrey (according to their cuſtom, and that barbarous practiſe which is in uſe in moſt places, to make a Prey of the diſtreſſed and ſhipwrack'd) preſently fell upon them, and being many and well arm'd, they eaſily ſeiz'd upon Earl *Harold* and his Followers, who were without Weapons; ſo that they not only took them Priſoners, but alſo fetter'd them. Then *Harold* conſidering with himſelf what was to be done, hired a Meſſenger to go to Duke *William*, and acquaint him how he was ſent over by the King of *England*, by his Word and Preſence to confirm what other leſſer Envoys had only whiſpered; but that he was kept Priſoner, and hinder'd from the diſcharge of his Meſſage by *Gwido* Earl of *Ponthieu*; and that it would become a man of ſo great Honour as himſelf, not to ſuffer a Villany ſo derogatory to his Authority, to go unpuniſhed, ſince he had appealed to his Juſtice: But if his Liberty was to be purchaſed with Money, he would willingly pay the Price to Earl *William*, but not to ſuch a mean-ſpirited man as *Gwido*. Upon this *Harold* by the Command of Duke *William* was ſoon ſet at liberty, and ſent to Court; where being honourably received, he was alſo invited to an Expedition into *Little-Britain*, where at that time the *Norman* Duke made War: But by his Wit and Valour he ſo well approved himſelf to the Duke, that he was very much taken with him; to whom, that he might alſo the more endear himſelf, he promiſed by Oath, That in caſe King *Edward* died, he would deliver up to him the Caſtle of *Dover*, which was then under his Command, and procure him to ſucceed in the Kingdom of *England*: Hereupon the Duke's Daughter, as yet too young for Marriage, was betrothed to him; and ſo he was ſent home with very rich Preſents.

This is *William* of *Malmesbury*'s, and divers other Hiſtorians Relation of it; but *Bromton*'s Chronicle, as he is ſingular in many things, ſo he is in this, and relates the Cauſe of *Harold*'s Voyage into *Normandy* thus; *viz.* That he had asked leave of King *Edward* to go over to Duke *William*, to procure him to ſet his Brother *Wulnoth*, and his Nephew *Hacune* free, who were there detain'd as Hoſtages; whereupon the King told him he might go with his Leave, but not by his Advice; for (ſaid he) I foreſee that nothing but Damage and Ruin can happen to *England* thereby; for I know Earl *William* will not be ſo ignorant and impolitick as to grant their Delivery, unleſs it ſhall tend to his own advantage;

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vantage: So *Harold* going on Shipboard, and intending for *Normandy*, was driven by a Tempeſt on the Coaſt of *Picardy*, and there ſeized by the Earl of *Ponthieu*, and by him at laſt was ſent to Duke *William*, as hath been already related. The reſt of the Story is much the ſame with the former, and needs no Repetition; only this is added, That Earl *Harold* at his Return home, having told the King all that had happened to him in *France*, the King is ſaid to reply thus, *Did not I tell thee that this Voyage would prove neither for thy Profit, nor that of the Kingdom.* But one may plainly perceive this Story to have been feigned by one of the later Monks, to prove that King *Edward* had the Spirit of Prophecy, and would not have been omitted by *William* of *Malmesbury*, if he had known it, or thought it to have been true.

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This year alſo, as *Florence* of *Worceſter* tells us, *Harold* Earl of *Weſt-Saxony*, having built a Houſe in *South-Wales*, at a place called *Portaſcith*, and made great Preparations for the King's Entertainment, who was to come thither a hunting; when *Caradoc*, or *Cradoc*, Son to *Griffyn* Prince of *South-Wales* (whom *Griffyn* Prince of *North-Wales* had ſlain ſome years before) came to this place about St. *Bartholomew-day*, and there not only ſlew all the Workmen and Servants, but carried away all the Goods that had been brought thither.

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'This year was conſecrated the Monaſtery of *Weſtminſter*, on the 'Feaſt of the *Holy Innocents*.

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This Church, as the Abbot of *Rievalle* (in his Life of King *Edward*) informs us, had been begun ſome years before, in performance of a Vow the King had formerly made, to go to *Rome*; but being diſſuaded from it by the Chief Men of his Kingdom, he ſent thither *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Herman* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to obtain Pope *Leo*'s Diſpenſation from that Journey, who by the ſaid Biſhops returned it him upon theſe terms, That he ſhould beſtow the Money he would have ſpent in that Voyage, in building a Stately Church and Monaſtery in Honour of St. *Peter*: Whereupon the King choſe out a place near his own Palace, where had anciently ſtood a Church and Monaſtery, built by *Sebert* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Mellitus* Biſhop of *London*, but it being deſtroyed by the *Danes*, had ever ſince lain in Ruins.

But an Ancient Epitome of *Engliſh* Chronicles, written by a Monk of *Weſtminſter*, and now in the * *Cottonian* Library, relates, That Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* had here before erected a ſmall Monaſtery for Twelve Monks, which was vaſtly augmented by King *Edward*: Though whether this were ſo or no, is as uncertain, as it is incredible what theſe *Monkiſh* Writers tell us, of its being anciently conſecrated by St. *Peter* himſelf; which not being mentioned by *Bede*, looks like a Fable invented only to gain a greater Veneration for that Place.

* *Otho*, D. 7.

Here alſo, in the Author above-mentioned, follows the King's Letter to Pope *Nicholaus*, That he would pleaſe not only to confirm what his Predeceſſor had done, but alſo grant him new Privileges for the ſaid Monaſtery; and then comes the Pope's Bull or Privilege for that purpoſe, in which is recited this Legend of that Church's having been anciently conſecrated by St. *Peter*.

But though *Simeon* of *Durham* places the Conſecration of this Church on the day above-mentioned, yet he refers it to the end of the year 1065, and perhaps with more Exactneſs; ſince the *Engliſh-Saxon* year began

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began then not at *Lady-day*, as it does now, but *New-years-tide* : And after this Author farther adds, That upon *Chriſtmaſs-day* preceding, the King held his *Curia*, or Great Council, at *Weſtminſter* ; where were preſent King *Edward*, and his Queen *Edgitha*, and *Stigand* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, with the other Biſhops and Abbots of *England*, together with the King's Chaplains, Earls, *Thanes*, and Knights: Which Council (* as Sir *H. Spelman* informs us) was ſummoned to confirm the King's Charter of Endowment of the ſaid Monaſtery ; but though it be there imperfect, yet you may find it at large in *Monaſt. Anglican.* ; wherein, after the Recital of the Bull of Pope *Leo*, follows this Clauſe, *viz.* " That the King, for the Expiation of his own Vow, and alſo for the Souls of the Kings his Predeceſſors, as well as Succeſſors, had granted to that place (viz. *Weſtminſter*) all manner of Liberty, as far as Earthly Power could reach ; and that for the Love of God, by whoſe Mercy he was placed in the Royal Throne, and now by the Counſel and *Decree* of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, and other of his Great Men, and for the Benefit and Advantage of the ſaid Church, and all thoſe that ſhould belong to it, he had granted theſe Privileges following, not only in preſent but for future times : Then follows an Exemption from all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction ; as alſo another Clauſe, whereby he grants it the Privilege of Sanctuary ; ſo that any one, of whatſoever condition he be, for whatſoever cauſe, that ſhall fly unto that *Holy Place*, or the Precincts thereof, ſhall be free, and obtain full Liberty. And at laſt concludes thus, *I have commanded this Charter to be written and ſeal'd, and have alſo ſigned it with my hand*, with the Sign of the Croſs, and have ordered fit Witneſſes to ſubſcribe it for its greater Corroboration: Then immediately follows the King's Subſcription, in theſe words, *Ego Edwardus, Deo largiente, Anglorum Rex, ſignum venerandæ Crucis impreſſi.* Then follows the Subſcription of Queen *Editha*, with thoſe of the two Archbiſhops, ſeven of the Biſhops, and as many Abbots ; and ſo comes on the Subſcriptions of the Laity, *viz.* of *Raynbald* the Chancellor, and of the Earls *Harold* and *Edwin*, who write themſelves *Duces*, and ſix *Thanes*, beſides other of inferior Order. This Charter bears date on St. *Innocents* day, *Anno Dom.* 1066. which how it could be ſo dated four days before *New-years-day*, when the year then began, I do not underſtand.

Here alſo follows a Third Charter, which is much the ſame with the former, only it contains the King's Letter to Pope *Nicholaus*, and his Bull, reciting the Privileges granted to the ſaid Church ; all which are there at large inſerted. Then follows the Subſcriptions of the King, Queen, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, *&c.* almoſt in the ſame order as the former ; only *Osbald* and another of the King's Chaplains do here ſubſcribe before any of the Lay-Nobility ; and beſides the *Thanes*, there are ſeveral who ſubſcribed with the Title of *Milites* added to their Names.

I have been the larger upon this Foundation, not only becauſe it was the Greateſt and Nobleſt of any in *England*, but alſo for that it ſtill continues, though under another Title, to be a Collegiate Church for a Dean and Eight Prebends, with an excellent School belonging to it, which hath hitherto furniſhed both the Church and State with as great a number of Learned and Conſiderable Perſons, as any in the whole Nation.

* *Vid.* 1 *Vol. Concil. ſub hoc Anno.*

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But to return again to our Hiſtory (as it is related by the aforeſaid Abbot of *Rievalle*); King *Edward* having at this Great Aſſembly of the Eſtates of his Kingdom appeared ſolemnly with his Crown on his Head according to cuſtom, was a day or two before *Chriſtmaſs* in the night-time, taken with a Feaver, which very much damped the Jollity of that Feſtival; yet he concealed it as much as he could for two or three days, ſtill ſitting down at Meals with his Biſhops and Noblemen, till the third day perceiving the time of his Diſſolution drew near, he commanded all things to be got ready for the Conſecration of his New Church, which he reſolved ſhould be ſolemnized the next day, being the Feaſt of the *Holy Innocents*; whereat all the Biſhops and Great Men of the Kingdom aſſiſted, and the King as far as his Health would permit; but preſently after, the King growing worſe and worſe, he was forced to take his Bed; the Queen, Biſhops, and the Nobility, ſtanding weeping about him; and whilſt he lay ſpeechleſs, and almoſt without life for two days, and the third awakening as if it were from a Trance, both *William* of *Malmeſbury* and the Abbot above-mentioned, relate, That after a devout Prayer he told them, That in a Viſion he had lately ſeen two holy Monks, whom he had in his youth known in *Normandy* to be men of meek and pious Converſation, and whom he therefore had very much loved, and now appeared to him as ſent from God, to tell him what ſhould happen to *England* after his deceaſe, ſhewing him, "That the Iniquity of the *Engliſh* being now full, had provoked the Divine Vengeance; for that the Prieſts deſpiſing God's Law, treated Holy Things with corrupt hearts and polluted hands; and not being true Paſtors, but Mercenaries, expoſed the Sheep to the Wolves, ſeeking the Wool and the Milk more than the Sheep themſelves: That the Chief Men of the Land were Infidels, Companions of the Thieves and Robbers of their Countrey; who neither feared God, nor honoured his Law; to whom Truth was a Burthen, Juſtice a Maygame, and Cruelty a Delight: And that therefore ſince neither the Rulers obſerved Juſtice, nor the Ruled Diſcipline, the Lord had drawn his Sword, and bent his Bow, and made it ready, for that he would ſhew this People his Wrath and Indignation, by ſending Evil Angels to puniſh them for a year and a day, with Fire and Sword. But when the King replied to them, That he would admoniſh his People to repent them of the evil of their ways and doings, and then he hoped God would not bring theſe dreadful Judgments upon them, but would again receive them into his Mercy: To this they anſwered, That now it could not be, becauſe the hearts of this people were hardened, and their eyes blinded, and their ears ſtopped, ſo that they would neither hear thoſe that would inſtruct them, nor be adviſed by thoſe that ſhould admoniſh them, being neither to be terrified by his Threatnings, nor melted by his Benefits. And the King asking them when there would be an end of all theſe Judgments, and what comfort they might be like to receive under all theſe great afflictions? thoſe holy men only anſwered him in a Parable of a certain Green Tree, that ſhould be cut down, and removed from the Root about the diſtance of Three Acres; and when without any human hand the Tree ſhould be reſtored to its Ancient Root, and flouriſh and bear Fruit, then, and not till then, was there any Comfort to be hoped for.

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But this Author's application of the Tree that was to be cut down, to the *Engliſh-Saxon* Royal Family's being for a time deſtroyed; and its Separation to the diſtance of three Acres, to *Harold* and the two firſt *Norman* Kings; and its Reſtitution again, to King *Henry* the firſt, by his marrying of Queen *Mathildis*, and its flouriſhing again in the Empreſs her Daughter; and then its bearing Fruit, to the Succeſſion of *Henry* the ſecond; do ſufficiently ſhew that great part of this Viſion was made and accommodated for the Reigns of theſe Princes. *William* of *Malmesbury* indeed recites the ſame Viſion, though in fewer words, but without any Interpretation of the Parable. But be this Viſion true or falſe, I think we may have reaſon to pray to God that neither our Clergy nor Laity, by falling into the like wicked and deplorable ſtate above deſcribed, may ever bring the like Judgments upon this Nation.

But when the Queen, *Robert* the Lord Chamberlain, and Earl *Harold*, who are ſaid to have been preſent at the Relation of this Viſion, ſeemed very much concern'd, Archbiſhop *Stigand* received it with a Smile, ſaying, That the good Old Man was only delirous by reaſon of his Diſtemper; *But* (ſays *Malmesbury*) *we have too dearly tried the Truth of this Viſion,* England *being now made the Habitation of Strangers, and groaning under the Dominion of Foreigners*; *there being* (ſays he) *at this day* (*i.e.* at the time when he wrote) *no* Engliſhman *either an Earl, a Biſhop, or an Abbot*; *but Strangers devour the Riches, and gnaw even the very Bowels of* England; *neither is there a proſpect of having any End of theſe Miſeries.*

This, it ſeems, was written in the beginning of the Reign of *Henry* the *Firſt*, and before he had ſeen the more Happy Times that ſucceeded in that of *Henry* the *Second*; when the Abbot above-mentioned tells us, *That* England *had then a King of the Ancient Blood-Royal, as alſo Biſhops and Abbots of the ſame Nation, with many Earls, Barons, and Knights, who as being deſcended both from the* French *and* Engliſh *Blood, were an Honour to the One, and a Comfort to the Other.*

But to come to the Death and Laſt Words of this moſt Pious King: The Abbot above-mentioned gives us an Excellent Diſcourſe which he made before his Death, recommending the Queen to her Brother, and the Nobility there preſent, and highly extolling her Chaſtity and Obedience; who though ſhe appeared publickly his Wife, yet was privately rather like a Siſter or Daughter; deſiring of them, That whatſoever he had left her for her Jointure, ſhould never be taken from her. He alſo recommended to them his Servants who had followed him out of *Normandy*, and that they ſhould have their free choice either of returning home to their own Countrey, or ſtaying here. After which he appointed his Body to be buried in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Weſtminſter*, which he had ſo newly dedicated; and ſo having received the Bleſſed Euchariſt, and recommended his Soul to God, he quietly departed this Life, having reigned Three and twenty Years, Six Months, and Seven and twenty Days.

It is very obſervable, That this Abbot does not tell us that he ſaid any thing concerning who ſhould be his Succeſſor; whereas many of the Monks of thoſe Times make him to have bequeathed the Crown at his Death to his Couſin *William* Duke of *Normandy*; and *Ingulph* further ſays, That King *Edward* ſome years before his Death had ſent *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* as an Ambaſſador to him, to let him know that he had deſign'd him his Succeſſor, both becauſe he was of his Blood, and alſo Eminent for his Virtue.

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What Pretences the Duke might have to the Crown by the latter, I know not, but it is certain the former could give him no Title to it, ſince all the Relation that was between King *Edward* and Duke *William*, was by Queen *Emma*, who was Mother to the King, and Aunt to the Duke; ſo that it is evident on the ſcore of this Relation, that Duke *William* could have no pretence by Blood to the Crown of *England*.

But it is very ~~ſuſpicious~~, that this Story of Archbiſhop *Robert*'s being ſent into *Normandy* upon this Errand, was but a Fiction, ſince he ſate but three years in that See before his Expulſion, and that happened near ten years before; after which King *Edward* ſent over for his Couſin *Edward*, ſirnamed *The Outlaw*, to make him his Heir.

King *Edward* being dead, they made great haſte to bury him, for his Funerals were performed the next day with as great Solemnity as the ſhortneſs of that time would admit of; but it was ſufficient that all the Biſhops and Nobility of the Kingdom attended his Body to the Grave in the Church aforeſaid, where his Tomb is at this day to be ſeen behind the Altar; and his Body was afterwards preſerved in a Rich Shrine of Gold and Silver, till the Reign of *Henry* the *Eighth*.

As for the Character which the Writers of the following Age give this Prince, it is ſuch as they thought was due to One whom they took to be a Saint, yet they give him the Title of *Confeſſor*, which had been in the Primitive Times beſtowed only on thoſe who ſuffered for Chriſt, though not unto death: but how he could claim that Title upon this Account I know not, unleſs his reſiſting the ordinary motions of the Fleſh, may be looked upon as ſuch a kind of ſuffering; having been (as is already related) ſo chaſte, that he never knew his own Wife, though a very Beautiful Lady; for which, as well as his other Virtues, and particularly his Charity to the Poor, he is commonly ſtiled St. *Edward the Confeſſor*.

~~But~~ He was indeed but a Weak and Eaſy Prince, and ſo the more liable to be drawn away by the falſe ſuggeſtions of thoſe about him; as may be obſerved in his ſevere proceedings againſt his Mother and his Wife: though that very Weakneſs and Eaſineſs of Nature is in him reckoned for a Virtue, as you may ſee by this Story, which is related by Abbot *Ailred*; (*viz.*) That this King *Edward* being one Afternoon laid down upon his Bed to repoſe himſelf, and no body left in the Chamber with him, and the Curtains cloſe drawn round about him, there came in by chance a Boy that was employed in the meaner Offices of the Houſe, who ſeeing no body in the room, and finding there a certain Cheſt open, in which the Chamberlain kept the Money for the King's ordinary Expences, and which had been through negligence forgot to be lock'd, the Boy ran haſtily to it, and filling his Pockets, went away with the Money; But the King perceiving him through the Curtains, ſaid nothing, but let him go. The Boy finding he had ſped ſo well, reſolved to go again to make the beſt of his time, and having laid by the Money he had ſtolen, came again to fetch more; whereupon the King thinking him then a little too bold, called out to him, ſaying, *Sirrah, you had beſt be contented with what you have got, for if* Hugolin *come* (for ſo was the Chamberlain call'd) *he will not only whip you ſoundly, but likewiſe take away all you have purloined already*. The Boy hearing a Voice, but ſeeing no body, ran away

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away in a great fright, and the King concerned himſelf no further about it; but *Hugolin* coming in not long after, and finding both the Cheſt open, and a good deal of Money taken out of it, was in a great Paſſion; which the King taking notice of, bid him reſt contented; *For*, ſaid he, *the Poor Rogue that hath it, wants it more than we do.*

So that, upon the whole, I think we may ſafely rely upon *William* of *Malmesbury*'s Character of this Prince; That if you conſider his Simplicity, he ſeemed very unfit for Government; yet by reaſon of his Virtue and Piety towards God, he was ſo directed by him, that the moſt Politick and Couragious Kings have ſcarce ruled more happily: For during his Reign the Kingdom was never invaded by Foreign Enemies; nor were there any Civil Diſturbances, but what were immediately ſuppreſſed.

Ailr ~~But though~~ the Abbot of *Rieval~~x~~* u, who hath wrote his Life, hath alſo given us a long Bed-roll of his Miracles, which I ſhall not take upon me to relate, yet cannot but take notice of one or two of them; how it is ſaid, that he cured ſome Blind People, by only waſhing their Eyes with fair Water, in which his own Fingers had been firſt dipped; and that he alſo healed a Woman who had been grievouſly over-run with thoſe Swellings we now call the *King's-Evil*, by his bare waſhing the Sores with his own hands; and from whoſe Bleſſing, or Example (I will not diſpute) the Touch of our Kings of *England* have ever ſince been thought ~~very~~ effectual for curing the *King's-Evil.* But among theſe Miracles, this ſeems not the leaſt, That this Author makes him to have been *Elected* King by his Father's Command, and that in a Great Council, whilſt he was yet in his Mother's Belly.

As for his private Recreations, he loved Hawking and Hunting above all the reſt; and would be in a Paſſion, if he had been croſſed in his Game: For a Countrey Clown once ſpoiling his Sport, the King riding up to him, as if he would have beat him, only ſaid, *By God's-Mother, I would be even with you if I could.* He is ſaid not to be exceſſive at his private Meals, nor at ſolemn Feſtivals was he at all elated with the Coſtly Robes he wore, which his Queen curiouſly embroidered for him with Silk and Gold. And being thus Mild, Charitable, and Beneficent to all his People, it was no wonder if his Death was ſo deeply lamented by all his Subjects. But this they grant to be his Fault, that he brought too many *Normans* over with him into *England*; and they having great Offices and Preferments beſtow'd upon them, ſoon corrupted the then *Engliſh* Simplicity by their *Norman* Cuſtoms: So that as *Ingulph* well obſerves, the *Engliſh* Nobility growing as it were aſhamed of their own, began to imitate the *French* Manners; the generality of the Noblemen ſpeaking the *French* Tongue in their Houſes, (as being then moſt modiſh) and made their Charters and other Writings after the *French* way; and this humour ſtill more and more prevailed, till at length they became as it were Slaves and Vaſſals to thoſe they before ſo extremely admired. So true a Maxim is it, generally ſpeaking, that where a Foreign Tongue prevails, it is reckoned half a Conqueſt.

As for this King's Perſon, he is deſcribed to be Tall and Comely, of a very Fair and Ruddy Complexion; and in his latter years Venerable for his long and white Beard, as you may ſee in his Seals and Pictures: And which is moſt remarkable, he was the firſt *Engliſh* King whoſe Seals we can find affixed to his Charters, as you may ſee in Mr. *Speed*:

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Yet perhaps other Kings might have Seals to their Charters before him, however they are now defaced.

But though this King made many excellent Laws, which being wrote in the *Saxon* Tongue, are now almoſt quite loſt; yet ſince ſome Heads or Extracts of them are to be found in *R. Hoveden,* and Mr. *Lambard's* Collections, I ſhall give you ſuch of them as are neceſſary for the clearing of our Ancient Conſtitution. and for ſhewing what liberty the *Engliſh* Subjects enjoyed before the Conqueſt; which Laws were alſo confirmed by King *William* the *Firſt*, in the Fourth Year of his Reign; but they not ſpecifying any time when they were made, I have referr'd them to this place.

“The firſt of theſe Laws eſtabliſhes the Goods and Poſſeſſions of all Clerks and Scholars.

“The ſecond appoints the times and days of the King's Peace; making it more Penal to violate it from the *Advent* of our Lord, to the Octaves of the *Epiphany*; and in like manner from *Lent* to the Octaves of *Eaſter*, (*i. e.* eight days after that Feaſt); and from our Lord's *Aſcenſion*, to the Octaves of *Pentecoſt*; and alſo on all *Saturdays*, from Nine a Clock, to the *Monday* morning following; likewiſe on the Vigils of all Holidays, as well as on the Holidays themſelves; as alſo in Pariſhes, when the Feaſt of the Saint (to whom the Church is dedicated) is kept; ſo that if any one come devoutly to the Celebration thereof, he was to have ſecurity in going, ſtaying, and returning home; and beſides in many other caſes, too long here to ſet down.

From whence we may obſerve the Antiquity of thoſe Pariſh Feaſts, called in ſeveral parts of *England*, *Wakes*.

“The fourth appoints, That where ever the King's Juſtice, or any other Perſon ſhall hold Civil Pleas, if the King's Deputy or Attorney comes thither to open any Cauſe concerning Holy Church, that ſhall be firſt determined; for it is juſt God be ſerved before all others.

“The fifth ordains, That whoſoever holds any thing of the Church, or hath his Manſion on the Church's Land, he or they ſhall not be compell'd to plead out of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, for Contumacy or otherwiſe (nay, though he forfeit) unleſs Juſtice be wanting in thoſe Courts, which (ſays the Law) God forbid.

By which all the Tenants of the Church were exempted from pleading or appearing at the King's Courts; which though a ſtrange and unreaſonable Privilege, yet (it ſeems) it continued in the time of *William* the *Firſt*.

“The ſixth confirms the Laws of Sanctuaries, ordaining, That no man ſhall be taken out of any Church to which he hath fled for any offence, unleſs it be by the Biſhop or his Officers: The like Privilege is alſo allowed to the Prieſt's Houſe, provided it ſtand upon the Ground of the Church; but if a Thief went out of the Sanctuary to rob, he was to forfeit that Privilege.

“The ſeventh leaves thoſe to the Juſtice of the Biſhop who violate the Peace of Holy Church; and if any Offender ſhall deſpiſe his Sentence, either by flying or contemning it, and Complaint thereof be made to the King after forty days, he ſhall give Pledges to reconcile himſelf to God, the King, and the Church; and if he cannot be found, he ſhall be outlaw'd; and if then he be found, and can be laid

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"hold on, he ſhall be delivered up to the King; if he defends himſelf, "he ſhall be ſlain: For from the day of his Outlawry he is ſaid in *Engliſh* "to have *Wulfsheofod* (*i.e.* a Wolfs-head), or as we now commonly ſay in "*Latin, gerere Caput Lupinum:* This is the common Law of all Outlaws.

"The eighth and ninth appoint what things ſmall Tythes ſhould be "paid out of; and recites, that they had been granted long before, *à Rege,* "*Baronibus, & Populo,* that is, by the *King,* the *Barons,* and the *Peo-* "*ple:* And though the word *Barons* was not commonly uſed till the time of King *William* the *Firſt,* when theſe Laws were drawn up in the form we now have them, upon an Inquiſition granted to the Ancient and Wiſe Men of all the Counties in *England,* as *Rog. Hoveden* informs us; yet is this but a Recital of the Ancient Law of *Tythes* in the Dialect of thoſe times, when the word *Baron* came to be uſed inſtead of *Thane.*

"The tenth appoints after what manner the *Ordeal,* or Judgment by "Fire or Water, ſhould be executed by the Biſhop's Officer, and the "King's Juſtice, upon thoſe that deſerved it.

From which you may obſerve, that this Law of *Ordeal* was in force ſome time after the coming in of the *Normans.* This Law alſo ordains in what Caſes, and over what Perſons, the Courts Baron ſhould have Juriſdiction; but it being ſomewhat large, I refer you to it.

"The Eleventh again reinforces the payment of *Romeſcot,* or *Peter-* "*pence,* which if denied, the King's Juſtice ſhall compel the payment, "becauſe it is the King's Alms.

From whence we may obſerve, how much thoſe *Romiſh* Writers are miſtaken, who will needs make theſe *Peter-pence* to have been a Tribute from the Kings of *England* to the *Pope.*

"The twelfth ſhews what *Danegelt* was, and on what occaſion it "was firſt impoſed: That the payment of *Danegelt* was firſt ordained "becauſe of the frequent Invaſions of the *Daniſh* Pyrates; to repreſs "which, there was Twelvepence impoſed upon every Hide of Land "throughout *England,* to be paid yearly: Which alſo ſhews us about "what time theſe Laws were collected into the form we now have "them by this Clauſe, *viz.* That the Church was excuſed from this pay- "ment until the time of *William Rufus,* who (as is here recited) "asking an Aid of his *Barons* for the obtaining *Normandy* from his Bro- "ther then going to *Jeruſalem,* there was granted to him (not by any "ſtanding Law, but only for the preſent neceſſity) Four Shillings "upon every Hide of Land, the Church not excepted.

"The thirteenth ſets forth, That the Peace of the King is manifold, "as ſometimes it is given by his own hand, which the *Engliſh* call *Cy-* "*ninges honde ſealde gryth.*

This Protection was granted not only to Perſons, but Places alſo, by way of Privilege, as likewiſe to Churches or Churchmen within their own Walls, as appears by the League betwixt King *Edward* and *Guth-rum,* in which it is termed *Cyninges honde gryth.*

"Another ſort of Peace was on the Coronation-day, which laſted "eight days; that at *Chriſtmaſs,* which held alſo eight days; and ſo on "the Feaſt of *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide.* Another ſort was given by his "Brief or Letters; and another there was belonging to the Four great "Highways, *viz. Watlingſtreet, Foſs, Hickenildſtreet,* and *Erming-* "*ſtreet;* whereof two are extended to the Length, and two to the "Breadth of the Kingdom. Another ſtill there was belonging to

" the Rivers of Note, which conveyed Proviſions to Towns and "Cities.

From whence it appears, that this Peace of the King was a Privilege or Exemption granted to Perſons, not to be ſued or anſwer at Law, in any Action brought againſt them, during certain ſolemn and ſtated Times, ~~and~~ in some ~~certain~~ of the moſt famous and frequented Roads or Highways of the Kingdom. and also

" The fourteenth declares, That all *Treaſure trove* ſhould be the King's, " unleſs it were found in a Church or Church-yard; in which caſe, if " it were Gold, it was all the King's; but if Silver, one half was to go to " him, and another to the Church.

" The fifteenth treateth of Murther, and declares if any one was " murthered, the Murtherer ſhould be enquired after in the Village or " Town where the Body was found; and if he was diſcovered, to be " delivered up to the King's Juſtice within eight days after the Fact " committed; and in caſe he could not be found, a month and a day " was allowed for ſearch after him; within which term, if he could " not be ſeiz'd on, forty ſix Marks were to be collected out of that " Town; and if it was not able to pay ſo much, then the Hundred " was liable to make it good: And foraſmuch as this Payment could " not be made in the Towns, and great inconveniences aroſe; the *Barons* " (*i.e.* the Freeholders of the County) took care that ſix and forty " Marks ſhould be paid out of the Hundred; which being ſeal'd up " with the Seal of ſome one Baron of the County, they were to be ſent " to the Treaſurer, and by him ſo kept ſeal'd up for a year and a day; " within which time if the Murtherer was found out, upon his being " delivered to the King's Juſtice, they were to be repaid; but in caſe " within that time he could not be diſcovered, then were the Kindred of " the Murthered Party to have ſix of the ſaid Marks, and the King " the other forty; if he had no Kindred, his Lord was to receive it; " and if he had no Lord, then his ſworn Friend and Companion; but " if there were none of theſe, then the King ſhould have the whole " Sum to himſelf.

" The ſixteenth Article ſhews us, how this way of diſcovering Mur- " ther, and puniſhing the Hundred, came to be in uſe where the Mur- " therer could not be found; *viz.* That King *Cnute*, when he had gotten " *England*, and ſettled it in Peace, and at the requeſt of the *Engliſh* Ba- " rons had ſent back his Army into *Denmark*, thoſe Barons became " Sureties, that all the *Danes* that ſtaid behind with him, ſhould in all " things enjoy perfect Peace; ſo that in caſe an *Engliſhman* kill'd any of " them, if he could not clear himſelf by the Judgment of God, (that " is, by Water or Iron, meaning the *Ordeal*) Juſtice was to be execu- " ted upon him; and in caſe he ran away, Payment was to be made as " is aforeſaid.

This Law, to prevent the killing of the *Normans*, was likewiſe continued by King *William* the *Conqueror*; for in caſe a man were found ſlain, he was to be taken for a *Norman*, and his Death to be more grievouſly puniſhed than that of an *Engliſhman*, unleſs the *Engleſcherie* of him that was killed could be made out before the King's Juſtices; that is, that he was an *Engliſhman*, as *Bracton* hath particularly ſhewn us. But I ſhall reſerve the ſpeaking further of this Law to the next Volume.

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"The ſeventeenth declares the Office of a King in theſe words; "The King, who is the Vicegerent of the Supreme King, is appointed "to this very end, That he may Govern and Defend his Earthly Kingdom, and the People of the Lord, and above all things ſhould reverence his Holy Church, and extirpate evil doers out of it; which unleſs he ſhall do, not ſo much as the Name of a King ſhall remain to "him, but he ſhall utterly loſe it, as Pope *John* witneſſes.

Then follows the occaſion of this opinion of Pope *John*'s, *viz.* His having given it in anſwer to the Letter which *Pepin* and *Charles* his Son wrote, concerning a fooliſh King of *France*, whether they ſhould ſtill continue him on the Throne, or not; which being no material part of the Law, I omit.

And then there is ſomewhat concerning Barons, which have Courts and Cuſtoms of their own, in theſe words, "The Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and all thoſe who have *Sac*, *Soc*, *Thol*, "*Team*, and *Infangtheof*, ſhall have their Knights, Servants, and all "other ſorts of Dependants under their *Friburg*; that is, ſhould either "have them forth-coming (or elſe ſhould anſwer for them), that if they "ſhall forfeit to any one, and a Complaint be made by the Neighbours "againſt them, they muſt bring them forth to have Juſtice done them in "their own Court.

The eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, and one and twentieth, are explanations of the *Saxon* terms in the above-mentioned Law; which being explained already in the Introduction, I thither refer you.

"The two and twentieth declares, all *Jews* that were in the Kingdom "to be under the Protection of the King, ſo that none of them could put "himſelf in the ſervice of any great man without the King's leave; for "that the *Jews* and all that are there, are the King's.

"By the three and twentieth King *Edward* forbad all Uſurers to continue in his Kingdom; and if any one were convicted that he exacted "Uſury, he ſhould forfeit his Goods, and be looked upon as outlaw'd.

"After which follows in Mr. *Lambard*'s Copy another Law, declaring the King's Power by Virtue of his Royal Dignity, to pardon "Life and loſs of Member, but with this Proviſo, That the Malefactor make ſatisfaction to ſuch as he hath injured, according to his "power; and beſides, find Sureties for his good Behaviour, which if "he did not, he was to be baniſhed.

From whence you may obſerve, That this Prerogative of pardoning in the King, was not to extend to the prejudice of the Party injured, or his Kindred, to whom an Appeal was hereby reſerved.

"Concerning which, The nineteenth in like manner declares his Royal "Prerogative to be ſuch, that the King may ſet at liberty any Captive or "Priſoner, whenever he comes in any City, Borough, Caſtle, *&c.* or if he "meet him in the way, by his mere Word or Command. Yet was he that "was thus ſet at liberty, bound to make ſatisfaction to the injured Party: "But a Murtherer, Traytor, or one guilty of ſuch like Crimes, altho "the King ſhould pardon him as to Life and Member, according to "Law, he ſhall in no wiſe ſtay in the Countrey, but ſhall ſwear that he "will depart to the Sea-coaſt within a ſtated time ſet him by the Juſtice, and paſs over as ſoon as he can get opportunity of a Ship and "Wind; and in caſe any ſuch prove perjured, and ſhall ſtay in the Land

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"beyond the time, any one that meets them, may do Juſtice upon them, "*i. e.* take away their lives.

From whence you may obſerve the Antiquity of the Law for abjuring the Realm for ſuch great Offences to which the King's Pardon did not then abſolutely extend. The reſt of this Law, which only recites the Penalties for the harbouring or favouring ſuch Malefactors, I omit.

"The twenty ſeventh Article gives leave to harbour a Stranger or "Foreigner (whom in *Engliſh* they termed *Couth*, or *Uncouth*, that is, "known or unknown) as a Gueſt for two nights; in which ſpace if "he tranſgreſs, he that harboured him ſhall not be anſwerable for him; "but if any one be injured, and complaint is made, that it was by the "Counſel and Advice of him that lodged him, he ſhall with two honeſt "Neighbours by Oath purge himſelf as to the Advice and Fact, or "otherwiſe ſhall make ſatisfaction.

The reaſon whereof was, becauſe after the third night the Law then was ſuch, that this ſtranger was to be looked upon as one of the Family, and the Maſter of it was to anſwer for him if he tranſgreſſed.

"The twenty eighth appoints how Money or Cattel brought into a "Town (and ſaid by him who brought them, that they were found) "ſhall be diſpoſed of, and who ſhall have the Cuſtody of them.

"The thirtieth enjoins, That thoſe who have the King's Peace either "by his Hand or Letters, ſhall take care not to injure others, under a "double Penalty.

"The thirty firſt declares the particular Mulcts or Penalties of thoſe "who ſhall violate the King's Peace above-mentioned, and eſpecially "that of the eight days of his Coronation, or of any of the Feaſts "aforeſaid, and who ſhould have the Forfeitures ariſing from thence; "how much the King, and how much the Earl, and how much the "Dean or the Biſhop in whoſe Deanry the Peace was broken.

"The thirty ſixth Article directs, how that after a man is killed as a "Thief or a Robber, if any Complaint be made by his neareſt Relation, "to the Juſtice, that the man was wrongfully put to death, and lies buried among Thieves, and that ſuch Relations offer to make it good, in "ſuch caſe they ſhall firſt give ſecurity for ſo doing; and then it follows "in what manner the Party ſlain may be cleared in his Reputation, and "what ſatisfaction ſhall be made to his Friends for it, in caſe it appears "he was killed unjuſtly.

Theſe are the Laws which bear the Name of *Edward* the Confeſſor, though they are not properly ſo, becauſe many of them were made long before his time, and there are ſo many things in the *Latin* Original which are rather Explanations of Laws, than Laws themſelves, that they more truly ſeem to have been collected and ~~written~~ drawn up by ſome ignorant *Scioliſt*, or pretender, about *Henry* the *Firſt*'s time: For though *Roger Hoveden* hath given us this Collection of thoſe Laws which we now have, yet it is plain that there was no Original of them extant at the time when ~~*Hoveden*~~ he wrote, nor long before; or elſe he need not have told us that King *William* the Conqueror in the fourth year of his Reign ſummoned ſo many Noble and Wiſe Men of the *Engliſh* Nation, only to enquire into, and acquaint him what thoſe Laws were. But *Bromton*'s *Chronicle* gives us a ſhort Hiſtory of the ſeveral Laws that had been uſed in *England*; and tells us of three ſorts of Laws then in uſe, viz *Merchenlage*, *Weſt-Saxonlage*, and *Danelage*; and that King *Edward*

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ward made one Common Law out of them all, which are called the Laws of King *Edward* to this day; yet of theſe he gives us no more than the bare Explanation of ſome Words or Terms frequently uſed in them, but without ſetting down any of the Laws themſelves; which whether he did out of ignorance, or on purpoſe, I will not determine; though the former is moſt likely, ſeeing he had before given us all the Laws he could meet with of the precedent *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings. So that when the Reader hears the Laws of St. *Edward*, ſo much talked of, and ſo much contended for after the Conqueſt, he muſt not underſtand theſe here ſet down to have been the only Laws above-mentioned; For thoſe are but ſome parts of them recited and commented upon by after-Writers. And indeed theſe Laws were firſt ſaid to be the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, after the *Normans* coming over, not becauſe
for King *Edward* made them, but renewed the obſervance of them; ~~as~~ *William* of *Malmesbury* expreſly tells us of one of thoſe that King *Cnute* ~~alſo~~ revived, being in ſubſtance the ſame with that formerly ordained by King *Alfred*; Commanding every one above Twelve years old, to be entred into ſome *Decenary*, Tything, or Hundred: But *Bracton* alſo aſcribes it to King *Edward*: So likewiſe this Interpolator or Noter himſelf tells you, That thoſe Laws of St. *Edward* ſo much deſired, and at length obtained from *William* the *Conqueror*, were ordained in the time of King *Edgar* his Grandfather, but after his death were ~~laid aſide~~ for ſixty eight years; but becauſe they were juſt and honeſt, King *Edward* revived them, and delivered them to be obſerved as his own.

By theſe and other circumſtances we may gather, That the ~~whole~~ Body of theſe Laws we have now recited, were ſuch as were approved and confirmed by King *Edward*, who was a Prince of great Mercy and Indulgence to his People; ſo that ſuch written Laws as were in force in his time, and ſuch Cuſtoms as had been all along obſerved in the *Saxon* times, and had been ſtill kept on foot in his days, were after the *Norman* Conqueſt (when both the People of the *Norman* as well as *Engliſh* Extraction ſo earneſtly contended for their Liberties) called by the name of the Laws of St. *Edward*, thereby being ~~indeed~~ meant the *Engliſh-Saxon* Laws, which then received Denomination from him, being ~~in effect~~ the laſt King of that Race, and one whoſe Memory the People reverenced in an eſpecial manner for the high Reputation he had gained for his great Sanctity and Clemency to his Subjects.

or ſubſtance

ancient

King HAROLD.

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'KING *Edward*'s Funerals being over, our Annals proceed to 'tell us, how that Earl *Harold* ſucceeded in the Kingdom, as 'King *Edward* had appointed, and that the People elected 'him to that Dignity; as alſo that he was anointed King on 'the Feaſt of *Epiphany*; but he held the Kingdom only forty weeks 'and one day.

Thus the *Laudean* or *Peterburgh* Copy relates it; being written by ſome Monk that favour'd King *Harold*'s Title to the Crown.

But *R. Hoveden*, with other of the *Engliſh* Writers, tell us expreſly, That King *Edward* being buried, Earl *Harold*, whom the King had before his deceaſe declared his Succeſſor, being by all the Chief Men of *England* elected to the Throne, was the ſame day anointed King by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*: Which is alſo confirmed by the Manuſcript Chronicle of one *Henry de Silgrave*, who wrote about the Reign of King *Edward* the *Firſt*, and is now in the * *Cottonian* Library. And the relation of this Affair being found no where elſe, I ſhall here recite, leaving the Credit thereof to the Reader's Judgment; which is thus: That King *Edward* lying on his Death-bed, Earl *Harold* came to him, and deſired him to appoint him for his Succeſſor; to which the King replied, That he had already made Duke *William* his Heir: But the Earl and his Friends ſtill perſiſting in their Requeſt, the King turning his Face to the Wall, replied thus, *When I am dead, let the* Engliſh *make either the* Duke *or the* Earl *their King*: Which, if true, ſhews that it was but a Conſent in part, and was alſo extorted from him. But this Relation being found in no other Author, I ſhall not paſs my word for the Truth of it.

But *William* of *Malmesbury*, and ſuch Writers as prefer the Title of King *William*, tell another ſtory, and ſay, That King *Harold* on the very day of the King's Funeral having extorted an Oath of Fidelity from the Chief Men, ſnatch'd up the Crown of his own accord; although the *Engliſh* ſay it was bequeathed him by King *Edward*; which yet he ſays he believes to be rather aſſerted by them out of partiality, than by any true judgment or knowledge of the thing.

H. Huntington does not mention any ſuch Election of *Harold*, but ſays on the contrary, that divers of the *Engliſh* would have advanced *Edgar Ætheling* to be King. But *Ingulph* is more cautious, and does not determine one way or other of this matter; only ſays in general, That the day after the King's Funeral, *Harold* wickedly forgetting his Oath which he had formerly made to Duke *William*, intruded himſelf into the Throne, and was ſolemnly Crowned by *Alred* Archbiſhop of *York*.

As for *Edgar Ætheling*, the only ſurviving Male of the Ancient Royal Family, he was but Young, and being a Stranger born, had neither Friends nor Intereſt ſufficient to oppoſe ſo great a Party as *Harold* had amongſt the Lay-Nobility, and eſpecially among the Biſhops, who were all to a man for him.

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* *Cleopatra*, A. 12.

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And that which made more againſt Prince *Edgar*, was, That he wanted the Nomination of King *Edward* to recommend him to the Election of the *Wittena Gemot*, or Great Council of the Kingdom, which either Duke *William* or *Harold* certainly had, and perhaps both of them, though at different times, according as they had the opportunity of making their Intereſt with that Eaſy King, who certainly was very much to blame, not to have better aſcertained that great Point of the Succeſſion to the Crown in his own life-time; for had he declared either Duke *William* or *Edgar* his Heir, and procured the Eſtates of the Kingdom to confirm it in his life-time, he might have prevented that Calamity which afterwards fell upon the *Engliſh* Nation from Duke *William*, when he came to be King.

But to return to our Hiſtory; *Harold* being thus advanced to the Throne, took that courſe which all Wiſe Princes who can claim no Right by Blood, but only by Election of the People, have always taken; and that was, The aboliſhing of all unjuſt Laws, and the making good ones in their ſtead; the ſeizing upon and puniſhing all Thieves, Robbers, and Diſturbers of the Publick Peace, and indeed wholly made it his buſineſs to defend the Kingdom from Foreign Invaders both by Sea and Land; and that he might become truly popular, he was a great Patron of the Churches and Monaſteries, yielding much Reverence to the Biſhops and Abbots, ſhewing himſelf humble and affable to all that were virtuous and good, as he was ſevere to all others of a contrary Character.

On the 24th day of *April*, after his Coronation (as *Simeon* of *Durham* tells us) appeared a Dreadful Comet, which was viſible in all theſe parts of the world; not long after which, followed the Invaſion of *Toſtige*, who having been baniſh'd chiefly by his Brother's procurement, and now no longer able to digeſt the Preferment of his Younger Brother to the Royal Dignity, in excluſion to him, was moved with ſo much Envy and Indignation as to endeavour all ways poſſible to dethrone him; for which purpoſe he ſailed to Duke *William*, and thence out of *Flanders* with ſome Ships to the Iſle of *Wight*, where after he had forced Money from the Inhabitants, he departed, and played the Pyrate upon the Coaſts till he came to *Sandwich*.

King *Harold* being then at *London*, upon notice thereof got in readineſs both a ſtrong Fleet and a good Party of Horſe, with which he reſolved in Perſon to go to *Sandwich* and fight him: But *Toſtige* having intelligence of it, took along with him all the Seamen he could find, and went to the Coaſt of *Lindiſſe*, where he burnt ſeveral Villages, and killed a world of men: But *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and his Brother *Morcar* Earl of *Northumberland*, haſtening to thoſe parts with an Army, ſoon forced him to quit that Countrey. And, as *Florence* relates, not being able to return into *Normandy* by reaſon of contrary Winds, he ſail'd into *Norway*, and there join'd his Fleet with that which King *Harold Harfager* was now preparing for the Invaſion of *England*.

In the mean time King *Harold* lay at *Sandwich*, expecting his Fleet, which when it was got together, he ſail'd to the *Iſle of Wight*; and becauſe *William* Duke of *Normandy* was now expected to invade *England* with an Army, he waited his coming over all that Summer and the Autumn following, lining all the Sea-Coaſts with Land-Forces, in order the better to receive him. This ſeems indeed more probable, than what

William of *Malmesbury* relates, That King *Harold* did not believe Duke *William* would undertake ſo hazardous an Expedition, being at that time engaged in Wars with his Neighbouring Princes, and had now wholly given himſelf up to his Eaſe and Pleaſure; ſo that had it not been for his hearing that the King of *Norway* likewiſe threaten'd an Invaſion, he would never have raiſed any Army at all; which ſeems a very improbable ſtory, ſince he was (as you have already heard from *Simeon* of *Durham*) forced to get out his Fleet and raiſe an Army, to prevent the Incurſions of his Brother *Toſtige*.

But it is fit we now give you ſome account of the Reaſons of theſe great Preparations made by Duke *William* to invade *England*; for *Ingulph* and the Author laſt mentioned both aſſure us, That ſo ſoon as he had heard of King *Harold*'s taking upon him the Crown of *England*, contrary to the Oath he had given him, and that he was actually crowned, he ſent over Ambaſſadors to put him in mind of the breach of his word; threatning to force him to perform it, if he would not do it by fair means, and that before the year came about.

Harold's Anſwer to theſe Ambaſſadors (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates it) was very plauſible, being to this effect, "That what he had promiſed concerning marrying the Duke's Daughter, ſhe being dead, it could not now be performed; but that if he had promiſed him any thing concerning the Kingdom, it was very raſhly done of him, to have given away that which was not his own, *without the General Conſent and Decree of the Great Council of that Kingdom*; therefore that a raſh Oath was to be broken; for if the Oath or Vow of a Virgin, made without the conſent of her Parents, was by the Law of God declared void, how much more ought that Oath to be accounted ſo, which he being then under the Authority of his King (but compell'd by neceſſity) had made concerning the Kingdom, who was at that time wholly ignorant of what had been tranſacted? And that the Duke was very unjuſt in requiring him to reſign that Crown which he had ſo lately received by the General Favour and Conſent of the *People*.

Bromton's Chronicle further adds, That Duke *William* ſent another Meſſage to King *Harold*, whereby he acquainted him, That although he had not obſerved his Faith in other things, yet if he would marry his Daughter, he would paſs by all the reſt; or otherwiſe would vindicate his Succeſſion by force of Arms. All which is very improbable, ſince moſt Hiſtorians relate the young Lady to be then dead; and it is very unlikely, that a Man of King *William*'s Ambition would quit his Pretentions to the Kingdom, for ſo ſlight a ſatisfaction as the Marriage of his Daughter.

But this Author does with more probability reduce the Duke's Quarrel againſt *Harold*, to theſe Three Heads.

Firſt, To revenge the death of Prince *Alfred* his Couſin, who had been long ſince murthered by Earl *Godwin* the Father of *Harold*.

Secondly, To reſtore Archbiſhop *Robert*, Earl *Odo*, and the reſt of the *Normans*, who had been unjuſtly baniſhed in the late King's life-time.

Thirdly, Becauſe *Harold* had contrary to his Oath poſſeſſed himſelf of the Kingdom, which as well by the Right of Conſanguinity, as by that of a Double Promiſe, ought to be his.

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But the Ambaſſadors of Duke *William* being return'd without any ſatisfactory Anſwer from King *Harold*, the Duke employed the reſt of the year in preparing all things neceſſary for his Expedition, hiring Soldiers out of his own Countrey with large Pay, and inviting Strangers from abroad with greater Allowances; ſo that upon the Muſter of his Forces he found that they did not only excel in ſtrength of Body, and height of Stature, but alſo the chief Commanders and Captains of them were as remarkable for their Valour as for their Experience and Conduct: Alſo his Biſhops and Abbots ſtrove with the Nobility, who ſhould by their liberal Contributions moſt advance this Enterprize. But that the Duke might not prejudice the Equity of his Cauſe by precipitation, he ſent Ambaſſadors to Pope *Alexander*, who did with great Eloquence ſet forth the Juſtice of the War which their Prince was going to undertake; and that *Harold* not only had broken his Oath with him, but refuſed to give him any Satisfaction, either becauſe that now he was a Crown'd Head, or elſe that he diſtruſted his Cauſe: Whereupon the Pope taking into his ſerious conſideration this weighty matter, approved of the Enterprize, and ſent the Duke a Conſecrated Banner, as an Omen of Victory; which when the Duke had received, he called a Great Council of his Nobility at *Lillebone*, to ask all their Opinions in this great Affair; and when they had all encouraged his Undertaking by great Promiſes of Aſſiſtance, he appointed an Aſſeſment for his Fleet and Army, according to their ſeveral reſpective Eſtates; and ſo they departed home, till the time appointed for a General Rendezvouz.

Vid. *Introduct. ad Britan.*

But Mr. *Cambden*, from the Authority of ſome Ancient *Norman* Writers I have not yet met with, makes this Enterprize much more difficult than our Hiſtorians commonly do; as, that though he found his Chief Officers, to whom he communicated his Deſign, very chearful and reſolute to follow him, yet all the Skill lay how to bear the Charge of ſo great a War; for when in an Aſſembly of all the States of *Normandy* a Subſidy was propounded; their Anſwer was, "That in the late War againſt the *French*, their Wealth was ſo much exhauſted, that if a new War ſhould happen, they ſhould ſcarce be able to hold and defend their own; and therefore that they were more obliged to look after the Defence of their own, than to think of Invading the Territories of others: That this intended War, though never ſo juſt, yet did not ſeem ſo neceſſary at that time, as it was apparently hazardous; and that beſides, the *Normans* were not by their Allegiance bound to Military Service in Foreign Parts: Neither could they by any means be brought to grant a General Tax, although *William Fitz-osbern*, a man in high favour with the Duke, and as gracious among the People, endeavoured what he could to effect it; and to draw in others by his own example, promiſed to ſet out forty Ships at his own proper Charges. Duke *William* then perceiving he could not bring this about in a Publick Meeting, went another way to work; and therefore ſends for the wealthieſt men of his Dutchy ſeverally one by one, to come to him; then he ſpeaks them fair, and deſires them to contribute ſomewhat toward this War: Whereupon, as if they had ſtrove who ſhould moſt largely aſſiſt their Prince, they promiſed him liberally; and he cauſing to be preſently regiſtred whatſoever they had promiſed, it amounted to a vaſt Sum, more than moſt men could reaſonably ever have believed. This Affair being thus diſpatch'd, he next craves Aid

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of the Princes his Neighbours; to wit, of the Earls of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Maine*, and *Bretaigne*; unto theſe he promiſed large Tracks of Land, and great Poſſeſſions in *England*.

But how much each of theſe Princes contributed to this Expedition, is not known; tho as for *Alan* Earl of *Bretaigne*, he certainly was ſo great an Aſſiſtant to Duke *William*, that he was after this Conqueſt of King *Harold*, made Earl of *Richmond*, and had great part of the Country thereabouts given him by *William* when he came to be King, to be held by Knights Service.

And for the reſt of the Princes above-mentioned, it is certain that they permitted Duke *William* to raiſe great ſtore of men in their Territories, who being headed by divers Noble Volunteers of thoſe Countries at their own Charges, afterwards enjoyed great Poſſeſſions in *England* as a Reward of their Services.

Duke *William* alſo made his Addreſſes to *Philip* King of *France*, and went in Perſon to ſolicite his Aſſiſtance in this intended War againſt *Harold*, voluntarily offering that King, that in caſe he would aſſiſt him, and that he thereby became victorious, to hold *England* of him as his Vaſſal; which King *Philip* refuſed to accept, thinking it againſt the intereſt of *France* to make the Duke of *Normandy* greater than he was already, who now began not to be ſo pliant to his Intereſts, as he thought the many Obligations which Duke *William* owed the King his Father, required: Therefore as the growing Greatneſs of a Neighbouring Prince was then, is, and will ever be ſuſpected by him who is his Rival in Power and Empire; ſo King *Philip* was ſo far from giving the Duke any Aſſiſtance, that he wholly diſſuaded him from this Enterprize, which nevertheleſs he vigorouſly purſued, notwithſtanding this diſcouragement.

But leaving Duke *William* to his Warlike Preparations, we will return into *England*, where our *Annals* tell us, ‘That Earl *Toſtige* had ‘been met upon the *Northern* Coaſt with three hundred *Norwegian* ‘Ships (commanded by *Harold* King of *Norway*); to whom when he ‘had joined thoſe he had with them, they all ſail'd up the *Humber* till ‘they came as far as *York*; where the Earls (Brothers) *Morcar* and ‘*Eadwin* met and fought them; but it ſeems the King of *Norway* gain'd ‘the Victory. *Ingulph* is more expreſs in this affair, and ſays that *Harold* King of *Norway* ſail'd up the River *Ouſe* as far as *York*, where the Fleet being left under a ſtrong Guard, they landed, and ſtormed *York*, and ſoon plundered it, and ſlew many of the poor Inhabitants: But the two Earls abovementioned having gotten together a ſmall Recruit of ill-arm'd Countreymen, were eaſily routed; and (according to our *Annals*) ‘when King *Harold* heard of it, he immediately marched againſt the ‘King of *Norway*, and meeting him at *Stanford-bricge* in *Yorkſhire*, there ‘fought, and ſlew that King, with Earl *Toſtige*, his own Brother. *Ingulph* adds, That the *Norwegians* made a very ſtout reſiſtance, great multitudes of them being ſlain, together with their Chief Commanders; ſo that King *Harold* obtain'd an entire Victory; only Prince *Olave*, Son to *Harold* King of *Norway*, and *Paul* Earl of *Orcades*, were permitted quietly to return home with twenty Ships.

But before I diſmiſs this Relation, I cannot omit a remarkable Example of one ſingle *Norwegian*, who ſtanding upon the Bridge abovementioned, killed more than forty *Engliſhmen* with his Battel-Axe, making

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making good his Poſt againſt the whole Army, till three a Clock in the Afternoon, and then one going in a Boat under the Bridge, wounded him to death in the lower parts through a hole that it ſeems he found there.

But King *Harold* returning to *York*, had no long time to enjoy his Victory; ‘ for immediately after the News being brought him that Duke ‘ *William* was landed at *Pevenſey* near *Haſtings* upon *Michaelmas* day, he ‘ made all the haſte he could to march towards him, leaving the Earls ‘ *Edwin* and *Morchar* behind him with great part of the Forces. But ſince our *Annals* are very ſhort in the relation of all theſe Affairs between the *Duke* and King *Harold*, I ſhall give you a larger account of it from *William* of *Malmesbury* and other Authors, who tell us, That Duke *William* with all his Nobility being met in *Auguſt* at St. *Walleries* (a Port-Town in *Normandy*) lay there a long while waiting for a Wind, but that continuing contrary for ſeveral days, the Soldiers at laſt began thus to murmur in their Camp, (as it is ordinary for ſuch men when they lye long ſtill and have nothing to do), ſaying among themſelves, *That the man was mad who would go to take away another man's Territories againſt God's Will, which it was plain this was, ſince he had now ſo long withheld the Wind.* This being ſpread abroad, one would have thought it had been enough to have diſcouraged any one leſs valiant than the *Duke*; who thereupon conſulting with his Chief Officers what was beſt to be done, the wiſeſt of them adviſed him to bring forth the Body of St. *Wallerie*, to try if by that means they could obtain a fair Wind; however, perhaps it might put ſome ſtop to his Soldiers Diſcontents. What effect the Saint's Body wrought, I cannot tell; but ſo much is certain, that not long after a freſh Gale offering, the Duke immediately ſet ſail for *England*; and his Ship being firſt got out to Sea, caſting Anchor, lay there till the reſt of his Fleet could come up to him, who all following the King's Ship (which then rid Admiral) they in the Afternoon with an eaſy and gentle Breeze reached *Haſtings*, near which the Duke going on Shore, his foot by accident ſlipping he fell down, which a Soldier ſtanding by immediately turned into a good Omen, ſaying, *Sir, you have only taken Seiſin of that Land of which you will ſhortly be King.*

As ſoon as ever his Army had landed, he ſtrictly charged them to commit no Outrages, nor plunder, ſaying, *They ought to ſpare thoſe things which would ſhortly be their own:* So the Duke lying ſtill for fifteen days, and having ſtrongly fortified his Camp with certain *Paliſadoes* which he had brought over along with him, ſeemed to mind nothing leſs than War.

But King *Harold*, precipitated by his own bad Fortune, marched againſt the Duke with but part of his Forces; for beſides thoſe that had been killed in the late Engagement, a great many of his beſt Soldiers had already deſerted him, being diſcontented that they had been denied their ſhare of the *Norwegian* Plunder; yet thoſe Forces which ſtill remained with him, he thought ſufficient, becauſe he heard the Duke was landed but with a ſmall Army; ſo that notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt and moſt valiant of his Army were either ſlain in the late Battel with the *Norwegians*, or elſe gone from him, he yet reſolved to fight.

King

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King *Harold* being now arrived near *Haſtings*, pitched his Camp upon a Hill about Nine Miles from that place, and immediately ſent out Spies, to give him what Account they could of the Number and Forces of the Enemy; ſome of whom being taken within Duke *William*'s Camp, though he might have executed them by the Laws of War, yet he only commanded them to be led round about it, and then having well fed them, he ordered them to be ſent back to their Lord; and being returned, King *Harold* asked them, What news they could tell him? They hereupon having ſet forth the generous Behaviour of the Enemies General, ſeriouſly added, That all their Army ſeemed to be Prieſts, becauſe they had all their Faces with both their Lips cloſe ſhaven, for the *Engliſh* then wore long Beards: But the King laughing at their ſimplicity, ſaid, He too well knew thoſe they had ſeen were no Prieſts, but brave Soldiers; then *Gyrth* his youngeſt Brother (being a very young man, but of an Underſtanding and Courage far above his years) taking the words out of the King's mouth, ſaid thus; "Sir, if you can "ſo far allow the Valour of the *Norman* Duke, I think it is then indiſcreet "for you to enter the Field againſt him, leſt you ſhould be found inferior "to him either in Strength or Juſtice of your Cauſe; for you can "no ways deny but that voluntarily or involuntarily you have ſworn "to him: Therefore in my opinion you would do more prudently to "withdraw your ſelf from the preſent Danger, and leave to us the Deciſion "of the Day; who being free from all Oaths and Promiſes, can "with a ſafe Conſcience draw our Swords in defence of our Countrey; "for it is to be feared, that if you your ſelf ſhould engage, either your "Death or more ſhameful Flight may enſue; whereas if we alone engage "with him, your Cauſe will be every where ſafe, for you may "either aſſiſt us if we ſhould be put to fly, or elſe bury us if we ſhould "happen to be ſlain.

But the King's immoderate Pride and Raſhneſs made him deaf to the wholeſome Advice of his Brother; and he thought it Inglorious, and a Diſhonour to his paſt Life, to ſeem afraid of any Danger: Therefore being puſh'd on by his unlucky Fate, he haſtily ſent away the Monk that was newly before come from Duke *William* to him with theſe Propoſals, *viz.* That either he ſhould quit the Throne; or hold it, and reign under him; or elſe try the Juſtice of his Cauſe by their two ſingle Swords in the ſight of both Armies; or in caſe *Harold* ſhould refuſe all theſe, that he was ready to ſubmit it to the Judgment of the Apoſtolick See: I ſay, he haſtily ſent him away with only this ſhort Anſwer, That he would leave it to God to determine the matter between them.

So that the Monk being returned with this Anſwer, it added freſh Courage to the *Normans*; whereupon the Generals on both ſides immediately drew up their Armies, in order to a Battel, each according to his Countrey faſhion: The *Engliſh* had ſpent the night in drinking and roaring; and being thus heated, marched early out the next morning againſt the Enemy: The Pikes and Bill-men, mingled with a ſtrong Detachment of Targetiers, made up the Front and Main Body of the *Engliſh* Army, and by their cloſe Order render'd it ſo impenetrable, that nothing but their being outwitted by the *Norman* Duke could ever have broke it, as you will ſee by and by: But King *Harold*, together with his Brethren, being all on foot, placed themſelves near the Royal

Standard,

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Whilſt in the mean time the *Normans* had ſpent the night in Prayers and Confeſſions, and having alſo received the *Euchariſt*, were now drawn out againſt the *Engliſh*; the Foot being armed with Gleaves, Bows, and Arrows, made up the Main Body of their Army; and the Horſe being placed a little more backward in two Diviſions made the Wings: But (as *Will. Pictavienſis* relates) the Pope's Conſecrated Banner was placed in the Front of the Army, as well to encourage the *Normans*, as to diſhearten the *Engliſh*.

Then the Duke mounting on Horſeback, with an unconcern'd Countenance and loud Voice encouraged his men, and openly declared, *He doubted not but that God would favour the Juſtice of his Cauſe.* And *Bromton*'s Chronicle here brings him in making a long Speech to his Army; which becauſe not ſuiting with the Genius of thoſe blunt times, and being alſo omitted by all other Authors, I ſhall paſs by.

Then the Duke calling for his Armour, and either through haſte or incogitancy his Eſquire having put on his Breaſt-plate behind inſtead of before, he turned off that ſeeming Ill Omen with a Jeſt, ſaying, His Dukedom would ſhortly be changed into a Kingdom: And then the old Ballad of *Roland* being begun by the Army, that his Martial Example might excite their Courage, and the Divine Aſſiſtance being alſo implored, the Battel begun, which was valiantly fought on both ſides, neither Party giving ground, tho it continued till it was late; which when Duke *William* perceiving, and that the *Engliſh* Ranks were not otherwiſe to be broken, he gave immediate Orders to his men to feign a Retreat, and make as if they fled out of the Field, by which Stratagem the Main Body of the *Engliſh* Foot being broken in purſuing the Enemy, (whom they thought to be really now put to flight,) it turned to their own deſtruction; for the *Normans* rallying, and falling upon the *Engliſh* when they were diſperſed, quite routed them; and thus being outwitted, though they loſt their Lives valiantly in fighting for their Countrey, yet were they not wanting in their Revenge, for often turning again, they ſlew whole heaps of their Purſuers; and the Foot gaining a Riſing Ground, drove back the *Normans* into the adjoining Valley, and throwing great ſtore of Darts and Stones down upon them, put them to flight, and paſſing over a certain ſteep Trench, left there ſo many Carkaſſes of their Enemies, that they levelled the inequality of the ground with heaps of dead bodies. Thus for a while ſometimes the *Engliſh* and ſometimes the *Normans* prevailed, neither ſide having much the better, ſo long as King *Harold* continued alive; but when at laſt he fell by an Arrow ſhot into his Brains, the *Engliſh* preſently fled, till night parted them: Inſomuch that the Valour of both Generals was very remarkable; for *Harold* was not contented only with performing the office of a General, but he did alſo act the part of a common Soldier, killing all thoſe that came in his way, that none could approach him without great hazard of being ſlain, till ſuch time as that Unfortunate Shot above-mentioned put an end to his Life; and a Soldier afterwards giving his dead Body a Wound in the Thigh, he was for that baſe cowardly Action diſcarded by Duke *William*, who never ceaſed encouraging his Men both by his Voice and Preſence, marching foremoſt againſt the thickeſt Ranks; ſo that whilſt he thus ſhewed his

Valour, he had no leſs than three brave Horſes ſlain under him, the Duke all the while remaining with an undaunted Courage in the greateſt dangers, though he was often gently admoniſhed by thoſe who had the guard of his Perſon, not to be ſo forward.

Thus he continued till the Night coming on left him at laſt entirely Victorious; and without doubt the Divine Hand did that day protect him, for he was not ſo much as wounded, though aimed at by ſo many Darts and Arrows.

This is the Account which *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us of this Fight; to which there needs little to be added out of other Authors, ſeveral of them writing from him, and only repeating his Relation in other words. But I cannot omit taking notice of ſome Paſſages which *Radulph de Diceto* gives us of this Battel; *viz.* That it was fought upon a *Saturday*, (being St. *Calixtus*'s day) the 2d of the *Ides*, that is, the 14th of *October*; That the *Engliſh* being drawn up in a narrow place, many of them withdrew themſelves from the Battel, as having not room to fight, ſo that but few remained with the King: That Duke *William* marched againſt the Enemy in the Head of Five Regiments of Horſe, which being all drawn up, a certain *Norman* called *Tailefer* came forth before both Armies, and there brandiſhed his Sword in the face of the *Engliſh*, and whilſt they ſtood gazing at him, he ſlew an *Engliſh* Enſign, who (it ſeems) came out to fight with him, and did the like to another who engaged him, but in the third Encounter with a freſh man was ſlain himſelf.

Then began the Fight with a thick Shower of Arrows on the *Norman's* ſide, which Duke *William* commanded them not to ſhoot directly at the Enemy, but rather upward, that ſo they might fall upon the Heads of the *Engliſh*; which Stratagem proved fatal to them; for by one of theſe Arrows King *Harold* himſelf was ſlain: There were about twenty Valiant *Norman* Horſemen, who had engaged to each other, that breaking the *Engliſh* Army, they would ſeize upon the King's Standard; in compaſſing which, tho many of them periſhed, yet the reſt preſſing on with their Swords, at laſt carried it off. This Standard, after the Victory, Duke *William* ſent to the Pope, wherein the Figure of an Armed Combatant was curiouſly embroidered with Gold and Precious Stones.

But concerning the Battel, a Manuſcript Chronicle called *Brutus*, in the Archbiſhop's Library at *Lambeth* farther relates, That Earl *William* (for ſo he ſtiles him) having made a freſh Aſſault upon the *Engliſh* with a Detatchment of about a Thouſand Horſe, tried once more to break their Ranks, which not ſucceeding, the Earl immediately commanded that feign'd Retreat above-mention'd; by which the Order of the Main Body of the *Engliſh* being broken, the *Normans* thereupon rallying again, preſently charged through the *Engliſh* Army, and gave them an entire Defeat.

Some Writers alſo mention, That the *Normans* in their feigned Flight fell into a deep Trench which the *Engliſh* had made and covered over on purpoſe; tho this ſeems not at all likely; for how could they tell that they ſhould put the *Normans* to flight, and make them fall into that Trench? But Mr. *Holingſhed* from a Manuſcript Chronicle of *Battle-Abby*, which he had ſeen, gives us a much more probable account of this Circumſtance; *viz.* That the *Normans* too earneſtly purſuing the Chaſe

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when the *Engliſh* began to retreat, many of the *Norman* Horſe fell by chance into a certain deep Ditch, overgrown with Reeds, where moſt of them being preſſed to death or ſtifled, periſhed.

This is the beſt Account I can give you of this Great and Deciſive Battel, which yet is very imperfect, ſince no Hiſtorians that I know of either *Engliſh* or *Normans*, have given us the Number of the Armies on both ſides, or how many were ſlain; perhaps, becauſe both had a mind to conceal what they thought did not make for their Credit: Only it is acknowledged on all hands, that they were ſo many on the *Normans* ſide as well as the *Engliſh*, that nothing but the over-ruling Providence of God by the Death of their King, could have given it away from them to their Enemies.

In this Battel King *Harold* and his two Brothers, *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*, with moſt of the *Engliſh* Nobility, were ſlain; and an Ancient Manuſcript in the * *Cottonian* Library farther relates, That the King's Body was hard to be certainly known by reaſon of its being ſo much disfigured by Wounds, yet was at laſt diſcovered by one who had been formerly his Miſtreſs, and that by the means of certain private Marks known only to her ſelf; and being taken up and waſh'd by two of the Chanons of *Waltham* (which Monaſtery he had founded) was ordered by Duke *William* to be delivered to his Mother, and that without any Ranſom, though ſhe would have given a conſiderable Sum for it; but it was not long after buried in the Abby-Church of *Waltham*.

* *Julius*, D. 6.

Yet notwithſtanding, *Henry de Knyghton* from *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, gives a quite different account what became of this Prince; for he ſays that he was not ſlain in this Battel, but retiring privately out of it, lived and died an Anchoret in a Cell near St. *John*'s Church in *Cheſter*, as was owned by himſelf at his laſt Confeſſion, when he lay a dying; and farther, that in memory thereof they ſhewed his Tomb when that Author wrote. But the concurrent Teſtimony of ſo many *Engliſh* Writers concerning his being ſlain, and buried at *Waltham*, is certainly to be preferred before one ſingle Evidence; not but that it might be true, that ſomebody might thus perſonate *Harold*, and have his Tomb afterwards ſhewn as his.

But where or however he died, he was certainly a Prince of a Noble Preſence, and of as Great a Mind; and had he not by a prepoſterous Ambition of gaining a Kingdom to which he had no Right, as well as by a Notorious Violation of his Solemn Oath, given Duke *William* a juſt Occaſion of making War upon him, wherein he not only loſt his own Life, but alſo was the occaſion of the Ruin of ſo many of his Countreymen, he might have had as great a Character in Hiſtory, as any Prince of his time.

He had two Wives, the firſt he buried long before he was King; but none of our Writers mention her Name. His ſecond was *Algithe*, Widow of *Griffyth ap Lhewelyn*, King of *North-Wales*, Siſter of *Edwi* and *Morchar*, Earls of *Yorkſhire* and *Cheſter*.

By the former it is recorded that he had Children then of ſuch an Age, that they waged War againſt K. *William* in the ſecond year of his Reign.

The firſt was *Godwin*, who with his Brother *Edmund* after his Father's Death and Overthrow, fled into *Ireland*; but returning again into *Somerſetſhire*, ſlew *Ednoth* (one of his Father's Ealdormen) who encounter'd him, and then making great ſpoil in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*, departed. The next year fighting with *Beorne* an Ealdorman of *Cornwal*,

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wal, he afterwards returned into *Ireland*, and from thence went to *Denmark* to King *Sweyn*, where he continued the Reſidue of his Life.

The ſecond was *Edmund*, who engaged with him in all his aboveſaid Brother's Invaſions and Wars, depending abſolutely upon him whilſt he lived and died (as he did) in *Denmark*.

Magnus his third Son went with his two Brothers into *Ireland*, and came back with them the firſt time into *England*; but we find nothing of him after this, unleſs he was that *Magnus* who afterwards became an Anchoret.

Wolfe his fourth Son ſeems to be born of Queen *Algithe*, and probably at King *William*'s Entrance here, he was but an Infant; yet after his Death he is named among his Priſoners; but by *William Rufus* was releaſed, and by him honoured with the Order of Knighthood.

Gunhilde, a Daughter of *Harold*'s, is mentioned by *John Capgrave* in the Life of *Wolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and that ſhe was a Nun, but where, is not mentioned; and being in moſt mens opinion's wholly blind, this *Wolſtan* (if you will believe it from *Capgrave*) by a Miracle reſtor'd her abſolutely to her Eyeſight.

Another Daughter of *Harold*'s is mentioned by *Saxo Grammaticus*, in his *Daniſh* Hiſtory, to have been well received by her Kinſman King *Sweyn* the younger, and afterwards married to *Waldemar* King of the *Ruſſians*, and to have had a Daughter by him, who was the Mother of *Waldemar* the firſt King of *Denmark* of that Name, from whom all the *Daniſh* Kings for many Ages after ſucceeded. This Account I have borrowed from Mr. *Speed*, who is very exact in the Pedigrees of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings.

We find no Laws made in this King's time, only this, mentioned by *Ingulph*, *viz.* That King *Harold* made a Law, that whatever *Welſhman* were found without leave on this ſide *Offa*'s Ditch, he ſhould have his Right-hand cut off by the King's Officers: Which Law, I ſuppoſe, was made to reſtrain the pilfering Incurſions of the *Welſh*, who were wont to come in ſmall Companies into the *Engliſh* Borders, to rob, and carry away Cattel.

But as for the Earls, *Syward* of *Mercia*, and *Morchar* of *Northumberland*, Brothers, it is ſaid they withdrew themſelves out of the Battel, with their Followers, almoſt as ſoon as it began, either becauſe they liked not the ſtreightneſs of the Place where they were drawn up, or elſe were diſcontented with the King's Conduct; ſo marching immediately up to *London*, they there met with *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Edgar Atheling*, with divers other Noblemen and Biſhops, and conſulted whom they ſhould make King; divers of them were for *Edgar Atheling*, as the only remaining Branch of the *Saxon* Blood-Royal, under whom they reſolved to renew the War; but he being young and unexperienced, and the Major Part of the Biſhops being againſt it, nothing was done. *William* of *Malmesbury* relates, That the two Earls above-mentioned ſolicited the *Londoners* to make one of them King, which when they found they could not prevail upon them ſo to do, taking their Siſter, the Widow of King *Harold* along with them, and leaving her for ſecurity at *Cheſter*, they retired into *Northumberland*; ſuppoſing that Duke *William* would never march ſo far that Winter.

But how much they were miſtaken, and how they were forced to ſubmit themſelves to him, when the City of *London* and all the reſt of the King-

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Kingdom had acknowledg'd him, muſt be reſerved for the next Volume.

In the mean time the Nobility and Clergy being thus divided in their ſentiments, all their deſigns came to nothing: Thus (as the ſame Author well obſerves) that as the *Engliſh*, if they had been all of one mind, might have prevented the Ruin of their Countrey; ſo ſince they could not agree to have one of their own Nation to reign over them, they were thereby brought under the ſubjection of Strangers.

Indeed *Guilel. Gemeticenſis* and *Ordoricus Vitalis* relate, That the Noblemen and Biſhops who had retired to *London*, actually choſe *Edgar Atheling* King; but this ſeems not at all probable, ſince none of our own Writers mention it; and had *Edgar* been once elected, it is not likely that King *William* would have been ſo eaſily reconciled to him, and have not only given him his Liberty, but preferred him.

Having from our *Hiſtorians* of beſt Credit given you this Account of our *Engliſh* Monarchs, moſt of whom mixing Piety with Civil Prudence reigned glorioſly for many Generations, it will not be amiſs for a Concluſion, to let the Reader ſee how, not long before this ſad Cataſtrophe, all ſorts and degrees of men were now much degenerated from the Simplicity and Sobriety of their Anceſtors: And firſt, as for the ſtate of Religion in this Iſland, for ſome Ages before the coming in of the *Normans*, *William* of *Malmesbury* obſerves, that Piety and all good Literature were commonly grown ſo much out of faſhion even amongſt the Clergy, that reſting content with a very ſmall ſhare of Devotion as well as Learning, they could ſcarce read Divine Service; nay, the very Monks were clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference of Days and Meat; which tho perhaps no fault in it ſelf, yet to them who were under other Principles, it was certainly much otherwiſe.

Alſo, that the Great Men being given up to Gluttony and a diſſolute Life, oppreſſed and made a Prey of the Common People, debauching their Daughters whom they had in their Service, and then turning them off to the Stews.

Whilſt the meaner ſort ſat tipling night and day, and ſpent all they had in Rioting and Drunkenneſs, and thoſe attended with other Vices which effeminate men's minds: Therefore it came to paſs through the juſt Judgment of God, that King *Harold* and thoſe of his Party being carried away with Raſhneſs and Fury, rather than any True Valour or Military Experience, gave Duke *William* this great Advantage over them, as hath been but now ſet forth. Not (ſays he) but that ſome few of the Clergy as well as Laity were much better; yet for the moſt part they were, as hath been here deſcribed.

But as the long-ſuffering of God often permits the Bad as well as the Good to enjoy the like Proſperity; ſo likewiſe his Juſtice in puniſhing oft-times does not exempt even Good Men from partaking in the common Calamities of their Countrey. Therefore I ſhall conclude this Volume with the like Admonition as Mr. *Milton* does his *Saxon* Hiſtory; viz. *That if theſe were (in all probability) the Cauſes of God's heavy Judgments on our Anceſtors, ſurely every man ought in this corrupt Age to take care to avoid them, leſt in the height of a ſeeming Security, their long continuance in a courſe of Vice and Luxury ſhould without a ſpeedy Amendment meet with as ſevere, if not much worſe Puniſhment.*

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FINIS.

A TABLE of the Succeſſion of the remaining *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings in this la riod.
Chronicles of *Mailroſſe*; and the *Welſh* Princes are taken from *Caradoc*'s Chroni and the

Anno Dom.	*Kings of* Kent.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of* England.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of* Northumberland.	*Anno Dom.*
	Cuthred eight Years.	802	*Egbert* reigned 36 Years.		*Eardulf* was expelled his Kingdom, *Dom.* 806. then ſucceeded	859
805	*Baldred* eighteen Years. He being the laſt King of *Kent*, was expelled his Kingdom by King *Egbert*.	837	*Ethelwolf* his Son 18 Years and an half.	806	*Ælfwold*, who reigned two Years, the	
				808	*Eanred*, Son of *Eardulph*, reigned 32 Y	
		857	*Ethelbald* his Son two Years and an half.	840	*Ethelred* his Son reigned 9 Years.	870
				849	*Osbert* 13 Years, who was driven out b	
		860	*Ethelbert* his Brother, reigned five Years and an half.	862	*Ælla*, an Uſurper; but both theſe King ing ſlain by the *Danes*, they ſeized that Kingdom, and made	
		866	*Ethered* his Brother, five Years.	866	*Egbert* King, who was ſoon expell them, and then they made	878
838	*Athelſtan*, natural Son to K. *Ethelwolf*, made K. of *Kent*, *Eaſtſex* and *Surry* by his Father; he died without Iſſue, after which it was again united to the reſt of King *Ethelwolf*'s Dominions.	871	*Alfred* his Brother reigned 29 Years and an half.		*Ricſig* a *Dane* their King, who re 10 Years; then	
				872	Another *Egbert* was by them made who dying, the *Danes* & *Northu* remained without any King, till	
		901	*Edward* his Son, ſirnamed the Elder, 24 Years.			
				883	*Guthred*, a poor Slave, was choſen Kin reigned over *Yorkſhire* about 11 Yea	
		925	*Athelſtan* his Son 16 Years.			
				894	King *Alfred* ſeized his ſhare of that dom, whilſt in the more Northern reigned at the ſame time *Osbert* a who was expelled his Kingdom.	890
		941	*Edmund* his Brother five Years.			
		946	*Edred* his Brother 9 Years.			
				902	*Ricſig* another Daniſh King, who ſlain, was ſucceeded by	
		955	*Edwi* Son to *Edmond*, two Years.			
				903	*Reginald* and *Niel* both *Danes*, who at once, they having after King Death taken the whole Kingdom *Niel* being ſlain by	
		957	*Edgar* his Brother 16 Years.			
		973	*Edward* his Son, ſirnamed the Martyr, reigned 5 Years.			
				914	*Sihtric* his Brother, he reigned in his	
				919	*Inguald* another Daniſh King, reigne the ſame time, as did alſo	
		978	*Ethelred* his Brother 38 Years.			
				926	*Guthfert* Son to *Sihtric*; he was expe K. *Athelſtan*, after which *Anlaf* *Norway* ſeized this Kingdom for but being expelled by the *Northu*	
		1016	*Edmund*, ſir-named *Iron-ſide*, reigned 9 Months.			
		1017	*Cnute* King of *Denmark*, reigned 19 Years.		Another *Anlaf* Son to *Sihtric*, was b made King: He was alſo expelled b	
				944	*Edmund*, and reſtored for two Yea	
		1036	*Harold* his Son three Years.	945	then was again driven out by K.	
				947	yet after this the *Northumbers* ma	
		1039	*Hardecnute* his Brother, two Years and an half.	948	of Daniſh Race their King, but h again deſerted by them, they r to K. *Edred*'s Allegiance, who th added that Kingdom to his own.	
		1042	*Edward* the Confeſſor reigned 24 Years.			
				952	From which time the Kings of *N* *berland* failing, it was ever after g by Earls,	
		1066	*Harold* Son to Earl *Godwin*, reigned 9 Months.			
				953	*Oſwulf* being by K. *Edred* made t Earl; but King *Edgar* divided it i Earldoms.	

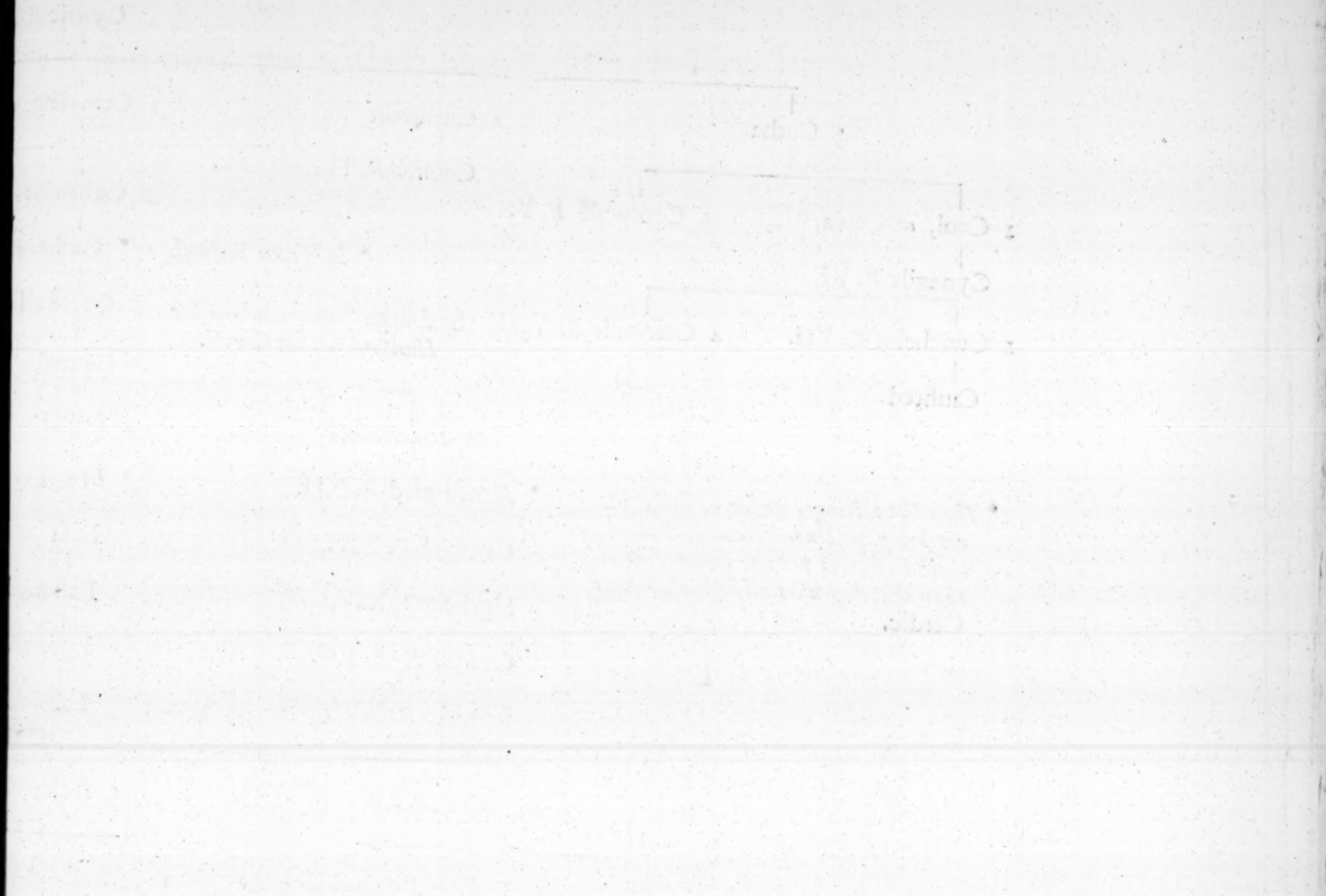
riod. The *Northumbrian* Kings being ſupplied from *Simeon* of *Durham*, and the
and the old Annals at the end of the leſſer Volume of *Domes-day* Book. *Tab.* 3.

Anno Dom.	*Kings of the Eaſt-Angles.*	Anno Dom.	*Kings of the* Mercians.	Anno Dom.	*Kings of* Wales.
859 870	St. *Edmund* reigned 11 Years, who being martyr'd by the *Danes*, that Kingdom remain'd without a King, until		*Kenwulf* 22 Years.		*Caradoc* King of North *Wales.*
878	*Guthrum* the *Dane* was made King by the Conceſſion of K. *Alfred*, and reigned 12 Years.	819	*Kenelm* (a Child) his Son, murdered by his Aunt *Quendrida:* then	806	*Conan Tyndaethwy* King of South *Wales,* and afterwards King of North *Wales.*
890	*Eoric* the *Dane* was by *Guthrum* made his Succeſſor; after whoſe Deceaſe K. *Edward* the Elder ſubduing the *Danes*, added that Kingdom to his own.	820	*Ceolwulf* his Uncle reigned one Year.	817	*Mervyn-wrych*, and *Eſylht* his Wife the Daughter of *Conan.*
		821	*Beornwulf* 3 Years.	843	*Rodoric* the Great, Son, or Grandſon, to *Mervyn* laſt mentioned.
		824	*Ludican* one Year and an half.	877	*Anarawd*, Son of *Rodoric* Prince of North *Wales.*
		825	*Wiglaf* 14 Years.	913	*Edwal Voel* Son to *Anarawd.*
		839	*Bertwulf* 13 Years. These four laſt Kings were all of them tributary to the Kings of the Weſt Saxons, as was alſo	940	*Howel-Dha* King of South *Wales,* and after the Death of *Edwal* he took upon him the Government of all *Wales.*
		852	*Burhed*, who reigned 22 Years, and being expell'd his Kingdom by the *Danes*, they then gave it to one	948	*Jevaf* and *Jago* Sons of *Edwal Voel*, Princes of North *Wales* whilſt the Sons of *Howel-Dha* ruled South *Wales* at the ſame time.
		874 920	*Ceolwulf*, who held it but a ſhort time, the *Danes* taking it again; and being driven out by King *Edward* the Elder, he committed the Government of it to *Ethered*, under the Title of Earl; who having married *Ethelfleda* that King's Siſter, ſhe alſo govern'd it after his Death, but King *Edward* ſeizing it after her Deceaſe, added it to the reſt of his Dominions.	973	*Howel ap Jevaf.*
		956	*Edgar* Brother to K. *Edwi*, choſen King of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, reigned there one Year before his Brother's Deceaſe.	984	*Cadwalhon ap Jevaf*, Brother to *Howel.*
				986	*Meridith ap Owen*, Grand-ſon to *Howel-Dha.*
				992	*Edwal ap Meryc.*
				1003	*Aedan ap Blegored*, not of the Blood of the Welſh Princes.
				1015	*Lhewelyn ap Sits-ſylht* in right of *Angerat* his Wife (the Daughter of Prince *Merydith*).
					Jago ap Edwal.
				1022	*Gryffith ap Lhewelyn*, whilſt *Howel ap Edwin* reigned in South *Wales* at the ſame time.
				1064	*Blethyn* and *Rywalhon*, Sons of *Convin*, and half Brothers to the former Prince, were made by King *Edward* the Confeſſor Princes of *Wales*, after *Gryffith* their Brother was ſlain.

Having [illegible] of the [illegible] Saxon Kings, (as they are [illegible] together, as they are derived from [illegible], whose supposed to have been the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] extracted not only [illegible] in the [illegible] Anglo-Saxon [illegible] at the [illegible] many [illegible]

That the Succession of the *West-Saxon* Kings may be the better
before and since the Conquest) are descended, I have here a
have taken from the *Saxon* Annals, *Florence* of *Worcester*, and

Note, That R. signifies Rex, and the Number following it in what Ord

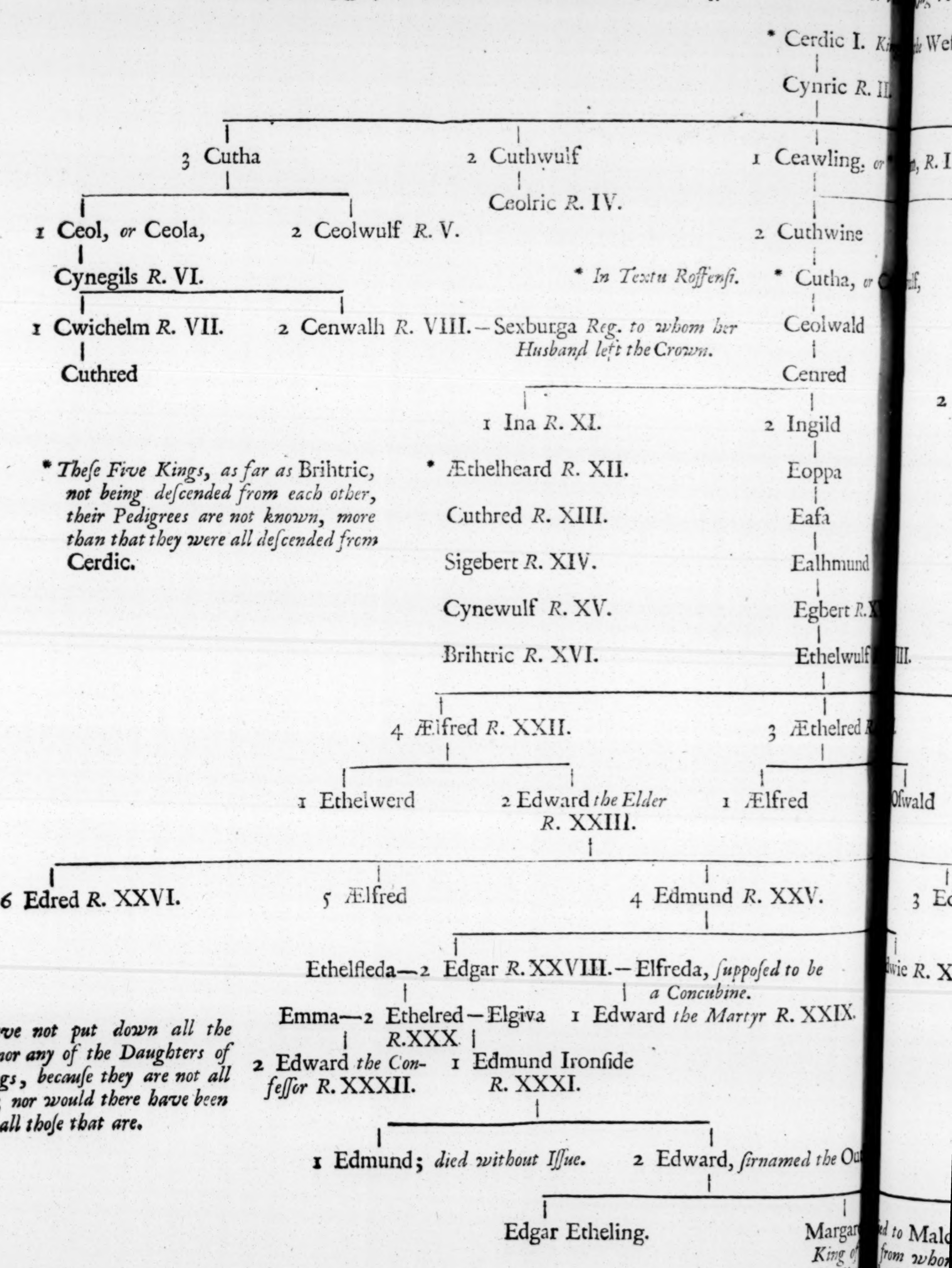


Cutha
Ceaulin R. I.
Ceol, or Ceolwulf
Cynegils
Cuthred
Cutha

Note, [illegible]

That the Succeſſion of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings may be the better u ſtoo
before and ſince the Conqueſt) are deſcended, I have here add their
have taken from the *Saxon* Annals, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and o Au

Note, *That* R. *ſignifies* Rex, *and the Number following is in what Order t ng re*


* Cerdic I. Ki We
Cynric R. II.
3 Cutha
2 Cuthwulf
1 Ceawling, or , R. I
Ceolric R. IV.
1 Ceol, or Ceola,
2 Ceolwulf R. V.
2 Cuthwine
Cynegils R. VI.
* In Textu Roffenſi.
* Cutha, or lf,
1 Cwichelm R. VII.
2 Cenwalh R. VIII. – Sexburga Reg. to whom her Husband left the Crown.
Ceolwald
Cuthred
Cenred
2
1 Ina R. XI.
2 Ingild
Eoppa
Eafa
Ealhmund
Egbert R.X
Ethelwulf III.
* Æthelheard R. XII.
Cuthred R. XIII.
Sigebert R. XIV.
Cynewulf R. XV.
Brihtric R. XVI.
4 Ælfred R. XXII.
3 Æthelred R
1 Ethelwerd
2 Edward the Elder R. XXIII.
1 Ælfred
Oſwald
6 Edred R. XXVI.
5 Ælfred
4 Edmund R. XXV.
3 E
Ethelfleda—2 Edgar R. XXVIII. – Elfreda, ſuppoſed to be a Concubine.
dwie R. X
Emma—2 Ethelred R.XXX – Elgiva
1 Edward the Martyr R. XXIX.
2 Edward the Conſeſſor R. XXXII.
1 Edmund Ironſide R. XXXI.
1 Edmund; died without Iſſue.
2 Edward, ſirnamed the Out
Edgar Etheling.
Margar d to Malc King of from whom the King and ſince Henry cended.

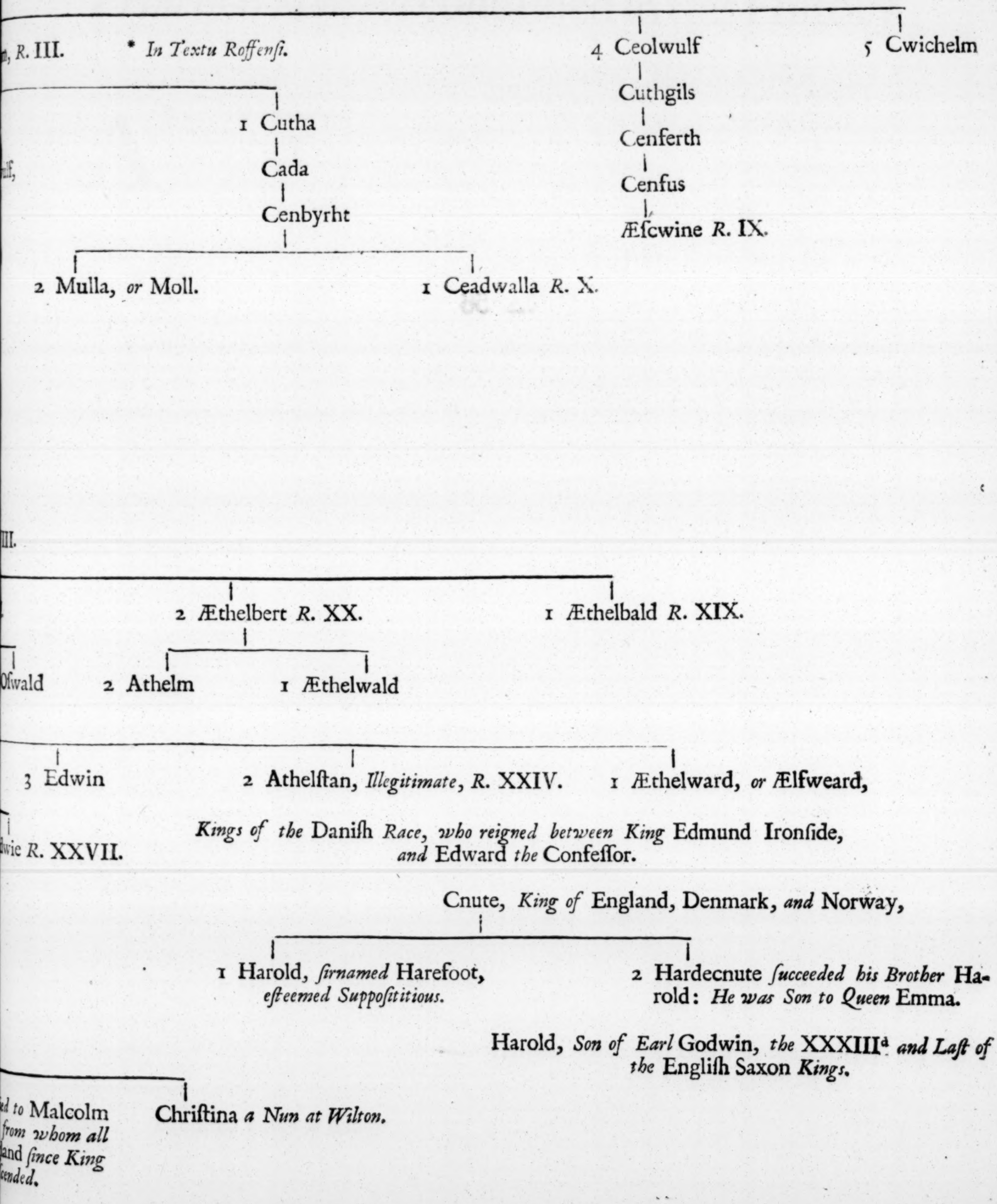
* *Theſe Five Kings, as far as* Brihtric, *not being deſcended from each other, their Pedigrees are not known, more than that they were all deſcended from* **Cerdic.**

Note, *I have not put down all the Wives, nor any of the Daughters of theſe Kings, becauſe they are not all recorded; nor would there have been room for all thoſe that are.*

ſtood , as being thoſe from whom all the Kings of *England* (both
their Pedigree down as low as King *Edward* the Confeſſor ; which I
Authentick Authors. *Tab. Ult.*

ing reigned. * Note, *That* C *in the* Saxon *Tongue is pronounced like* K.

le Weſt-Saxons.



, *R.* III. * *In Textu Roffenſi.* 4 Ceolwulf 5 Cwichelm

1 Cutha

Cada

Cenbyrht

ulf,

Cuthgils

Cenferth

Cenfus

Æſcwine *R.* IX.

2 Mulla, *or* Moll. 1 Ceadwalla *R.* X.

III.

2 Æthelbert *R.* XX. 1 Æthelbald *R.* XIX.

Oſwald 2 Athelm 1 Æthelwald

3 Edwin 2 Athelſtan, *Illegitimate*, *R.* XXIV. 1 Æthelward, *or* Ælfweard,

wie *R.* XXVII.

Kings of the Daniſh *Race, who reigned between King* Edmund Ironſide,
and Edward *the* Confeſſor.

Cnute, *King of* England, Denmark, *and* Norway,

1 Harold, *ſirnamed* Harefoot,
eſteemed Suppoſititious.

2 Hardecnute *ſucceeded his Brother* Harold: *He was Son to Queen* Emma.

Harold, *Son of Earl* Godwin, *the* XXXIII^{d} *and Laſt of*
the Engliſh Saxon *Kings.*

d to Malcolm
from whom all
land *ſince King*
cended.

Chriſtina *a Nun at Wilton.*

8 JA 56

AN
ALPHABETICAL TABLE
OF THE
Principal Matters contained in this Hiſtory.

A

Abbey. Vid. *Monaſtery.*

Abbey-Lands; *the form of leaſing them out; which required the Solemnity of the Common-Council of the Kingdom to confirm it,* Lib. 5. Pag. 261, 262.

Abbot. *The Biſhop of* Norwich, *notwithſtanding the Diſſolution of Monaſteries, retains ſtill the Title of an Abbot,* l. 6. p. 54.

An Abbot of Eveſham *was choſen in a Great Council held at* London, Id. p. 73.

Seldom choſen out of Monks of the ſame Abbey, Id. p. 74.

Aberfraw, *now a ſmall Village in the Iſle of* Angleſey, *but anciently the chief Seat of the Princes of* Gwyneth, *or* North-Wales, l. 5. p. 279.

Tribute due from the King hereof to the King of London, l. 6. p. 3.

Deſtroyed by the Iriſhmen *who landed in* Angleſey, Id. p. 6.

Abingdon *the Abbey, when and by whom founded; at firſt called* Sheoveſham, l. 4. p. 196.

Or Secveſham, Id. p. 224.

Burnt by the Danes, *rebuilt by* Ordgar, *and had great Endowments,* Ibid.

Anciently a Royal Seat of the Kings of Mercia, l. 4. p. 224.

Abjuring the Realm; *the Antiquity of this Law for ſuch great Offences to which the King's Pardon did not, in* Edward *the Confeſſor's time, abſolutely extend,* l. 6. p. 103.

Acca *ſucceeds* Wilfrid *in the Biſhoprick of* Hagulſtade, l. 4. p. 215.

Is driven out, as ſuppoſed, by the King of Northumberland, Id. p. 221.

His Death. Had in great Reverence both before and after it, for his Sanctity, &c. l. 4. p. 223, 224.

Achaius, *King of* Scots, *having aided* Hungus *King of the* Picts *with Ten thouſand men, againſt one* Athelſtan, *he routed the* Engliſh, *and killed* Athelſtan; *but this is look'd upon as a mere idle Monkiſh Fancy,* l. 5. p. 250.

Adda, *King of* Bernicia, *the Eldeſt Son of* Ida, l. 3. p. 143.

His Death. Id. p. 144. Vid. p. 147, 148.

Adelphius, *Biſhop of the City of* Colcheſter, *is ſent to the Council of* Arles *in* Gallia; *and for what,* l. 2. p. 88.

Adian, *or* Ædan, *or* Ægthan, *coming againſt* Ethelfrid, *is routed,* l. 4. p. 159.

Admurum, *that is, Wall-Town, near the* Picts *Wall,* l. 4. p. 184.

Adrian, *the Abbot of* Canterbury, l. 4. p. 165, 194.

The Pope; when he departed this life, l. 4. p. 238. *Vid.* Hadrian.

Adulf, *or* Eadulf, *Abbot of* Medeſhamſtead, *enriched that Monaſtery with divers Lands that he added to it,* l. 6. p. 5.

Succeeds Oſwald *in the Archbiſhoprick of* York, Ibid.

His Deceaſe, l. 6. p. 29.

Adultery. *King* Withred's *Law againſt it, under a Puniſhment; and what a Military, what a Countrey-man was to pay, that was guilty of it,* l. 4. p. 211.

Alfred's *Law increaſed the Fine, according to the Eſtate or Quality of him againſt whom the Offence was committed,* l. 5. p. 293. *Vid.* Fornication.

Æadſige, *after the death of* Ethelnoth, *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 6. p. 65.

Went to Rome *to obtain his Pall,* Id. p. 66.

Crowned Edward *the* Confeſſor, *and made the firſt Sermon that is to be found at any King's Coronation,* Id. p. 70.

Reſigned his Archbiſhoprick by reaſon of his great Infirmities, Id. p. 72.

Reſumes it, p. 74.

His Death, p. 75.

Æalmond, *Father of King* Egbert; *when he began to reign in* Kent. *The Annals miſtaken as to his ever being King thereof.* } l. 4. p. 233.

Æalhſtan, *Biſhop of* London, *his deceaſe,* l. 5. p. 303. *Vid.* Alſtan.

Aedan Vradog, (i. e. *the Treacherous*) *a Prince of the* North *parts of* Britain, l. 3. p. 146.

Ædan ap Blegored, *or* Bledhemeyd, *an abſolute Stranger to the* Britiſh *Blood-Royal, got the Principality of* North-Wales, *and*

held it about twelve years; but whether it was by Election or Force, uncertain, l. 6. p. 30, 31.
Is killed with his four Sons in a bloody Fight by Lhewelyn ap Sitſylt, Id. p. 40.
Ædric *made Ealdorman over all the Kingdom of* Mercia. *Married the King's Daughter. His Treachery,* l. 6. p. 32.
By that he kept the King's Army from falling upon the Danes, *when it had hemmed them in, and were juſt ready to give them Battel,* Id. p. 34.
Sirnamed Streon, Id. p. 36.
Treacherouſly in his own Chamber cauſed to be ſlain two Danes, *of great Riches and Power in the* Northern *parts; and why,* Id. p. 40.
His going over to King Cnute *with forty of the Royal Navy, and ſubmitting to him,* l. 6. p. 41, 45.
The many other perfidious Tricks he plays, Id. p. 45, 46, 47.
Traiterouſly murthers his Natural King and Lord, Edmund Ironſide; *and ſaluting* Cnute *firſt ſole King of all* England, *he met with a juſt reward, if true,* Id. p. 48, 49.
His death occaſioned by his upbraiding King Cnute *with his Services, telling him how that for his ſake he had betrayed one King, and made away another,* Id. p. 50.
Ægelbyerth, *or* Agebert, *after* Byrinus, *took upon him the Biſhoprick of the* Weſt-Saxons, l. 4. p. 182, 192. *Vid.* Agelbert.
Ægelric, *a Monk of* Chriſt-Church, *conſecrated Biſhop of* Chicheſter, l. 6. p. 88.
Ælfeage. *Vid.* Elfeage.
Ælfer. *Vid.* Elfer.
Ælfgar. *Vid.* Elfgar.
Ælfleda, *Wife to King* Edmund *the Elder, the Daughter of Earl* Æthelune; *her numerous Children, and how educated and beſtowed,* l. 5. p. 324, 327.
Ælfred. *Vid.* Alfred.
Ælfric, *upon the death of his Father* Ælfer, *was Ealdorman of* Mercia, *and two years after baniſhed the Land,* l. 6. p. 21. *Vid.* Ealfric.
Ælfric, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *elected Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *by King* Ethelred *and all his Wiſe Men,* l. 6. p. 25.
Went to Rome *to obtain his Pall,* Id. p. 26.
Deceaſed, and who ſucceeded him, Id. p. 31.
Ælfric *ſucceeds* Wulſtan *in the Archbiſhoprick, and by whom conſecrated,* l. 6. p. 53.
His accuſing Biſhop Living *and Earl* Godwin *of perſuading* Harold *to uſe Prince* Alfred *ſo cruelly as he did,* Id p. 67.
His deceaſe, Id. p. 79.
Ælfweard, *Son of King* Edward *the Elder, died at* Oxnaford *not long after his Father; who his Mother, and what his Character,* l. 5. p. 324, 327.
Ælfwinna. *Vid.* Elfwinna.
Ælfwold *drove* Eardulf *out of the Kingdom of the* Northumbers, *and reigned two years in his ſtead,* l. 5. p. 249.
His Death. But his Succeſſor ſomewhat doubtful. Ibid.
Ælgiva, *Queen, brought to bed of Prince* Edgar, *and died the year after,* l. 5. p. 344.
Ælgiva, *married to King* Ethelred, l. 6. p. 29.
Is forced to retire beyond Sea to her Brother of Normandy, *for ſafety,* Id. p. 38.
Ælgiva, *a* Hampſhire *Lady, Daughter of* Ælfhelm *the Ealdorman, one of* Cnute's *Wives, bore him* Harold, *whom before his death his Father appointed to be King of* England *after him,* l. 6. p. 56.
But the Story ſeems a little improbable; for it is ſaid ſhe was barren, and therefore pretending a Big-Belly, impoſed on the credulous King a Suppoſititious Birth, viz. *the Son of a Shoemaker, then newly born,* Id. p. 61.
In the Engliſh-Saxon *is the ſame with* Emma *in the* Norman-French *Dialect; the Widow of King* Cnute, *who was baniſhed* England *by King* Harold, Id. p. 64.
Ælla, *with his three Sons, ſlew a great many of the* Britains, *and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Sea-Coaſt of* Suſſex, l. 3. p. 132.
He and Ciſſa *receiving freſh Supplies, beſieged* Andredeſceaſter, *and took it by force, and put all the* Britains *to the Sword,* Ibid.
His Death, Id. p. 136.
Is ſaid to be the firſt that ruled all over Britain, l. 5. p. 254.
Ælla, *King of* Deira, l. 3. p. 147.
A general Name given to the Kings of Deira, l. 4. p. 152.
His Death, l. 3. p. 148.
Ælla, *a Tyrant and Uſurper, made King of that Countrey by the* Northumbers, *who had expelled* Osbryht *newly before, who was their lawful King,* l. 5. p. 267.
Ælmer *(an Archdeacon) betrays* Canterbury *to the* Danes, l. 6. p. 35, 36.
Æmilianus, *Emperor of* Rome *but three Months,* l. 2. p. 81.
Æneon. *Vid.* Eneon.
Æſcaſdune, *now called* Aſton, *near* Wallingford, l. 4. p. 182, 188. l. 5. p. 275.
Æſcwin *reigns over the* Weſt-Saxons, *is ſuppoſed to be next of the Royal Line,* l. 4. p. 194.
Son of Cenwulf; *the Battel he fought, and with whom. His Death,* Id. 195, 198.
Æſcwin, *Biſhop of the* Eaſt-Saxons; *his Death, and who ſucceeded him,* l. 4. p. 196.
Æſk *(alſo called* Oiſk, *and* Oſric*),* Hengeſt's *Son, began his Reign when, and how long he continued it,* l. 3. p. 132.
His Death, Id. p. 136.
Æſtel, *the ſignification of it, uncertain,* l. 5. p. 304.

- Æthelbald, *King of the* Mercians, *held it forty years*, l. 4. p. 217.
  - *His Pedigree*, Ibid.
  - *Took* Somerton; *and was that great and powerful King, as not to be aſhamed of committing Uncleanneſs even with Conſecrated Nuns*, Id. p. 221, 222.
  - *Made all the reſt of the Provinces of* England, *and their Kings, ſubject to him as far as the* Humber, l. 4. p. 222.
  - *Waſted the Countrey of* Northumberland, *and carried away with him great Spoil*, Id. p. 223.
  - *His War with* Cuthred *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *and the various ſucceſs of it*, Id. p. 224, 226.
  - *Slain at* Seccandune *in* Warwickſhire, *and buried in* Ripendune *Abbey, which he himſelf had founded*, Id. p. 227.
- Æthelbald (*Son of* Ethelwulf *King of the* Weſt-Saxons) *and his Father made a greater ſlaughter of the* Danes *than ever was done before*, l. 5. p. 261.
  - *Forms a moſt wicked Conſpiracy in the* Weſt *of* England *againſt his Father, upon the account of his new Wife, and ſo gets the Kingdom divided betwixt his Father and him, which before was united*, l. 5. p. 263, 264. *Vid.* Ethelbald.
- Æthelbryght. *Vid.* Ethelbert.
- Æthelburga *returns by Sea into* Kent *with* Paulinus *the Archbiſhop, and is received with great Honour by King* Eadbald, *and Archbiſhop* Honorius, l. 4. p. 176.
  - *Deſtroys the Caſtle of* Taunton-Dean *in* Somerſetſhire, *and for what reaſon*, Id. p. 218.
- Æthelfleda, *King* Alfred's *Eldeſt Daughter, married to* Eadred, *or* Ethelred, *King of the* Mercians, l. 5. p. 311. *Vid.* Ethelfleda.
- Æthelgiva. *Vid.* Algiva.
- Æthelheard *the Biſhop dies at* York, l. 4. p. 232. *Vid.* Ethelheard.
- Æthelred. *Vid.* Ethelred.
- Æthelſwithe, *Queen, Siſter to King* Alfred, *and Widow of* Burhred *King of* Mercia, *dies in her Journey to* Rome, l. 5. p. 298.
- Æthelwald, Edward *the Elder's Couſin-German, rebels againſt him, and going over to the* Daniſh *Army, they joyfully received him for their King. He takes a Nun out of the Monaſtery of* Winburn, *and marries her; but going over to* France *to raiſe new Recruits, King* Edward *ſeizes her, and brings her back again*, l. 5. p. 312.
  - *Returns from* France, *and with a mighty Army coming into* Kent, *gets much Plunder there, and then ravages over other Countries, but at laſt is killed in fight*, Id. p. 313.
- Æthelwald, *Abbot, received the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter, *and is conſecrated. His many good Works, and what Monaſteries he repaired and built*, l. 6. p. 4, 21.
  - *Was Father of the Monks. His Deceaſe*, Id. p. 21.
- Æthelwulf. *Vid.* Ethelwulf.
- Ætius, *ſomewhat recovered the Credit of the* Roman *Empire in* Gaul, l. 2. p. 106.
  - *Received doleful Letters from the* Britains, *imploring Aſſiſtance*, l. 3. p. 115.
  - *Expecting a War with* Attila *King of the* Huns, Ibid.
- Agatha, *the Queen of* Hungary's *Siſter, is married to Prince* Edward, *Son to* Edmund Ironſide, l. 6. p. 49.
- Agatho *the Pope; his Bull to the Abbey of* Medeſhamſtead *ſuppoſed to be forged long after by the Monks of* Peterburgh, l. 4. p. 200.
- Agelbert, *Biſhop of* Kent, *but turned out, and wherefore*, l. 4. p. 181, 182.
  - *Left King* Cenwalch, *and took the Biſhoprick of* Paris, l. 4. p. 182, 188. *Vid.* Ægelbyerth.
- Agricola, *ſent into* Britain *in* Veſpaſian *the Emperor's time, as his Lieutenant. Almoſt cuts off the whole Nation of the* Ordovices. *Going with his men to ſubdue* Mona, *the Iſland ſues for Peace, and delivers it ſelf up to him. Increaſes his Fame by his Succeſſes and Moderation*, l. 2. p. 55.
  - *His wiſe Conduct both in his own Family, and in* Britain, Id. p. 56.
  - *Brought here in faſhion the* Roman *Language, Garb, and Gown. No Caſtle of his ever taken by force. Rewarded with Triumphal Ornaments. His farther Conqueſts. Places Gariſons in that part of* Britain *that lay over-againſt* Ireland, Id. p. 57.
  - *Carries on the War both by Sea and Land, and overcomes the* Caledonians, Id. p. 58, 59.
  - *Which is confeſſed to be more owing to his own Conduct, than the Courage of the* Roman *Soldiers*, Id. p. 59.
  - *His Speech to his Soldiers; and after what manner he ordered the Battel againſt* Galgacus, Id. p. 61.
  - *Overthrows and puts the* Britains *to flight. His Ruin ſecretly deſigned by his Prince*, Id. p. 62, 63.
  - *How at his Return he is received at* Rome. *Accuſed to* Domitian, *but acquitted. Often near his Ruin as well by his own Virtues, as by the Vices of others. The Proconſulſhip of* Africa *ſeemingly offered to him, void by the Death of* Civica, Id. p. 64.
  - *His Death, whether by Poyſon or otherwiſe, uncertain. He carried the* Roman *Eagles to the utmoſt Bounds of* Britain, Id. p. 65.
  - *He was the Son of* Severian, *a* Pelagian *Biſhop*, Id. p. 107.

Agrippina, *preſiding over the* Roman *Enſigns,* l. 2. p. 44.

Aidan, *a* Scotch *Biſhop, deſires* Edwin *to remember his Viſion and Promiſe, and become a Chriſtian,* l. 4. p. 173.

Is ſent to Oſwald *(to ground his Subjects in the Chriſtian Faith) from the Monaſtery of the Iſle of* Hye, Id. 177, 178.

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Alan, *Earl of* Britain, *ſo great an Aſſiſtant to* William *Duke of* Normandy, *that after his Conqueſt he made him Earl of* Richmond, *and had great part of the Countrey thereabouts given him,* l. 6. p. 109.

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Is privately buried; that Age being ignorant of the virtue of keeping Saints Relicks, Id. p. 86.

Offa *is warned by an Angel to remove his Relicks to a more Noble Shrine: He builds a new Church and Monaſtery in honour of him, who was after canonized,* l. 4. p. 237.

As he was the firſt Martyr of England, *ſo the Abbot thereof ought to be the firſt in Dignity of all the Abbots in* England, Ib. p. 238.

Pope Honorius *ratified the Privileges formerly granted, and gave to this Abbot and his Succeſſors Epiſcopal Rights, together with the Habit,* &c. Id. Ib.

St. Albans *anciently called* Verulam, *where a Great Council was held by King* Offa, Id. p. 239.

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Receives his Pall for the Archbiſhoprick from Pope Adrian, Id. p. 230.

Albinus (Chlodius) *made Lieutenant of* Britain *by* Commodus *the Emperor, who would have created him* Cæſar, *and permitted him in his preſence to wear the Purple Robe; but he refuſed them then, yet afterwards aſſumed the Titles and Honour, and died in aſſerting his Right to the Imperial Purple,* l. 2. p. 71, 73.

Is diſmiſſed from the Government of Britain, *but retained it under both* Pertinax *and* Didius Julianus. *Takes upon him the Title of* Cæſar *under* Severus; *had Statues erected, and Money coin'd with his Image. Forced the Meſſengers (ſent by the Emperor to diſpatch him) by Torture to confeſs the Deſign,* Id. p. 72.

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At his Interceſſion the Northumbrian *Kingdom is ſpared from Ruin,* Id. p. 240.

Goes into France, *and is much in favour with* Charles *the Great, whom he taught the Liberal Arts, and by his means the Univerſity of* Paris *is erected. His Death, and Character,* Id. p. 244.

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Aldred, *Biſhop of* Worceſter, *by his Interceſſion makes* Sweyn's *Peace with* Edward *the* Confeſſor, *and goes with Biſhop* Hereman *to the great Synod aſſembled at* Rome, l. 6. p. 75.

Is ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor with Noble Preſents, to prevail with him to ſend Ambaſſadors into Hungary *to bring back Prince* Edward, *the King's Couſin, Son of King* Edmund Ironſide, *into* England, Id. p. 86.

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Aldune,

Aldune, *Biſhop of* Lindisfarne, *removes the Body of St.* Cuthbert *from* Cheſter *(after a hundred years lying there) to* Durham, *and there builds a ſmall Church, dedicating it to him,* l. 6. p. 26.

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Alfred, *King of* Northumberland, *would not alter the Judgment againſt Biſhop* Wilfrid, *for any Letters from the Pope,* l. 4. p. 207.
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  When born of Osberge *his Mother at* Wantige *in* Berkſhire, l. 5. p. 261.
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  He with his Brother Ethelred *made a great ſlaughter of the* Danes, Id. p. 275.
  By the general Conſent of the whole Kingdom is advanced to the Throne, Id. p. 276.
  Fights with the Danes, *and the various ſucceſs of his Fortune,* Ibid.
  Fights at Sea againſt ſeven of their Ships, and takes one, the reſt eſcaping, Id. p. 277.
  Is forced to make Peace with them, and what Hoſtages they give him to depart the Kingdom; but upon breach of Oath he puts them all to death. The Danes *make another Peace with him, but did not long obſerve it,* Id. p. 278.
  Leads an uneaſy Life upon their account, being forced to hide, and lurk among the Woody parts of Somerſetſhire, Id. p. 280.
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  The Subjection or Dependance the Danes *ſhew'd to this King, by their conſenting to the Laws made in a Common-Council of the Kingdom,* Id. p. 285.
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  Pope Martinus *ſends ſome of the Wood of our Lord's Croſs to him; and in return he ſends to* Rome *the* Alms *he had vowed,* Id. p. 286.
  Setting upon the Daniſh *Pyrates with his Fleet, takes them all with great Spoils, and kills moſt of their men; but returning home, and meeting with another Fleet of them, they prove too hard for him,* Id. p. 286, 287.
  Takes the City of London *from the* Danes, *(who had kept it long in their Poſſeſſion) and repairs it; and all the* Engliſh *as well as the* Weſt-Saxons *come under his Subjection,* Id. p. 288.
  His firſt founding of Schools at Oxford, *and making it an Univerſity, and the quarrel that happen'd upon it between the old Scholars and* Grimbald *the Monk,* Ib. p. 289.
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  Repairs his Cities and Caſtles, and builds others in the moſt neceſſary places of the Kingdom, and minds the Political Affairs thereof, dividing England *into Counties, and thoſe into Hundreds and Tythings, together with his Civil* Oeconomy *of Judges and Sheriffs, inſomuch that no Robberies durſt be committed on the Highways,* Ibid.
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  Builds two Monaſteries, the one for men at Athelney *in* Somerſetſhire, *the other for Nuns at* Shaftsbury, *where* Algiva *his Daughter was Abbeſs,* Id. p. 298.
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  Fights the Danes *near* Fernham, &c. *and puts them to flight, recovering great Prey,* Id. p. 300, 301.
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Is privately buried ; that Age being ignorant of the virtue of keeping Saints Relicks, Id. p. 86.

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Alfred, *and* Edward *his Brother, (Sons to King* Ethelred) Cnute *agreed with* Robert *Duke of* Normandy, *their Unkle, that they ſhould peaceably enjoy one half of the Kingdom during his life; though they never did, but continued ſtill in Exile,* l. 6. p. 54.

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Earl Godwin *accuſed by* Edward *the* Confeſſor *in the Great Council, of being the cauſe of this Prince's Murther,* Id. p. 83.

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Alfwold, *the Son of* Oſwulf, *takes the Kingdom of the* Northumbers, Ethelred *being expelled the Land,* l. 4. p. 231.

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Alfred *ſends the Alms he had vowed to* Rome, *and other Alms into* India, Id. p. 286, 291, 298.

Alrich, *King of* Kent; *why neither He nor his Noblemen would be at the Council of* Calcuith, l. 4. p. 235.

Son to Withred, *reigned* 34 *years, dies, and in him the Race of* Hengeſt *ended,* Id. p. 238.

Alric, *the Son of* Eadbert, *ſlain in the Battel of* Whalie *in* Lancaſhire, l. 4. p. 241.

Alſtan, *or* Æalhſtan, *Biſhop of* Shireburne; *by the Wiſdom of this Biſhop, and* St. Swithune *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, Ethelwulf *was enabled to ſupport the Calamities the Kingdom ſuffered by the frequent Irruptions of the* Danes, l. 5. p. 266, 267.

After he had held the See fifty years, died, and was buried in the Town, l. 5. p. 268.

Alſwithe, *King* Alfred's *Conſort.* Vid. Ealſwithe.

Alton *in* Hampſhire, *anciently ſuppoſed to be called* Ætheling-gadene, l. 6. p. 28.

Alwin, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *reported to have been too familiar with Queen* Emma, *and committed to Priſon upon that Accuſation,* l. 6. p. 79.

Alwold, *Biſhop of* London, *(before Abbot of* Eveſham *) being unable to perform his Epiſcopal Function, would have retired to his old Monaſtery; but the Monks being againſt it, he reſented it ſo ill, that he goes to the Abbey of* Ramſey, *with all his*

Books and other Ornaments, which he beſtowed on that Abbey, though formerly they had been conferr'd on the other, and ſoon after dies, l. 6. p. 73.

Alypius, *a Heathen Lieutenant of* Britain, l. 2. p. 90.

Ambresburg, *or* Ambresburi, *a Town that had ſome relation to* Ambroſius, l. 3. p. 131.

A Monaſtery in Wiltſhire; *to whom it was granted by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 307.

A great Synod or Council held there, l. 6. p. 17.

A Nunnery there built by Ethelfreda, Id. p. 20.

Ambroſius. *Vid.* Aurelius.

Amiens *in* Picardy, *anciently called* Embenum, l. 5. p. 286.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *the firſt* Roman *Author that mentions the* Scots, l. 2. p. 91.

Anarawd, *the Eldeſt Son of* Rodoric *the Great, when he began his Reign over* North-Wales, l. 5. p. 280.

Makes War upon his Brother Cadelh, *Prince of* South-Wales, *and deſtroys his Countries,* Id. p. 299.

Submits himſelf and all his Subjects to King Alfred'*s Dominion,* Id. p. 306, 307.

His Deceaſe and Iſſue, Id. p. 316.

Pitying the diſtreſſed condition of the Northern Britains, *gave them great part of* Cheſhire *to dwell in, if they could beat out the* Saxons *thence,* Id. p. 317.

After a bloody Fight with the Saxons, *obtains a compleat Victory over them,* Ibid.

Andate, *the Goddeſs of Victory among the* Britains, l. 2. p. 48.

Andover, *a Town not far from* Wincheſter *in* Hampſhire, l. 6. p. 10.

Anciently called Andefer, Id. p. 25.

Andragatius, Maximus *his General, kills the Emperor* Gratian *near the Bridge of* Singidunum, *and eſtabliſhes his Maſter in his uſurped Empire,* l. 2. p. 95.

And hearing of the ill news of Maximus, *caſts himſelf headlong out of a Ship, being then at Sea, and ſo drowns himſelf,* Id. p. 96.

Andredſwood *in* Kent *and* Suſſex, *is in length from* Eaſt *to* Weſt *at leaſt One hundred and twenty Miles, and in breadth Thirty, containing all that which is called the* Wilde of Kent, l. 5. p. 299.

St. Andrew'*s Church at* Rocheſter *built by* Ethelbert *King of* Kent, l. 4. p. 160.

Angild, *the Forfeiture of the whole value of a man's Head, and that Hand which ſtole was to be cut off, unleſs redeemed,* l. 5. p. 297.

Angles, *ſuppoſed to be derived from the Ancient* Cimbri, l. 3. p. 123.

Angleſey, *anciently called* Mona, l. 2. p. 46. *and* Manige, l. 6. p. 28.

The whole Iſle ſubdued by Godfred *the Son of* Harold *the* Dane, Id. p. 7, 20.

Deſtroyed by the Danes, Id. p. 23.

And by King Ethelred'*s Fleet,* Id. p. 28.

They caſt off Meredyth, *and receive* Edwal ap Meyric *for their Prince,* Id. p. 24.

Anglia Sacra, *publiſh'd by the Learned Mr.* Wharton, l. 4. p. 166.

Anlaff, *Son of* Syhtric, *King of* Northumberland, *flies into* Ireland, l. 5. p. 332.

Suppoſed the Son of Syhtric. *His getting into* Athelſtan'*s Camp in the diſguiſe of a Muſician, and the Obſervations he made there,* Id. p. 335.

His ravaging and waſting the Countries whereever he came; the Battel he had with King Edmund, *and the Agreement between them both at laſt. His marrying* Alditha, *the Daughter of Earl* Orme, Id. p. 343.

Called Olaf, *a* Dane *and* Norwegian *by Extract, who had been expelled (in the time of King* Athelſtan*) the Kingdom of* Northumberland; *but being ſome time after recalled by thoſe Rebels, he was again expelled by King* Edmund, *who added that Countrey to his own Dominions,* Id. p. 343, 344.

Returns again in King Edred'*s time, and with joy is reſtored to his Kingdom by the People; three years after they expel him a third time, and ſet up* Eric *for their King,* Id. p. 350.

Another of this Name (Son to the King of Dublin*) comes with a great Fleet into* Yorkſhire *or* Lincolnſhire, *and lands; but he is miſerably beaten by King* Athelſtan, Id. p. 334, 335.

Anlaff (*or* Unlaff) *King of* Norway, *the Ravages he commits, and where,* l. 6. p. 24, 25.

Is brought with great honour to King Ethelred. *After Baptiſm he returned into his own Countrey,* Id. p. 25.

Anna, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *enriches* Cnobsbury *Monaſtery with Noble Buildings and Revenues,* l. 4. p. 180.

Is ſlain in fight by King Penda, *together with his whole Army,* Id. p. 185.

His youngeſt Son Erkenwald *was made Biſhop of* London, Id. p. 196.

Annals Saxon, *firſt collected and written in divers Monaſteries of* England, l. 4. p. 151.

The Cottonian *Copy of them, in the Form we now have them, was wrote after the Conqueſt,* l. 6. p. 56.

Antenor *with his* Trojans *joining* Brute, *their Expedition, and the Accidents that befel them,* l. 1. p. 9.

Anwulf, *Son of* Baldwin, *Earl of* Flanders, *ſent Ambaſſador from* Hugh *King of the* French, *to King* Athelſtan, *to demand his Siſter in Marriage,* l. 5. p. 339.

Aper *kills* Numerianus, *and is killed by* Diocleſian, l. 2. p. 83.

Appeals,

Appeals, *none to the King in Suits, unleſs Juſtice can't otherwiſe be had,* l. 6. p. 13.

Appledore, *anciently called* Apuldre, *or* Apultre, *in* Kent, l. 5. p. 299, 300.

Arbogaſtes, *General to* Eugenius, *ſets him up in the Empire of the* Weſt *againſt* Valentinian *the Second; but his Maſter being overcome by* Theodoſius, *and put to death, he ſoon after made himſelf away,* l. 2. p. 97.

Arcadius, *Emperor of the* Eaſt, *Eldeſt Son to* Theodoſius, Id. ib.

Archbiſhop, *its Title not known here in the time of* Lucius, l. 2. p. 69.

His ancient Power, as Governor of the Church of England, l. 2. p. 210.

None but Monks made Archbiſhops of Canterbury, at the first l. 5. p. 333.

Brythelme *reſigns at the Command of the King and whole Nation,* l. 6. p. 2.

When the Churches of Wales *firſt owned the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury's *Superiority,* l. 6. p. 21.

Archenfield *in* Herefordſhire, *anciently called* Yrcingafield, l. 5. p. 319.

Archigallo, *for his Tyranny is depoſed by his Nobles, but reſtored to it by the kind Artifice of his Brother,* l. 1. p. 14.

Arch-pyrate, *anciently did not ſignify a Robber, but one skill'd in Sea-Affairs, or a Seaman; derived from* Pyra, *which in the* Attick *Tongue was as much as Craft, or Art,* l. 6. p. 9.

Arderydd, *a Battel fought there, on the Borders of* Scotland, l. 3. p. 146.

Areans, *removed by* Theodoſius *from their ſtations, but who theſe were is unknown,* l. 2. p. 93.

Ariminum, *the Council called there by* Conſtantius, l. 2. p. 89.

Our Biſhops ſent to it, and what was done there, Id. p. 90.

Arles *in* Gallia, *the Council there, when held, and what* Britiſh *Biſhops were ſent to it,* l. 2. p. 88.

Is made the Imperial Seat of Conſtantine, *and called* Conſtantia; *it was beſieged by* Gerontius, *but he was hinder'd from taking it,* l. 2. p. 103.

Armorica, *now* Britain *in* France, l. 1. p. 13. l. 5. p. 287.

A Fleet prepared for the Armorican *War,* l. 2. p. 25.

The people there refuſe to accept Charles *King of the* Almans *for their King,* l. 5. p. 287.

Armour, *whence aroſe the Cuſtom of hanging up the Armour of* Great Men *in* Churches, *as Offerings made to God for the Honour they had gained to themſelves, or Benefit to their Countrey, through his Aſſiſtance and Bleſſing,* l. 6. p. 57.

Army, *a Lawful one raiſed by the King for the Defence of the Nation, called anciently by the name of* Fyrd, l. 6. p. 60.

Arnulf *the Emperor, with the Aſſiſtance of the* French, Saxon, *and* Bavarian *Horſe, put the* Daniſh *Foot to flight,* l. 5. p. 298.

Arnwy, *Abbot of* Burgh, *reſigns his Dignity by reaſon of his ill ſtate of health, and with the King's Licenſe, and the Conſent of the Monks, confers it upon another Monk of that Abbey,* l. 6. p. 84.

Arrian *Hereſy, when it firſt infeſted* Britain, l. 2. p. 106.

Arthur, *what he was King of, who was his Father; and the many conſiderable Victories he gained over the* Saxons; *and when he carried the Picture of* Chriſt's *Croſs, and of the Virgin* Mary, *on his back,* l. 3. p. 134, 135.

He beſieges Glaſtenbury, *and for what reaſon,* Id. Ib.

Commands in Perſon at the great Battel of Badon Hill, *which is ſaid to be the twelfth Battel he had fought with them,* Id. p. 136.

He began his Reign over the Britains *in the tenth year of King* Cerdic, Id. p. 137.

Objections againſt his ever being a King in Britain, *anſwered. His Death, but the manner uncertain; his Burial at* Glaſtenbury. *His Tomb found about the end of the Reign of* Henry *the* Second, *and the many Fables the* Britains *invented of him,* Id. p. 136, 137, 138.

Arviragus, *doubtful whether any ſuch perſon; but if there was, he lived in the Reign of* Domitian, l. 2. p. 56.

Under his Conduct the Britains *receive freſh Strength and Courage,* Id. p. 65.

Is ſuppoſed to have deceaſed towards the end of Domitian's *Reign,* Id. p. 66.

Arwald, *King of the* Iſle of Wight, *his two Sons executed by the Order of* Ceadwalla, *but were firſt made Chriſtians by Baptiſm, by Abbot* Reodford, l. 4. p. 203.

Arwan, *a River, where uncertain; but ſeveral Conjectures about it,* l. 6. p. 46.

Aſaph, *Scholar to* Kentigern, *and his Succeſſor in the See of* Ellwye *in* North-Wales, *now from him called* St. Aſaph, l. 3. p. 149.

Aſclepiodotus, *Præfect to* Conſtantius, *his Slaughter of the* Franks, *and Victory over* London, l. 2. p. 84, 85.

Aſhdown *in* Eſſex, *called in the* Saxon *times* Aſſandun, l. 6. p. 46, 47.

Cnute *builds a Church here, to pray for the Souls that were ſlain in the Battel he had fought there with* Edmund Ironſide; *he conſecrates, and beſtows it,* Id. p. 51.

Aſſault *upon any one, the Puniſhment of it by King* Alfred's *Law,* l. 5. p. 292, 295.

Aſſer, *Biſhop of* Shireburne, *his Deceaſe,* l. 5. p. 286, 315.

Aſſize-charges, *the Antiquity of them*, l. 6. p. 13.

Aſterius, *Biſhop of* Genova, *ordains* Byrinus *an* Italian, l. 4. p. 179.

Ataulphus *takes* Tholouſe *ſometime after the Death of* Alaric, l. 2. p. 104.

Athelgiva, *Miſtreſs or Wife to King* Edwi (*for it is variouſly reported*), *the ſtory of her*, l. 5. p. 353.
The Revenge that was taken on her by Odo, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. *Her being ſent into* Ireland *from the King*; *with her Return and Death*, Id. p. 354.

Athelm, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *performed the Office of* Athelſtan's *Coronation*: *His Death*, l. 5. p. 329.

Athelney, *in* Somerſetſhire, *anciently called* Ætheling-gaige, l. 5. p. 282, 298.
That is, the Iſle of Nobles, *where* Alfred *had lain concealed*, Id. p. 298.
A Monaſtery built there by King Alfred *for Monks of divers Nations*, Id. p. 298, 307.

Athelric, *King of all* Northumberland, *reigned two years over* Bernicia; *married* Acca, *Daughter to* Ælla *King of* Deira, l. 3. p. 148.

Athelſtan, *ſlain in fight by* Hungus *King of the* Picts, *with the aſſiſtance of Ten thouſand* Scots, *ſent him by* Achaius *King of that Countrey*; *all an idle ſtory*, l. 5. p. 250.
Who this Athelſtan *was*, *'tis ſuppoſed none knows*, Ibid.

Athelſtan, *ſuppoſed to be Natural Son to King* Ethelwulf, *often mentioned in this Hiſtory, but our Writers are ſilent as to his Death*, l. 5. p. 258.
Fought with the Danes *at Sea, and routed them, taking nine Ships, and putting the reſt to flight*, Id. p. 261.

Athelſtan, *Son to* Edward *the Elder, commanding one Diviſion of his Father's Army againſt* Leofred *a* Dane, *and* Griffyth ap Madoc, *the Succeſs thereof*, l. 5. p. 321.
(*The Name ſignifies*, The moſt Noble.) *Appointed by his Father's Teſtament to ſucceed him in the Kingdom*; *not born of the Queen, but of one* Egwinna, l. 5. p. 326, 327.
His Election by the Mercians, *and the manner of his Coronation*, Id. p. 329.
Marries his Siſter Edgitha *to* Sihtric *a* Daniſh *King of* Northumberland; *with an account of him and his Death*, Id. p. 330.
Adds the Kingdom of Northumberland *to his own*, Id. Ib. 331.
His ſeven years Penance on the account of his Brother Edwin's *being drowned*, Id. p. 331, 332.
The great Victory he obtained over the Scots, *and what was the occaſion of his warring with them. He demoliſhes the Caſtle the* Danes *had fortified at* York, *and taking great Booty there, diſtributes it among his Soldiers. Drove the* Welſh *out of* Exeter, *and built new walls about it*, Id. p. 332, 333.
The great Victory he gain'd over the Scotch, Iriſh, *and* Danes, Id. p. 334, 335, 336.
Took Cumberland *and* Weſtmorland *from the* Scots, *and recovered* Northumberland *from the* Danes. *Pawn'd his Knife at the Altar, as he went to make War againſt the* Scots, *promiſing to redeem it at his return with Victory. Founded the Abbey of* Middleton *in* Dorſetſhire, *and upon what account. Reign'd fourteen years and ten months, and then died at* Glouceſter, Id. p. 337.
Is ſaid to be the firſt that reduced all England *into one Monarchy. Impoſeth a Yearly Tribute upon* Conſtantine *King of the* Scots, *and* Howell *King of the* Britains, *of* 20 l. *in Gold, and* 300 l. *in Silver, and* 25000 *Head of Cattel*, Id. p. 337, 338.
The Rich Preſents were ſent to him from divers Kings, Id. p. 339.
Made many good Laws, and ſome of the moſt remarkable may be ſeen in p. 339, 340, 341.
Buried in the Abbey of Malmeſbury; *bred up under his Uncle* Ethelred, *Earl of* Mercia. *His Character*, Id. p. 329, 338, 339.

Athelwald, *King of the* South-Saxons, *had the* Iſle of Wight *given him by* Wulfher, l. 4. p. 188.
Is ſlain by Ceadwalla, *who ſeized on his Province*, Id. p. 203.

Athelward. *Vid.* Ethelward.

Athelwold. *Vid.* Ethelwald.

Attacotti, *who theſe were that* Ammianus *joins with the* Scoti, *has very much perplexed the Modern Criticks*, l. 2. p. 91, 92.

Atticus. *Vid.* Aurelius.

Auguſta, *that ancient City, now called* London, l. 2. p. 92.

Auguſtine, *ſent into* Britain *with many Monks to preach the Goſpel*, l. 3. p. 148.
His Arrival in Britain *in the year* 597. Id. p. 149. l. 4. p. 153.
How he came to be ſent, and the Accidents that happen'd to him by the way; *with his Landing in the Iſle of* Thanet, *on the* Eaſt *part of* Kent, l. 4. p. 152, 153.
Reſidence appointed by King Ethelbert's *Order for him and his Monks at* Canterbury, *which was the* Metropolis *of his Kingdom. How his preaching to him and his Nobles there was received*, Id. p. 154.
Ordained Archbiſhop of the Britiſh *Nation, and by whom*; *as alſo his ſending to the* Pope, *to deſire his Opinion about certain Queſtions*:

ſtions: Wherein is ſeen the ſtate of Religion in the Weſtern *Church at his coming over,* Id. p. 155.

Rebuilt an old Church, firſt erected by the Chriſtian Romans, *appointing it a See for himſelf and his Succeſſors,* Id. 154, 157.

Had an Archiepiſcopal Pall ſent him, with power to ordain twelve Biſhops, l. 4. p. 157, 158.

His Legantine Authority *over all the Biſhops of* Britain, Id. p. 160.

Summons a Synod at Auguſtine's Ake *(or Oak) in* Worceſterſhire, Ib. & p. 161.

His miraculous Cure of a Blind Man; upon which the Britains *believed his Doctrine to be true,* Id. Ib.

His Death, and place of his Burial, Id. p. 162, 165.

His Prediction on the Britains *fulfilled,* Id. p. 164.

Suppoſed to be of the Benedictine *Order,* Id. p. 167.

Auguſtine's Ake, *ſcituate on the Confines of the* Wectii, l. 4. p. 160.

Auguſtus Cæſar, *his coming as far as* Gallia *twice, to reduce* Britain *under his Obedience,* l. 2. p. 36. *Vid.* Cæſar.

Avon, *the River, anciently called* Antona, l. 2. p. 41.

Aurelian, L. Domitius, *the Emperor killed by* Mneſtheus, *his Secretary. The Ninth Perſecution under him,* l. 2. p. 82.

Aurelius Ambroſius, *his Succeſs againſt the* Saxons, *when,* l. 3. p. 127.

Elected General of the Britains, Vortigern *being as then King, though only in name ſo,* Id. p. 129, 130.

His mighty victory over the Saxons, *and his ordering the Churches to be repaired, which the* Saxons *had deſtroyed,* p. 130.

Marches up to London, *and going about to repair that, He is crowned at* Stonehenge, *and not long after buried there. At a ſolemn Council he appoints two Metropolitans for the Vacant Sees,* viz. York *and* Caer-Leon, Id. p. 131.

A Rebellion raiſed againſt him in the North, *among the* Britains, *who were put to flight,* Ibid.

Choſen King of the Britains, *and reigned* 19 *years,* Id. p. 132.

Died, being poyſoned by procurement of Paſcentius, *Son to* Vortigern, *who before had rebelled againſt him,* Id. p. 131, 133.

Aurelius Atticus, *Commander in Chief of a* Roman Cohort, *ſlain by the* Britains *in the Battel between* Agricola *and* Galgacus, l. 2. p. 62.

Aurelius Conan, *King of* Powis-Land, *or elſe ſome other* Southern *Province,* l. 3. p. 139, 146.

Aurelius Marcus *ſucceeds* Antoninus Pius *in the Empire; the* Britains *raiſe new Commotions againſt him, but they laſted not long after* Calphurnius Agricola's *Arrival,* l. 2. p. 68.

Auſt *(where is a Ferry to paſs out of* Somerſetſhire *into* Wales *) anciently called* Auſtelin, l. 5. p. 328.

Axanminſter, *now* Axminſter *in* Devonſhire, l. 4. p. 233.

B

BAchſeg, *a* Daniſh *King (whom their Hiſtory calls* Ivor, *the Son of* Reynere *) is ſlain by King* Æthelred, *and* Ælfred *his Brother, in Battel near* Reading, *where moſt of his Troops being cut off, the reſt were forced to fly,* l. 5. p. 275.

Badon-hill, *ſuppoſed to be the ſame with* Baneſdown *near* Bathe, *where the great Battel was fought by Prince* Arthur *againſt the* Saxons, l. 3. p. 136.

Bakewell *in* Derbyſhire, *anciently called* Bedecanwell, l. 5. p. 324.

Balbinus Clodius, *with* Pupienus Maximus, *elected Emperors by the Senate, but were ſoon after ſlain by the* Prætorian *Bands,* l. 2. p. 81.

Baldred, *King of* Kent, *forced to fly from King* Egbert's *Army over the* Thames *into the* Northern *parts,* l. 5. p. 253.

Beſtows the Mannor of Mallings *in* Suſſex, *on* Chriſt's Church *at* Canterbury; *which being afterwards taken away for ſome reaſons, was confirmed to it by the Common-Council of the whole Kingdom under King* Egbert, Id. p. 257.

Baldwin, *Earl of* Flanders, *aſſigns* Ælgiva *(whom* Harold *had baniſhed* England *)* Bruges *for her Retirement, and both protected, and provided for, her, as long as ſhe ſtaid there,* l. 6. p. 64.

Bamborough *Caſtle, in* Northumberland, *anciently called* Bebbanburgh, *when built, and by whom,* l. 3. p. 142, 143. l. 4. p. 230.

Aſſaulted and ſet on fire by King Penda's *Orders,* l. 4. p. 185.

The Town deſtroyed by the Danes, *and the great Booty they got there,* l. 6. p. 24.

Banbury, *anciently called* Berinbyrig, *where* Cynric *and* Ceawlin *his Son fought with the* Britains, *and routed them,* l. 3. p. 143.

Bangor, *built by* Malgoclunus, *near the River* Menai, Id. Ib.

One Dynoth *the Abbot there, pretended he was inſtructed (and by whom) how to know whether* Auguſtine's *Preaching was from God, or not,* l. 4. p. 161, 162.

Not

Is not far from the River Dee *in* Flintſhire, Id. p. 164.
The Maſſacre of the Monks there, Ib. p. 165.
Lands and Poſſeſſions given to this Church by Prince Anarawd, l. 5. p. 317.
Banner, *the famous one called* Reafan *(that is,* The Raven *), which was ſo enchanted by Magick Art, that it would clap its Wings upon the proſpect of good Succeſs, or let them fall at that of bad, as if it were alive,* l. 5. p. 281, 282.
Banuwelle *Monaſtery, to whom granted by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 307.
Baptiſm, *Prieſts obliged to explain this, and the Maſs,* l. 4. p. 225.
To be performed at the times appointed by the former Canons of the Church, Id. p. 233.
Bardeney *in* Lincolnſhire, *anciently called* Bardenigge, l. 5. p. 315.
Bardſey-Iſland, *where Archbiſhop* Dubritius *became an Anchoret,* l. 3. p. 149.
Barnwood *Foreſt, near* Bury-hill *in* Bucks, *where the* Danes *went out to plunder,* l. 5. p. 321.
Barons; *by this word* Thanes *are to be underſtood,* l. 6. p. 83.
Edward the Confeſſor's *Law about Tythes, made* à Rege, Baronibus, & Populo, Id. p. 100.
The Law concerning thoſe Barons, *who have Courts and Cuſtoms of their own,* Id. p. 102.
St. Bartholomew, *called an* Indian *Apoſtle, becauſe of his Martyrdom there,* l. 5. p. 286.
St. Baſile, *the Monks of that Order were the ſame with the Monks of* Ireland ; *and thoſe Monaſteries founded in the Kingdom of* Northumberland *followed this Rule,* l. 4. p. 167.
Baſſe, *the Prieſt, builds the Monaſtery of* Reculver *in* Kent, l. 4. p. 192.
Baſſianus, *Eldeſt Son of* Severus *the Emperor, by his wicked Carriage gave him perpetual trouble; for as ſoon as he had Power, he aimed to kill both his Brother and Father,* l. 2. p. 77.
Was not long after his Father's Death, deſtroyed, Id. Ib.
Cruelly murthered his Brother Geta *in his Mother's Arms, and would have had* Papinian *the great Civil Lawyer to have wrote a Defence of it,* Id. p. 79.
Baſſus, *a valiant Captain of King* Edwin's, *conducted* Æthelburga, &c. *into* Kent, *from* Cadwalla's *Rage and Cruelty,* l. 4. p. 176.
Baſtardy, *the firſt Decree found in this kind, That Baſtards, and thoſe begotten of Nuns, ſhould not inherit,* l. 4. p. 234.
Bathan, *ſo called by the Inhabitants, the ancient City of* Akmanceſter, *where King* Edgar *was crowned,* l. 6. p. 7.
Bathe, *called* Caer-Baden, *built by* Bladud, *who is ſaid by his skill in Magick to have found out there thoſe Medicinal Waters,* l. 1. p. 10.
Called likewiſe Bathonceſter, l. 3. p. 146.
A Nunnery built here by Oſric, *and afterwards it was turned to a Houſe of Secular Chanons,* l. 4. p. 196.
Beadriceſworth, (i. e. *St.* Edmundsbury) *where King* Cnute *built a Noble Monaſtery,* l. 5. p. 323.
King Edmund *gave this Royal Town, and divers other Lands to build a Church and Monaſtery, in memory of St.* Edmund *the Martyr,* l. 5. p. 345.
Beamdune, *now* Bindon *in* Dorſetſhire, *where a great Battel was fought between the* Weſt-Saxons *and the* Britains, *and the latter were overcome,* l. 4. p. 166.
Beamfleet *Caſtle, or Fort, built by* Haſtings *the* Daniſh *Pyrate,* l. 5. p. 299.
Demoliſhed, and his Army routed by King Alfred's *Forces,* Id. p. 300.
Becancelde, *perhaps* Beckenham *near* Surrey, *but not certain,* l. 4. p. 209.
The great Council held here under Withred *King of* Kent, Id. p. 209, 210.
Another held here under Kenwulf *King of the* Mercians, Id. p. 241.
Bedanhealfde, *ſuppoſed by ſome to be* Bedwyn *in* Wiltſhire, *near* Berkſhire, l. 4. p. 195.
Bede, *the ancienteſt* Engliſh-Saxon *Hiſtorian,* l. 3. p. 114. l. 4. p. 151.
Lived and died a Monk in the Monaſtery of St. Paul *at* Girwy, *now* Yarrow, l. 4. p. 222.
Where born and bred; his courſe of Life and Writings, which gave him the Title of Venerable, Id. p. 222.
Own'd himſelf beholding to Nothelm, *when a Presbyter of the Church of* London, *for divers Ancient Monuments relating to the* Engliſh *Church,* Id. p. 223.
Bedicanford, *now* Bedford, *where* Cuthwulf *fought againſt the* Britains ; *and the Towns he took from them,* l. 3. p. 146.
Surrendred to King Edward *the Elder,* l. 5. p. 320.
Belinus, *Son of* Dunwallo, *ſaid to make the four great Ways or Streets that run croſs the Kingdom, and not the* Romans ; *built the Gate called* Belin's-gate, *our now* Billingſgate ; *and ſaid to be the firſt Founder of the* Tower of London, l. 1. p. 13.
Bells, *The firſt Tuneable Ring of Bells in* England *was in* Croyland-*Monaſtery, ſet up there by Abbot* Turketule, l. 6. p. 12.
Benedict, *the Father of all the Monks, in what year he died; but long before his death he founded his Order in* Italy, l. 4. p. 167.
(Sir-

(*Sirnam'd* Biſcop), *made Abbot of the Monaſtery of* St. Peter *in* Canterbury, Id. p. 194.

His Death; with ſome ſhort account of his Life, Id. p. 205.

Conſecrated Pope, upon the death of Stephanus; *expell'd, and who made Pope in his room,* l. 6. p. 88.

Benedictines, *the Monks of that Order,* l. 4. p. 167, 168.

Placed in the Nunnery at Bathe *by King* Edgar, Id. p. 196.

Turn out the Secular Chanons at Worceſter, Id. p. 200.

The Abbey of Winchelcomb *in* Glouceſterſhire, *by whom founded, for* 300 *of theſe Monks,* Id. p. 242.

St. Dunſtan *made a Collection of Rules for this Order,* l. 6. p. 22.

Vid. Monks, *and* Chanons Secular.

St. Bennet's *in* Holme, *a Monaſtery founded by King* Cnute *in* Norfolk, *for* Benedictines, l. 6. p. 54.

Bennington, *now called* Benſington, l. 3. p. 145.

A Battel fought there between Cynwulf *and* Offa, *and who got the better,* l. 4. p. 230.

Beonna, *Abbot of* Medeſhamſted, *leaſes Lands to* Cuthbright *upon Condition,* Id. Ib.

Beormond, *when conſecrated Biſhop of* Rocheſter, l. 5. p. 248.

Beorne, *when he was King over the* Eaſt-Angles, l. 4. p. 228.

Beorne, *the Ealdorman, burnt in* Seletune, *by the Governors of* Northumberland, l. 4. p. 231.

Beorne, *King* Edmund's *Huntſman, murthers* Lothbroke, *one of the* Daniſh *Royal Family,* l. 5. p. 272, 273.

Beorne, *Earl,* (*Couſin to Earl* Sweyn) *how made away by him on Shipboard, and where buried,* l. 6. p. 75.

Beornred, *when he uſurped the Kingdom of the* Mercians, l. 4. p. 227.

Burnt the fair City of Cataract *in* Yorkſhire, *and he himſelf is burnt the ſame year,* Id. p. 229.

Beornwulf, *or* Bertwulf, *or* Beorthwulf, *King of the* Mercians, *and Archbiſhop* Wilfrid, *held two Synods at* Cloveſho. *Fought with* Egbert, *and was beaten, and afterwards ſlain by the* Eaſt-Angles, l. 5. p. 253.

Was routed with his whole Army by the Danes, Id. p. 261.

Held the Council of Kingsbury; *who were preſent at it, and what done there,* Id. Ib.

His Death, and who ſucceded him, Id. p. 262.

Berferth, *Son of* Bertwulf, *King of* Mercia, *wickedly ſlays his Couſin* Wulſtan, l. 5. p. 261.

Berkſhire, *anciently called* Bearrockſhire, l. 5. p. 274. l. 6. p. 32.

Bernicia *and* Deira, *two Kingdoms of* Northumberland, *united into one,* l. 4. p. 178.

All the Low-Lands *of* Scotland, *as far as the* Engliſh-Saxon *Tongue was ſpoken, were anciently part of the* Bernician *Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 249.

Bertha, *the King of the* Franks's *Daughter, married to King* Ethelbert, l. 3. p. 145.

Brought a Biſhop over with her to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen her in the Faith, l. 4. p. 153.

Bertulf, *King of the* Mercians, *honourably receives* Egbert *King of the* Northumbers, *and* Wulfher *Archbiſhop of* York, *whom the* Northumbers *had expell'd,* l. 5. p. 277.

Beverlie *in* Yorkſhire, *anciently called* Derawnde, l. 4. p. 202.

Beverſtone *in* Glouceſterſhire, *anciently* Byferſtane, l. 6. p. 77.

Billingſgate, *the ancient Port of* London; *and what Cuſtoms to be paid there upon unlading,* l. 6. p. 43. *Vid.* Belinus.

Birds. *A great Fight and Slaughter of Birds in the Air,* l. 4. p. 192.

Birth Suppoſititious. *Vid.* Harold *the Son of* Cnute.

Birthwald, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury (*who ſucceeded* Theodore) *was buried in the Church of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul, l. 4. p. 162.

Formerly an Abbot of Raculf, *now* Reculver *in* Kent, *near the Iſle of* Thanet; *but not conſecrated Archbiſhop, till nigh three years after his Election. His Character,* Id. p. 205.

He and King Alfred *held a Synod about Biſhop* Wilfrid, *who was therein excommunicated,* Id. p. 206.

Is reconciled to the Biſhop, tho King Alfred *is not ſo,* Id. p. 207.

His Death, being worn out with Age and Infirmities, Id. p. 220.

Biſhops, *how to be ordained in the* Engliſh *Church,* l. 4. p. 156.

How to behave themſelves towards one another, and towards thoſe that are not under their Authority, Id. p. 157.

Of London, *to be choſen by his own Synod, but to receive the Pall from the Pope,* Id. p. 157, 158.

When the Primitive Chriſtian Temper had not left the Biſhops of the Roman *Church,* Id. p. 159.

Two Biſhops in one Dioceſs; viz. *One had his See at* Dunmoc (*now* Dunwich) *in* Suffolk, *and the other at* Helmham *in* Norfolk, l. 4. p. 193.

By a Biſhop's Son was meant his Spiritual, not Conjugal Son, for they were not married in the Saxon *times,* Id. p. 209.

Ordered in the Synod of Cloveſho to viſit their Dioceſſes once a year, l. 4. p. 224.
Five Biſhops ordained in one day by Archbiſhop Plegmund, and over what Sees; but it was by the Authority of the King and his Council, l. 5. p. 314.
Blecca, with all his Family, converted to the Chriſtian Faith, builds a Stone-Church of curious Workmanſhip in Lincoln, l. 4. p. 175.
Blood. When it rained Blood for three days together, l. 1. p. 12. l. 4. p. 202.
Milk and Butter turned into ſomewhat like Blood, l. 4. p. 202.
The Moon appeared as it were ſtained with Blood, for a whole hour, l. 4. p. 222.
Boadicia, the Wife of Praſutagus, a Britiſh Lady of a Royal Race, violated with Stripes, and her Daughters raviſhed, l. 2. p. 47.
Being left a Widow, ſhe raiſed an Army, and makes a gallant Speech to them, l. 2. p. 49, 50.
But being overcome, and her Army utterly routed, ſhe poiſons her ſelf, Id. p. 50.
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Edward the Elder's ſecond Law, of any one's denying another man his Right therein, l. 5. p. 325.
That is, Land conveyed to another by Deed, to whom it was forfeitable, l. 6. p. 58, 60.
Bodotria. Vid. Glotta.
Boetius Hector, his great Error concerning the laſt War between the Romans and the Britains, l. 2. p. 101, 102.
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Bonagratia de Villa Dei, his Epiſtle to the Black Monks of England: Wherein is ſhewn the Antiquity of the Univerſity of Cambridge, l. 5. p. 318.
Bondland, that is, the Ground of Bondmen, or Villains, l. 4. p. 230.
Bondman, he that is caſt by the Ordeal, to be branded with a hot Iron for the firſt Offence, and for the ſecond to be put to death, l. 6. p. 42.
Bonoſus, a matchleſs Drinker, made himſelf as Emperor for a time, but being vanquiſhed by the Emperor Probus, he hanged himſelf. (He was by Deſcent a Britain.) l. 2. p. 82.
Boſa, Biſhop of Dunmoc (now Dunwich) in Suffolk, deprived by reaſon of his great Infirmities, l. 4. p. 193.
Governed the Province of Deira, having his Epiſcopal See at the City of York, l. 4. p. 197.
Boſenham, (that is, Boſham) in Suſſex, where Sweyne made a League with Edward the Confeſſor, l. 6. p. 74.
Boſton in Lincolnſhire, ſuppoſed anciently to be called Icanho, l. 4. p. 185.
Bottulf, when he began to build a Monaſtery at Icanho, Id. Ib.
Bounds. The old ones continued in the year 395. between the Picts and the Britains, l. 2. p. 100.
Bracelets. The Oath the Danes took to King Alfred upon a Sacred Bracelet they had (which Oath they would never take to any Nation before) immediately to depart the Kingdom, l. 5. p. 278.
Of Gold; if hung up at the parting of ſeveral Highways in Alfred's time, none would dare to touch them, Juſtice was ſo ſtrictly obſerved, Id. p. 291.
Bradanford in Wiltſhire, now Bradford, l. 4. p. 183.
Brandanrelie, ſuppoſed to be a little Iſland (now called Shepholm) in the mouth of Severn, l. 5. p. 319.
Breach of the Peace, Alfred's Laws about it, l. 5. p. 292, 295, 297.
What he ſhall forfeit that ſets upon a man in his own houſe, l. 5. p. 347.
The Puniſhment of this Offence in ſeveral Inſtances, l. 6. p. 43.
Breckleſey-Iſland, whither the Danes fled when they were beaten by King Alfred, l. 5. p. 300.
Brecknock-Caſtle, ſuppoſed by Brecenanmere, which Æthelfleda took with her Army, l. 5. p. 319.
In Wales, deſtroyed by Earl Alfred, who joined with Howel the Son of Edwal, l. 6. p. 21.
Bregowin, conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, but enjoyed that See not long, for his Death happen'd about three years after, l. 4. p. 228.
Brennus and Belinus divided the Kingdom between them; and what happen'd afterwards, l. 1. p. 12, 13.
Brigantes, ſuppoſed to be the Inhabitants of Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, and the other Northern Countries, l. 2. p. 42.
Their State attack'd by Petilius Cærialis, moſt of which he conquered, Id. p. 54.
Under the Conduct of a Woman, had almoſt quite deſtroy'd the Romans, Id. p. 60.
Breaking in upon Genoani, or North-Wales, were driven back by Lollius Urbicus, Id. p. 68.
No mention of them beyond the River Tweed, Id. p. 91.
Brige (now Bruges) in Flanders, where Earcongota, the Daughter of Earcombert, a Virgin of great Piety, went to be a Nun in a Monaſtery built there by a Noble Abbeſs, there being at that time not many Monaſteries in Britain, l. 4. p. 180.
Bridgenorth, in Shropſhire, anciently Bricge, and the Town is generally called by the common people Brigge at this day, l. 5. p. 316.
Brightnoth, a Monk, made Abbot of Elig Monaſtery, where there had been Nuns before, l. 6. p. 4.

Brihtric, *when he began to reign over the* Weſt-Saxons; *when he died, and where he was buried,* l. 4. p. 233, 242.

Married Eadburghe, *the Daughter of King* Offa, *and for what reaſon of State,* Id. p. 235, 243.

A fuller Account of his Death, and Character, Id. p. 243.

Brihtric *accuſes* Wulfnoth *to King* Ethelred, *and purſuing him by Sea, loſes all his part of the Fleet, and how,* l. 6. p. 33.

Britain, *briefly deſcribed, anciently called* Albion, *and whence its Name,* l. 1. p. 1, 2.

Firſt diſcovered by the Phœnicians; *known to the* Greeks, *though Mr.* Cambden *ſeems to deny it. Who the firſt Inhabitants,* l. 1. p. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7.

Generally ſpeaking, no body came hither beſides Merchants, l. 2. p. 24.

Was divided into many Petty States or Principalities in the Romans *time, and ſubject to divers Kings,* l. 1. p. 6. Id. p. 33, 39.

Invaded by the Emperor Claudius *in the Reign of* Togodumnus, *ſuppoſed to be the ſame with* Guidar, *or* Guinder, Id. p. 38, 39.

During the Reigns of the ſucceeding Emperors to Domitian, *as far as the* Friths *of* Dunbritton *and* Edinburgh, *it was entirely reduced into the Form of a* Roman *Province,* Id. p. 65.

Hadrian, *though he reſtrained the Limits, yet by no means would part with this Province,* Id. p. 67.

Is divided into two Governments by Severus *the Emperor,* Id. p. 73.

Continued a Roman *Province in* Opilius Macrinus *his time, and had its* Proprætors, Id. p. 80.

The Occaſion of Porphyrius *the Philoſopher's ſaying, That* Britain *was a* Soil fruitful of Tyrants, Id. p. 81, 91.

The Province wholly recovered to the Roman *Empire by* Conſtantius *and* Aſclepiodotus, *after it had been Ten Years in Rebellion,* Id. p. 84.

Great ſtore of good Workmen and excellent Builders, in thoſe times of Publick Diſturbance, Id. p. 85.

The ancient Diviſions of it alter'd by Conſtantine, Id. p. 88.

Reduced to the laſt Extremities in Valentinian's *time,* Id. p. 92.

The Northern *Province of it being by* Theodoſius *reſtored to its former condition, he ordered it for the future to be called* Valentia, *in honour of* Valentinian *the Emperor,* Id. p. 93.

Its Hiſtory very obſcure and uncertain, eſpecially as to the times when things were done, from the Death of Maximus, *to the coming in of the* Saxons, Id. p. 99.

Ow'd its firſt Ruin to Maximus *his carrying over ſo many* Britains *and* Romans *into* Gaul, Ibid.

Bede *aſcribes the chief Cauſes of its Ruin to God's Vengeance on the Inhabitants for their great Wickedneſs, and Corruption of Manners,* l. 3. p. 137.

By what means ſhe was brought to the Knowledge of Chriſt, l. 4. p. 152.

The preſent ſtate of it when Bede *wrote his Hiſtory,* l. 4. p. 221.

Though ſubdued to the Roman *Empire, yet they uſed their Victory with moderation, making the* conquer'd *partakers both of their Laws and Civility,* l. 5. p. 246.

Great Britain: Edred *was the firſt who ſtiled himſelf King of* Great Britain, *in a Charter to the Abbey of* Croyland, l. 6. p. 351.

Britains, *had no Notion of the Unalterable Right of* Succeſſion *in the Eldeſt Brother over all the reſt; no, not after they became Chriſtians,* l. 1. p. 17.

An Account of the Inhabitants, their Religion, Cuſtoms, and Manner of living, l. 2. p. 21, 22, 23.

Would not ſuffer their Kings, by becoming Tyrants, to make their people Slaves, l. 1. p. 18. l. 2. p. 22.

Not much different in ſeveral reſpects from the naked Indians *of ſome parts of* America, l. 2. p. 23.

Hinder'd the Romans *from landing, though with much difficulty; but being afterwards worſted by them, they deſired Peace, which was granted, and Hoſtages ſent; but they ſoon again take up Arms,* Id. p. 26, 27, 28.

Treat of Peace, but now a double number of Hoſtages being required, only two Eſtates of all Britain *ſent them,* Id. p. 29.

Their Engagement with Cæſar *and his* Romans *in his ſecond Expedition,* Id. p. 33.

Caſſibelan *is forced to make Peace with him: And after* Cæſar's *departure, till the time of* Claudius, *they were free from the* Roman *Yoke,* Id. p. 35, 36.

They ſend Ambaſſadors into Gallia *to* Auguſtus, *to beg Peace; and begin to learn the* Roman *Arts of Flattery,* &c. Id. p. 36, 37.

Victory obtained over them by Claudius; *his Clemency towards them, for which they build him a Temple, and adore him as a God,* Id. p. 40.

Their Victory over Catus Decianus *and the* Romans, *in the abſence of* Paulinus Suetonius; *and Cruelty to the* Roman *Wives and Virgins,* Id. p. 48, 49.

Learnt the Vices of the Romans; *are overcome by* Agricola, Id. p. 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59.

Would

Would not own themſelves beaten by the Courage of the Roman *Soldiers, but by the Conduct of their General,* Id. p. 59.

They get together Thirty thouſand ſtrong on the Grampion *Hills, and are reſolved to fight him again, but are miſerably beaten and put to flight,* Id. p. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63.

Recovering freſh Strength and Courage under the Conduct of Arviragus, *revolt againſt the Emperor* Trajan, *but are ſoon reduced again,* l. 2. p. 65, 66.

Would have entirely revolted from Hadrian, *after* Julius Severus *his departure, had not* Hadrian *in the ſecond year of his Empire made a Journey hither, and by force of Arms reduced them,* Id. p. 67.

The South-Britains *within* Hadrian*'s Wall, enjoy the Privilege in* Antoninus Pius *his time, of being free Citizens of* Rome, Id. p. 67, 68.

Raiſe new Commotions in Marcus Aurelius Antoninus *his time, who ſucceeds* Antoninus Pius. *From* Lucius *till the time of* Diocleſian *they maintain the Chriſtian Faith without diſturbance,* Id. p. 68.

Under the Power of the Romans *in* Lucius *his time, or what remained unconquered, were abſolutely Heathen and Barbarous at the time of his ſuppoſed Converſion,* Id. p. 69.

Much infeſted with Wars and Seditions in Commodus *his Reign. They mutiny againſt* Perennis, *and ſend Fifteen hundred Soldiers into* Italy, *to let* Commodus *the Emperor know that* Perennis *had conſpired againſt him, endeavouring to make his Son Emperor,* Id. p. 70.

Come flocking in to Conſtantius Chlorus *againſt* Allectus, Id. p. 84.

Suffer Perſecution here under Diocleſian *the Emperor,* Id. p. 85.

Revolt againſt the Emperor Conſtantine, *but are ſubdued,* Id. p. 87, 88.

Renounce all further Obedience to the Roman *Empire,* Id. p. 104.

The firſt Supplies ſent to them, were between the Death of Maximus, *and the ſetting up of* Gratianus Municeps; *and when the ſecond,* Id. p. 105, 106.

Their Endeavours to get the Roman *Protection in* Valentinian *the Third's time,* Id. p. 106.

Would by no means receive the Pelagian *Doctrine,* Id. p. 107.

Their Victory over the Picts *and* Saxons, *and by what means,* Id. p. 108.

Their doleful Letters to Aetius, *the Emperor's Lieutenant in* Gaul, *for Aſſiſtance. And their Wickedneſs both in Clergy and Laity,* Id. p. 115.

Their leaving Kent, *and flying in great fear to* London, l. 3. p. 129.

Their Victory over the Saxons *through their Careleſsneſs,* Id. p. 148.

Believe Auguſtin*'s Doctrine to be from God, from his Miraculous Cure of a Blind Man,* l. 4. p. 161.

In Bede*'s time it was their cuſtom to ſet at nought the Religion of the* Engliſh-Saxons, Id. p. 176.

Fight with Kenwalc, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons *at* Peonnum, *but put to flight by him, and purſued as far as* Pedridan, l. 4. p. 188.

Deliver the City of Alkuith *upon Conditions to* Eadbert *King of* Northumberland, *and* Unuſt *King of the* Picts, l. 4. p. 227.

A great Battel between them and the Saxons *at* Hereford, l. 4. p. 228.

And at Ruthin, *where* Caradoc ap Gwin, *King of* North-Wales, *was ſlain,* Id. p. 241.

And another between them and the Devonſhire *men, where the former were routed,* l. 5. p. 253.

Suffer a great ſlaughter from Hinguar *and* Hubba, Id. p. 281.

Obtain a Victory over the Danes, *and driving them into a River, drown many of them,* Id. p. 298.

Northern Britains *much infeſted by the Incurſions of the* Danes, Saxons, *and* Scots, Id. p. 317.

Ever ſince the coming in of the Saxons, *had continued a diſtinct Principality in the* North, *and retiring into* North-Wales, *had there erected the Colony of* Strætcluyd, Id. p. 344.

Britains *of* Armorica, *ſettled there long before ours were driven out by the* Saxons, l. 3. p. 127.

Britiſh Church *ſent divers Biſhops to the Council of* Arles *in* Gallia, l. 2. p. 88.

Enjoyed perfect Peace till the Arrian *Hereſy overran the whole world,* Id. p. 105.

All differences ceaſe between this Church and that of North-Wales, *and how effected,* l. 4. p. 229.

Brixſtan, *in* Somerſetſhire, (*anciently called* Ecbyrth-ſtan) *lying on the* Eaſt-*ſide of* Selwood-*Foreſt,* l. 5. p. 282.

Brockmaile, *the Protector and Defender of the* Britains, l. 4. p. 164.

Bromrige *in the County of* Northumberland, *anciently called* Brunanburh, l. 5. p. 334, 335.

Bruerne Brocard, *reſenting the Injury King* Oſbryht *had done him, in lying with his Wife, goes over to* Denmark *to complain of it, and gets a great Army to come from thence, who revenge the Affront by the King's death,* l. 5. p. 268, 269.

Brun-Albin, *or* Drum-Albin, *that is, the Ridge of* Scotland, l. 2. p. 98.

Brute, *and his Succeſſors, their Hiſtory. How he conſults the Oracle, and the Anſwer it returned,* l. 1. p. 7, 8.
He divides the Kingdom to his Three Sons, the Eldeſt to have Loegria, *now* England; *the Second* Cambria, *now* Wales; *and the Third* Albania, *now* Scotland, Id. p. 9.
Bryghtwald *takes the Biſhoprick of* Wiltonſhire, l. 6. p. 31.
Bryghtwulf, *Biſhop of* Scireborne, *deceaſes, after he had held the Biſhoprick eight and thirty years,* Id. p. 73.
Brythelme, *Biſhop of* Wells, *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *but being found not fit for ſo great a Charge, by the Command of the King and whole Nation he retired, and went to his former Church,* l. 6. p. 2.
Buchanan, *his Miſtakes*
About { Severus *his Wall,* l. 2. p. 76, 77.
The laſt Wall, which he will have built in Scotland, Id. p. 100, 101.
The laſt War between the Romans *and the* Britains, Id. p. 101, 102.
Achaius *King of* Scots *having reigned 32 years,* &c. l. 5. p. 250.
King Athelſtan's *Parricide,* Id. p. 335.
Budington, *in* Shropſhire, *anciently called* Butdigingtune, l. 5. p. 301.
Buloigne, *the* Portus Ictius, *and ancient* Geſſoriacum, *from whence the* Romans *moſt commonly paſſed into* Britain, l. 2. p. 31, 40.
Buoy in the Nore, *ſuppoſed anciently to be called* Northmuthe, l. 6. p. 80.
Burford, *in the* Saxon *times called* Beorgford, *in* Oxfordſhire, l. 4. p. 226.
Burgh, *an Abbey, which* Leofric *the Abbot of it ſo adorned with Rich Gildings, that it was called the* Golden Burgh, &c. l. 6. p. 84.
Burghmotes, *to be held* Thrice *a Year, and who to be preſent thereat,* l. 6. p. 13.
Burhred, Burherd, *or* Beorhed, *King of* Mercia, *fights with the* Britains, *and kills their King: Enters* North-Wales *with great Power, and deſtroys* Angleſey, *and ſlays* Meyric, l. 5. p. 261.
Succeeds Beorthwulf, *and preſent at the Agreement made by* Ceolred *Abbot of* Medeſhamſted, *and his Monks, of a Leaſe of Land to one* Wulfred. *By the Aſſiſtance of King* Æthelwulf *made* North-Wales *ſubject to him. Marries* Æthelwulf's *Daughter with great Solemnity,* l. 5. p. 261, 262.
Is forced by the Danes *to deſert his Kingdom, and paſs the Seas to* Rome, *where not long after he died, and was buried at the* Engliſh *College in the Church of* St. Mary, Id. p. 277.
Byrinus, *an* Italian, *coming hither, by his Preaching converts the* Weſt-Saxons, *and had a City in* Oxfordſhire *conferred on him, to fix his Epiſcopal See in,* l. 4. p. 179.
Baptizes Cuthred *at* Dorcheſter, *being a Prince of the Blood-Royal,* Id. p. 180.
Byrnſtan, *conſecrated Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and how long he held it,* l. 5. p. 331.
His Death, and Burial at Wincheſter, Id. p. 332, 333.

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CAdelh, *Prince of* South-Wales, *is fallen upon by his Brother* Anarawd, *who grievouſly ſpoils his Countries,* l. 5. p. 299.
Second Son to Rodoric *the Great, and Father to* Howel Dha, *his Deceaſe,* Id. p. 315.
Cadocus, *Abbot of* Lancarvan *in* Glamorganſhire. *His Life written by* John *of* Tinmouth, l. 3. p. 149.
Cadwallader, *his ſuppoſed Journey to* Rome, l. 3. p. 145.
The laſt King of the Britains. *His death,* l. 4. p. 190, 191.
Cadwallo, *King of the* Britains, *an Account of his being routed and killed,* l. 4. p. 177.
Cadwallo *and* Ceadwalla; *theſe two Names are confounded together by the* Britiſh *Hiſtorians,* Id. p. 204.
Cadwallo, *ſuppoſed to be* Edwal, *ſirnamed* Ywrch, *and for what reaſon,* Id. p. 205.
Cadwallo, *ſucceeds his Father* Cadwan *in the Kingdom of* Britain, Id. p. 171.
Is overcome by Edwin, *and flies to* Ireland; *but returning afterwards he beats* Penda, *and they joining together fight* Edwin, *and ſlay him, and rout his whole Army. He is in Profeſſion a Chriſtian, but in his Actions ſhews himſelf worſe than a Pagan,* Id. p. 176.
Cuts off Oſric *on a ſudden, and all his Army, and baſely kills* Eanfrid, Id. p. 177.
Cadwan, *Prince of* North-Wales, *is choſe King of all the* Britains, l. 3. p. 149.
Cædmon, *the* Engliſh-Saxon *Poet, what he wrote, and what be printed,* l. 4. p. 199.
Cærialis (Petilius) *ſent hither as ſoon as* Veſpatian *was acknowledged in* Britain *as his Lieutenant. He had inured* Agricola *to Labours and Dangers,* l. 2. p. 54.
Caer-Leon *upon* Usk *in* South-Wales, *an Archiepiſcopal See,* l. 3. p. 149.
Cæſar's *landing in* Britain *in the Reign of* Caſſibelan, *a ſmall Inland Prince,* l. 1. p. 19. l. 2. p. 33.
His Account of the Inhabitants, their Religion, and Manner of living, l. 2. p. 21.
The Pretences he made for his Expedition hither, l. 2. p. 24.
But firſt he ſends Ca. Voluſenus *to make his Obſervations of the Countrey; and then upon*

on his Arrival Ambaſſadors come to him from divers Princes and States of this Iſland, promiſing Obedience *to the* Roman *Empire*, Id. p. 25.

He had no great cauſe to boaſt of his firſt Expedition, and why, l. 2. p. 29.

Moſt of his Horſe were caſt away in a violent Storm; therefore goes into Italy, *reſolving to make another Deſcent upon them, and orders new Ships to be built, and directs after what Model; whereupon ſix hundred ſuch were built, beſides eight and twenty Gallies*, Id. p. 30.

Setting ſail again for Britain, *and landing, he fought and conquered; the next day he had news, That by a great Tempeſt riſing that night, forty of his Ships had fallen foul upon one another, and were loſt, and the reſt much ſhatter'd*, Id. p. 31, 32.

His care about the remainder, and directions for others to be built: His Engagements with the Britains, *and their various ſucceſſes*, Id. p. 32, 33, 34.

His deſcription of a Britiſh *Town*, Id. p. 35.

Makes Caſſibelan *ſubmit, and give Hoſtages to him, and then goes over to the* Continent; *and at his Return to* Rome *he offers to* Venus *a Breaſt-plate covered with* Britiſh *Pearl*, Id. Ib.

Calais, *never uſed for a Port, until* Philip *Earl of* Buloigne *built, and walled the Town*, l. 2. p. 31.

Calcuithe, *the troubleſome Synod there, where Archbiſhop* Janbryht *loſt part of his Province to the See of* Litchfield, l. 4. p. 233, 235.

The Nicene *Creed, and the Seven firſt General Councils received and confirmed in it, and many Canons made concerning Matters of Religion, and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline*, Id. p. 233.

There were two diſtinct Seſſions of it, Id. p. 234.

It was ſuppoſed to be held in the Kingdom of Mercia, Ibid.

A Synod held there under Wilfrid, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and* Kenwulf *King of the* Mercians, l. 5. p. 251.

Caledonians *make great Preparations for War, in ſhew more than in reality, againſt* Agricola, l. 2. p. 58.

But they were miſerably routed by his Forces, Id. p. 59.

Rodorick *King of the* Picts *aids them, but is ſlain by* Marius, Id. p. 66.

Caligula (Caius) *the Magnificent Letters he ſent to* Rome, l. 2. p. 37.

Marches his Army to the Belgick *Shore, and his fooliſh* Bravado *after he had put a little to Sea in a Galley, and then returned to Land, carrying the Shells that he and his Army had gathered on the ſhore to* Rome, *and his Galleys, and demands a Triumph; but the Senate refuſed it, and at laſt he was murthered*, Id. p. 38.

Camalodunum (*now* Maldon *in* Eſſex), *where* Andraſte, *ſuppoſed to have been the Goddeſs of* Victory, *had a Temple*, l. 2. p. 24.

On the Reverſe of Kynobelin'*s Coin is* CAM, *ſignifying* Camalodunum, *which was his Royal Seat*, Id. p. 37, 40.

Taken by Claudius, *who obtaining a Victory over the* Britains, *left them to the Government of* Plautius, Id. p. 40.

Cambden'*s Hiſtory in* Latin *commended highly by this Author*, l. 2. p. 20.

Cambria. *Vid.* Wales.

Cambridge, *anciently called* Caer-grant, *and* Grant-Cheſter, l. 1. p. 14.

Grantbridge, l. 5. p. 272, 322. l. 6. p. 34.

Quatbridge, l. 5. p. 302.

And Granteceſter, l. 5. p. 318.

Lay in the Kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, *and had no Univerſity or School there in the time of King* Alfred, l. 4. p. 179, 180.

The Antiquity of this Univerſity illuſtrated, l. 5. p. 318.

All their former Privileges confirmed by King Edward *the Elder's Charter to them for ever to endure by a perpetual Right*, Id. p. 317, 318.

Improbable that it ſhould have continued an Univerſity during the Daniſh *Wars, under the Poſſeſſion of Three* Daniſh *Kings; but this* Edward *did reſtore the Univerſity*, Id. p. 318.

Is burnt by the Danes, *with* Oxford *likewiſe; and then all Studies ceaſed at both places till about* 1133. *from which time the Scholars have continued at both Univerſities*, l. 6. p. 34, 35.

Camelford *in* Cornwall (*anciently* Gafulford), *where was a Battel fought between the* Britains *and* Devonſhire-*men, the latter getting the Victory*, l. 5. p. 253.

Candida Caſa. *Vid.* Witerne.

Candidus, *a Presbyter, whom the Pope ſent to receive and diſpoſe of the Church's Revenues in* France, l. 4. p. 153.

Canterbury, *anciently called* Caerkin, *by whom it was firſt pretended to be built*, l. 1. p. 10.

And Cantwic, l. 5. p. 259.

The Metropolis of King Ethelbert'*s Kingdom, appointed for the Reſidence of* Auguſtine *and his Monks*, l. 4. p. 153, 154.

When the See remained void for four years, l. 4. p. 189.

The Ancient Power of the Archbiſhop of this See, as Governor of the Church of England, *when under the Power of the Pope in Eccleſiaſtical Matters*, l. 4. p. 209, 210.

The City is burnt, Id. p. 226, 228.
The Violence done to it by removing the See from thence to Litchfield, Id. p. 234, 235.
Is reſtored to its ancient Rights, which it had been deprived of by King Offa's *taking away all its Lands which lay within the Kingdom of* Mercia, Id. p. 229, 235.
By the See of Litchfield's *being made an Archbiſhoprick, no more were under this Juriſdiction than the Biſhops of* London, Wincheſter, Rocheſter, *and* Shireburne, Id. p. 235.
Forbid on pain of Damnation (if not repented of) for any one hereafter to violate the Rights of this Ancient See, l. 5. p. 248.
Is taken by the Danes, *who then routed* Beorthwulf, *the King of the* Mercians, *and his whole Army,* Id. p. 261.
And is retaken by the Lady Æthelfleda, *with the Aſſiſtance of the King her Brother, wherein a great many* Danes *were killed*, Id. p. 320.
Humbly beſeeches a Peace of the Danes, *which at the Price of Three thouſand Pounds is concluded,* l. 6. p. 33.
Is beſieged again, and taken by the Treachery of the Danes, Id. p. 35, 36.
Caractacus *and* Togodumnus, *the Sons of* Kynobelin, *overcome by the* Romans, l. 2. p. 39.
His Engagement with Oſtorius Scapula, *and the Succeſs of it,* Id. p. 42, 43.
Though he was taken Priſoner, yet his Fame was celebrated as far as Italy, Id. p. 43.
His Manly Proceſſion at Rome, *and the Noble Speech he made to* Cæſar: *His Pardon and Acknowledgment,* Id. p. 44.
Caradoc, *or* Cradoc, *Son to* Gryffin, *Prince of* South-Wales, *his barbarous Cruelty and Ill Uſage both of the Houſe of* Harold, *Earl of* Weſt-Saxony, *and of his Servants*, l. 6. p. 93.
Carauſius, *a man of mean Parentage, who through all Military degrees advanced himſelf to be Governor of* Bononia, *now* Buloigne, *&c. takes on him the Imperial Purple, and makes* Maximilian *to conclude a Peace, and yield him up* Britain; *making the* Picts *his Confederates,* l. 2. p. 83.
Repairs the Pict's-Walls *with Caſtles,*&c. *and at laſt is ſlain by the Treachery of* Allectus, Id. p. 84.
Carehouſe *in* Northumberland, *ſuppoſed to be* Cære *in the time of the* Saxons, l. 4. p. 215.
Careticus, *ſucceeds* Malgo *in the Kingdom of the* Britains. *His Character*, l. 3. p. 148.
Carliſle, *built by* Leil *in the days of* Solomon, l. 1. p. 10.
Was afterwards by the Romans *called* Lugubalia, Ib. & l. 2. p. 66.
Carron, *a River which had its name from* Carauſius: *where it is,* l. 2. p. 84.
Carrum, *now* Charmouth *in* Dorſetſhire, *where a Battel was fought between* Egbert *and the* Danes, *and the latter kept the field,* l. 5. p. 256.
Another Battel fought there between Ethelwulf *and the* Danes, Id. p. 259.
Cartiſmandua, *Queen of the* Brigantes, *to whoſe fidelity* Caractacus *having committed himſelf, ſhe delivered him up bound to the* Roman *Victors,* l. 2. p. 43.
Deſpiſes her Husband Venutius, *and a Civil War ariſing between them, the iſſue of it,* Id. p. 45, 46.
Carus (Marc. Aurel.) *ſucceeds* Probus *in the Empire, and invading the* Perſians, *dies ſuddenly,* l. 2. p. 83.
He created his Son Carinus, Cæſar, *and gave him the Charge of* Britain, *and the reſt of the* Weſtern *Provinces. Is ſlain by* Dioclesian, Ibid.
Caſſibelan, *by his worthy Demeanour ſo wrought upon the people, that he eaſily got the Kingdom for himſelf,* l. 1. p. 16.
But he was not ſole King of this Iſland, only a ſmall Inland Prince, l. 2. p. 33.
In his Reign Cæſar *landed in* Britain; *but he engaging with him and his* Romans, *was forced to ſubmit to* Cæſar, *and to give him Hoſtages,* l. 1. p. 19. l. 2. p. 33, 34, 35.
After the departure of the Romans *he is ſaid to reign ten years, which time he ſpent in taking revenge on the Cities and States that had revolted from him during his Wars with* Cæſar, Id. p. 36.
Caſſiterides; *theſe* Weſtern *Iſlands were ſo called by the* Greeks, l. 1. p. 2, 3.
Caſtinus, *ſent into* Spain *by* Honorius *againſt the* Vandals, l. 2. p. 105.
Caſtor, *the Worthieſt Man in* Severus *his Court, and Chief of his Bed-Chamber; the ſame as* Lord-Chamberlain *with us*, l. 2. p. 75.
Caſtra Exploratorum, *a place in* Cumberland, l. 2. p. 81.
Cataract, *a fair City in* Yorkſhire, *burnt by* Beornred *the* Mercian *Tyrant*, l. 4. p. 229.
Cattle, *that are brought into a Town, and ſaid to be found, how to be diſpoſed of, and who to have the Cuſtody of them,* l. 6. p. 103.
Ceadda, *is conſecrated Biſhop of* Litchfield, l. 4. p. 189, 195.
Renews his Ordination according to the Catholick Rites, Id. p. 191.
Is deprived of his Biſhoprick, as being unduly elected, Id. p. 192.
His Death, and Character; called by us at this day St. Chad, Id. p. 193.

Ceadwalla. *Vid.* Cadwallo, *with whom he is confounded, as he is alſo with* Cadwallader, l. 3. p. 145. l. 4. p. 204.
Subdues the Petty Princes of the Weſt-Saxons, *and takes the Kingdom to himſelf, according to* Bede, Id. p. 193.
Succeeds to the Kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons *after the death of* Kentwin. *He was the Grandſon of* Ceawlin *by his Brother* Cutha, Id. p. 202.
Subdues the Iſle of Wight, *and gives the fourth part of his Conqueſts to God,* Id. p. 203.
He and Moll *his Brother, waſte* Kent, l. 4. p. 203, 204.
Goes to Rome, *and is there baptized by Pope* Sergius, *by the name of* Peter, *but dies ſoon after, and is buried in the Church of* St. Peter, Id. p. 204, 205.
Ceawlin *and* Cutha *fight with, and drive* Ethelbert *into* Kent, l. 3. p. 145, 146.
And Cuthwi *kill three other Kings, and take there three Cities,* Id. p. 145.
Fights againſt the Britains, *and takes away ſeveral Towns from them; but is driven out of his Kingdom after one and thirty years reign. His Baniſhment and Character,* Id. p. 147, 148.
His Death in Exile, Id. p. 149.
Vid. Cuthwulf.
Ceawlin, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *and* Ethelfrid, *fight with* Adian, *wherein* Cutha, Ceawlin's *Son is ſlain,* l. 4. p. 159.
Ceawlin, *the ſecond King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *that ruled over all* Britain, l. 5. p. 254.
Cedda, *ordained a Biſhop over the Nation of the* Eaſt-Saxons, l. 4. p. 184.
Baptizes Swidhelm, *King thereof in the Province of the* Eaſt-Angles, Id. p. 189.
Cendrythe, *an Abbeſs, is forced to make ſatisfaction to Archbiſhop* Wilfrid, *for the wrongs that King* Kenwulf *her Father had done to the Church of* Canterbury, l. 5. p. 253.
The ſame with Quendride; *where ſee more of her.*
Cenered, *King of* Mercia, *or* Southumbers, *ſucceeds* Ethelred *by his own appointment, who himſelf reſigned, and turned Monk,* l. 4. p. 207, 212.
Cenwall, *or* Cenwalch, *ſucceeds his Father* Cynegils *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons; *and being ſoon after driven out of it by* Penda *King of the* Mercians, *he retires to* Anna, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *and there receives Baptiſm,* l. 4. p. 181.
Fights at Bradenford *near the River* Aftene *in* Wiltſhire; *moſt likely with the* Mercians, Id. p. 183.
Fights againſt the Welſh *at* Peonnum, *and the ſucceſs he met with; as alſo againſt* Wulfher *at* Poſentesbyrig, *who had waſted his Countrey as far as* Æſcaſdune, Id. p. 188.
Dies, and leaves the Kingdom to Sexburga, *his Wife,* Id. p. 192.
Cenwulf, *King of the* Mercians, *reſtores the Archbiſhoprick of* Canterbury *to its former Rights,* l. 4. p. 235, 248.
Had the Crown of Mercia *left him by King* Egferth, *as being the Next of the Royal Line,* Id. p. 240.
The Great Council of Becancelde *held under him, and what Decrees paſt therein,* Id. p. 241.
Deſtroys Kent, *and takes* Eadbert Præn, *and carries him Priſoner to* Mercia, *and there cauſes his eyes to be put out, and his hands to be cut off,* Ibid.
Founds the ſtately Abbey of Winchelcomb *for Three hundred* Benedictine *Monks,* Id. p. 242.
Holds a Third Council at Cloveſhoe, *and what was done therein,* Id. p. 243.
He and Eardulf *King of the* Northumbers, *going to engage each other, a ſudden Peace is concluded on, and confirmed by Oath, by the means of King* Egbert, Id. p. 248.
His Death, and who ſaid to ſucceed him, Id. p. 251, 252. *Vid.* Kenwulf.
Cenwulf, *Biſhop of* Lindiſfarne, *his Death,* l. 4. p. 232.
Ceolfus, *or* Ceulfus, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *reigned four and twenty years,* l. 4. p. 157.
Ceolnoth, *elected and conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and when he received his Pall from* Rome, l. 5. p. 255.
Conſecrates Swythune *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *with the* Unanimous Conſent *of the whole Clergy of that Dioceſs,* Id. p. 266.
His Deceaſe, and who elected in his ſtead, Ibid.
Ceolred, *King of the* Mercians, *and* Ina, *fight a bloody Battel at* Wodensburh *in* Wiltſhire, l. 4. p. 214, 217.
His Death and Burial at Litchfield, Id. p. 217.
The Deceaſe of his Wife Queen Werburh *at the Nunnery of* Cheſter, *where ſhe was an Abbeſs,* Id. p. 232.
Ceolred, *Abbot of* Medeſhamſted, *and his Monks, leaſe out to* Wulfred *certain Lands, on condition that after his Death they ſhould revert to the Monaſtery, paying in the mean time an Annual Rent,* l. 5. p. 261, 262.
Ceolric, *Son to* Cuthwulf, *obtains the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, *which* Ceawlin *was driven out of,* l. 3. p. 148.
His Death, l. 4. p. 157.
Ceolwulf *began to reign over the* Weſt-Saxons, *making continual Wars all his time,* l. 3. p. 149.

Ceolwulf *ſucceeds* Oſric *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland. *His Pedigree*, l. 4. p. 220, 221.
  Surrenders his Kingdom to Eadbert, *his Couſin*, Id. p. 223.
  Dies a Monk in the Iſle of Lindisfarne, Id. p. 224, 228.
Ceolwulf, *Biſhop, when he departed from the* Northumbers, l. 4. p. 240.
  His Death, Id. p. 241.
Ceolwulf, *when he began his Reign over the Kingdom of the* Mercians, l. 5. p. 251.
  Reigned but little more than one year, Id. p. 252, 253.
Ceolwulf, *an Inconſiderable Fellow, made King of* Mercia *by the* Danes, *upon ſad Conditions*, l. 5. p. 277.
Cerdic, *the Tenth in Deſcent from* Woden; *reigned Five and twenty years; he and his Sons in ſix years conquered all the Countrey of the* Weſt-Saxons, l. 3. p. 133.
  He and his Son Cynric, *ſlew the great* Britiſh *King* Natanleod, *or* Nazaleod, *with Five thouſand men*, Id. p. 134.
  Fought often with King Arthur, *and ſo wearied him out, that he gave him up* Hampſhire *and* Somerſetſhire, Id. p. 135.
  He and Cynric *took on them the Title of Kings of the* Weſt-Saxons; *they obtained a great Victory at* Cerdicsford, Id. p. 136.
  They fought againſt the Britains *at* Cerdic's-Leah; *conquered the* Iſle of Wight, *and ſlew a great many men at* Withgarabyrig.
  His Death, Id. p. 138.
Cerdicsford, *now* Charford *in* Hampſhire, *where* Cerdic *and* Cynric *fought againſt the* Britains, l. 3. p. 136.
Cerne, *an Abbey in* Dorſetſhire, *near to a Fountain where St.* Auguſtine *had formerly baptized many* Pagans, l. 6. p. 22.
Chacea, *the ſignification of the word*, l. 6. p. 60.
St. Chad. *Vid.* Ceadda.
Chanons Secular; *Archbiſhop* Elfric *turns them out of the Cathedral of* Chriſt-Church *in* Canterbury, *and places Monks in their room*, l. 4. p. 167.
  Put into all the Abbeys from whence King Edwi *had expelled the Monks*, l. 5. p. 353.
  King Edgar *diſplaced theſe, and put Monks in their Rooms*, l. 6. p. 5, 6.
  The Monks turned out, and theſe put in again, which occaſioned a Civil War, Id. p. 15, 16, 17.
  Vid. Monks *and* Benedictines.
Charges at Aſſizes. *Vid.* Aſſize-Charges.
Charles, *King of the* Franks, *when he began to reign*, l. 4 p. 229
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  Gains a Victory over the ancient Saxons, *and laid theirs to his own Dominions*, Id. p. 232.
  Paſſes through Almany *to the very Borders of* Bavaria, *and ſends certain* Synodal *Decrees into* England, Id. p. 236.
  Would have done the Northumbrian *Kingdom all the miſchief he could, for their ſo baſely murthering their King* Ethelred, *but for* Alcuin's *Interceſſion*, Id. p. 240.
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  Receives Æadburga, *Widow to* Brihtric, *very kindly, but at laſt puts her into a Monaſtery as an Abbeſs; being expelled thence for her Incontinency, ſhe makes a miſerable End*, Id. p. 243.
  Is taught the Liberal Arts by Alcuin, *a moſt Learned* Engliſhman, Id. p. 244.
  Reſtores by his Aſſiſtance Eardulf *to his Kingdom, from which he had been expelled.*
  Makes Peace with Nicephorus, *Emperor of* Conſtantinople, Id. p. 249.
  The different Accounts of the Time of his Death, l. 5. p. 251.
Charles, *King of the* Weſtern-Franks, *killed by a Wild-Boar; his Pedigree. And*
Charles, *King of the* Almans, *received all the Kingdoms of the* Weſtern-Franks, *by the voluntary Conſent of all the People. The Extent of his Dominion; his Pedigree*, l. 5. p. 287.
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  Of the Foundation of Eveſham *Abbey, certainly forged, and the Reaſons why*, Id. p. 216, 217.
  Of the Foundation of Winburn *Monaſtery (built by* Cuthburgh, *one of King* Ina's *Siſters) by* Ethelbald, *King of the* Mercians, *whereby he granted to it the whole Iſle of* Croyland, Id. p. 218.
  Of King Offa *to the Monaſtery of St.* Albans, *whereby were confirmed very great Privileges, and vaſt Poſſeſſions, which he had before given to it.* Id. p. 237.
  Imbezeling the Deeds belonging to the Monaſtery of Cotham, *by King* Cenwulf, l. 4. p. 243.

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Of Winchelcomb, *confirmed by a Great Council, and what Orders of men were preſent thereat*, l. 5. p. 251.
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Builds a Noble Monaſtery at Beadriceſworth, now St. Edmundsbury, whither the Body of Edmund the Martyr was removed ſome time before, l. 5. p. 323.
Is choſen King by all the Daniſh Fleet and Army, after the Death of his Father Sweyn, l. 6. p. 39.
Puts the Hoſtages on ſhore at Sandwich that were given to his Father, but firſt cuts off their Hands and Noſes, Ibid.
Plunders all about Wiltſhire, Dorſetſhire, and Somerſetſhire, &c. and Ædric and the Weſt-Saxons Submiſſion to him, Id. p. 40, 41, 42.
Is choſen King by ſeveral of the Biſhops, Abbots, and Noblemen of England, upon which he comes up with his Fleet to Greenwich to beſiege London; and the Battels he fought with King Edmund, and thoſe that eſpouſed his Intereſt, Id. p. 45, 46, 47.

A Peace concluded on between him and Edmund Ironſide, with an Account of the Particulars of it, Id. p. 47, 48.

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When he began his Reign; divides all England into four Parts or Governments, reſerving Weſt-Saxony to himſelf, Id. p. 50.

Marries Emma, Widow of the King his Predeceſſor, and the Reaſon of State for it. Goes to Denmark to ſubdue the Vandals, carrying along with him an Army of Engliſh and Danes; the former behaving themſelves ſo bravely againſt the Enemy, that after that Battel he had the Engliſh in as much eſteem as his own Native Subjects. Holds a Great Council at Cyrenceſter, and what is tranſacted therein, Id. p. 51.

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Founds the Monaſtery of Beadriceſworth, where a Church had been built before, and endows it, which was one of the Largeſt and Richeſt in England, Ibid.

Goes again into Denmark with his Fleet, and engages with the Swedes both by Land and Sea, the latter getting the Victory. Two years after he drives Olaf out of Norway, and conquers it for himſelf. Baniſhes Hacun a Daniſh Earl (his Nephew by Marriage), under pretence of an Embaſſy, Id. p. 53.

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Goes to Rome, and what he does there he declares in a Letter he ſent (upon his return from thence) into England, to the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, Id. p. 55.

Goes into Scotland, and there King Malcolme becomes ſubject to him. Before his Death he appoints Swayn his Eldeſt Son, King of Norway; Hardecnute, his Son by Queen Emma, King of Denmark; and Harold, his Son by Elgiva, King of England after him, Id. p. 56, 61.

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Coifi, chief of King Edwin's Idol Prieſts, conſents to receive the Chriſtian Religion, confeſſing his own to be good for nothing, l. 4. p. 173.

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Coil, the Son of Marius, ſucceeds him in Britain, loves the Romans, and is honoured by them, and governs the Kingdom long and peaceably, l. 2. p. 67.

Dies towards the end of Marcus Aurelius the Emperor's Reign, Id. p. 68.

Coinage, King Athelſtan's Law, That no Money be coined out of ſome Town; no embaſſing to be of the Coin, under Forfeiture of the loſs of the Hand, &c. l. 5. p. 340.

Though not Treaſon in King Ethelred's time, yet puniſhable at the King's diſcretion, either by Fine or Death, l. 6. p. 44.

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Coldingham, the Monaſtery. Vid. Monaſtery of Coludeſburgh.

Coleman, Biſhop of Lindiſfarne, departs to Scotland, and upon what account, l. 4. p. 189.

Coludeſburgh, a great Monaſtery of Monks and Nuns together, called afterwards Coldingham, in the Marches of Scotland, burnt, and how, l. 4. p. 198, 199.

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  Another great one at Becanceld, and what done therein, and who preſent thereat, Id. p. 209, 210, 241.
  Another held at Berghamſted in Kent, and what Laws made therein by the Common and Unanimous Conſent of them All; they are called the Judgments or Dooms of King Wightred, Id. p. 210, 211.
  One in the Kingdom of Kent, at a place called Cylling, to confirm what had been done in that of Becanceld, ſix years before, Id. p. 212.
  A great one held in the Kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons, in which, after the death of Biſhop Hedda, that Biſhoprick was divided into two, Id. p. 213.
  A great one called at Verulam (now St. Albans) wherein the Tribute of Romeſcot or Peter-pence, is confirmed to be paid to the Pope by their general Conſent, Id. p. 239.
  Of Cloveſhoe, under Kenwulf King of the Mercians; and what is tranſacted therein, Id. p. 243.
  Croyland-Abbey, its Lands and Privileges confirmed by King Egbert, in a great Council, l. 5. p. 254.
  A General one of the whole Kingdom at London, under King Egbert and King Withlaff; and what done therein, Id. p. 257.
  A Common Council of the whole Kingdom, under Egbert King of the Weſt-Saxons, where the Grant of the Mannor of Mallings in Suſſex, formerly beſtowed on Chriſt-Church in Canterbury, was confirmed, Ibid.
  The Council of Kingsbury, under Berthwulf King of the Mercians; who preſent, and what done therein, l. 5. p. 261.
  The Famous and Solemn Grant of King Æthelwulf concerning Tythes, and the Form of paſſing it into an Act in the Great Council of the Kingdom, and who the Parties to it, Id. p. 262, 263.
  The League or Agreement made between King Alfred and Guthrum the Dane, together with their Eccleſiaſtical Laws, in a Common Council of the Kingdom, l. 5. p. 283, 284, 285.
  A great one, wherein King Alfred made thoſe Laws that go under his Name, Id. p. 291, &c.
  A great one held by King Edward the Elder, where Plegmund preſided, in the Province of the Gewiſſes, about making of Biſhops, Id. p. 313, 314.
  The Laws made by King Edward the Elder, in a Common Council of the Kingdom, tho in what, or in what year, uncertain, Id. p. 325, &c.
  A great Council held by King Athelſtan at Grætanleage, and the Laws paſt therein, Id. p. 339, 340, &c.
  King Edmund's great Council, where held, and the Conſtitutions of Civil Concernment made therein, Id. p. 346, 347, 348.
  A great one meets, and chuſes Prince Edward (ſirnamed the Martyr) for their King, l. 6. p. 15.
  Thoſe at Kirtlingtune, Wincheſter, and Calne in Wiltſhire, called to debate that Great Affair concerning the turning out of the Monks, and reſtoring the Secular Chanons; at the laſt of them, the floor of the room failed, and killed and hurt abundance there, Id. p. 16, 17.
  One called to conſult about Pope John's Letters ſent to King Ethelred, Id. p. 24, 25.
  King Ethelred and his Wiſe Men in Council ordain to raiſe an Army both by Sea and Land againſt the Danes, Id. p. 27.
  Another Council ſummoned, who inſtead of conſulting the Publick Good, fall to impeach one another, and to ſpend the whole time in their own private quarrels, Id. p. 35.

A great one held under King Cnute at Cyrenceſter, wherein Ethelward the Eorlderman is outlaw'd, Id. p. 51.

Another of his Mycel Synods held at Wincheſter, and what Laws made therein, Id. p. 57, 58, 59, 60.

In a great Council held at London, a Religious Monk of Eveſham is choſen Abbot of that Monaſtery, Id. p. 73.

A great one held at London in Mid-lent, Id. p. 75.

Another at Glouceſter, to determine a Difference between Earl Godwin and the Welſhmen, Id. p. 77.

A great one without London, about determining the Quarrel between Edward the Confeſſor and Earl Godwin, Id. p. 81.

One held at Weſtminſter, to confirm Edward the Confeſſor's Charter of Endowment of the Church of Weſtminſter, Id. p. 94.

Counties. When England was firſt thus divided by King Alfred, l. 5. p. 291.

Countreymen, by King Alfred's Law, not to be unjuſtly impriſoned, nor any way miſuſed, under ſuch and ſuch Penalties, l. 5. p. 293, 294.

Their very Homeſtalls are ſecured in Peace and Quietneſs, Id. p. 295.

County Court, the Antiquity and Power of it; held every Month, as now, l. 5. p. 326.

Coway-ſtakes, near Lalam in Middleſex, where the Britains placed Piles to hinder Cæſar and his Romans Paſſage to them; ſome of which were lately there to be ſeen, l. 2. p. 34.

Crayford in Kent, anciently called Crecanford, l. 5. p. 313.

Creed. The Biſhops at Ariminum forced by the Emperor to ſubſcribe the New Creed made not long before at the pretended Council of Syrmium, wherein the Son of God was declared to be only of like Subſtance with the Father, l. 2. p. 89, 90.

Prieſts obliged to learn it and the Lord's Prayer in Engliſh, l. 4. p. 225.

All men in general commanded to learn it and the Lord's Prayer, Id. p. 233.

Creeklade, now a ſmall Town in Wiltſhire, from whence the Muſes are ſaid to be carried to Oxford, ſuppoſed an Ancient Great School. Its Derivation, l. 5. p. 290.

Creoda, or Crida, firſt King of the Mercians, one of the largeſt of the Engliſh-Saxon Kingdoms, and one of the laſt conquered by the Weſt-Saxons. His Death, l. 3. p. 147, 149.

Crimes, all redeemable by Fines in Edward the Elder's time, and long after, l. 5. p. 326.

Puniſhable rather by Mulcts than by Blood, in King Athelſtan's time, Id. p. 342.

For what no ſatisfaction ſhould be made by way of Compenſation, l. 6. p. 59.

Criminal; none knowingly and voluntarily to have Peace with, or harbour any one that is condemned; and what ſuch forfeit that act contrary to this Law, l. 5. p. 326.

None to abſent themſelves from the Gemots, or Hundred-Courts; and if any do, what courſe ſhall be taken about him, l. 6. p. 14.

No petty Offendor to be put to Death, by Cnute's Law, Id. p. 58.

Crown. After Cnute had found the weak and bounded Power of Kings, by the Tide's refuſing to obey his Majeſtick Commands, he returns home, and would wear his Crown no longer, but orders it to be hung on the head of the Crucifix at Wincheſter, l. 6. p. 57.

Croyland; the whole Iſle granted by King Ethelbald's Charter to this Monaſtery, l. 4. p. 218.

The Lands and Privileges of the Abbey confirmed by King Egbert in a Great Council, l. 5. p. 254.

The Privileges and Grants of King Withlaff to this Monaſtery, confirmed in a General Council of the whole Kingdom, Id. p. 257.

The Charter of King Berthwulf to this Abbey, confirmed under the Rule of St. Benedict at Kingsbury, ſuppoſed to be a Great Council of the Kingdom, Id. p. 261.

The Monaſtery and Church, with a Noble Library of Books, and all its Charters, burnt and utterly deſtroyed by the Danes, Id. p. 271, 272.

Is repaired and much enriched by Abbot Turketule, who by adding ſix more to the two Bells there, made the firſt tuneable Ring of Bells in England, l. 6. p. 12.

Cryſanthius, ſent by Theodoſius, as his Lieutenant, to ſuppreſs the Incurſions of the Picts and Scots, l. 2. p. 97.

Cuckamſley-hill in Berkſhire, by the Saxons called Cwichelmeſlaw, l. 6. p. 32.

Cumbran, a moſt Noble Ealdorman, for repreſenting the People's Grievances to cruel King Sigebert, at the Requeſt of the Subjects, is ſlain by him, l. 4. p. 226, 227.

Cuneglaſus, ſuppoſed by ſome Antiquaries to have been King of the Northern or Cambrian Britains, l. 3. p. 139, 145.

Cureſcot, or Cyreſcot, that is, Firſt-Fruits, or Money given to the Church, l. 6. p. 55, 56.

Cutha. Vid. Cuthwulf.

Cuthbert, ordained Biſhop of Lindisfarne. His Noble Character, and approaching Death, l. 4. p. 201, 202.

Retires (after he had reſigned his Biſhoprick) to Farne-Iſland, and there deceaſes; but his Body is tranſlated to Lindisfarne, Id. p 204.

Called

Called St. Cuthbert, *and eſteemed to have been a very holy man,* Id. p. 215. l. 5. p. 286.

Cuthbryht, *or* Cuthbert, *upon the Death of* Nothelm, *is conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 4. p. 224.

Sate Archbiſhop eighteen years, and then deceaſes, Id. p. 228.

His Body, after a hundred years, removed by Aldune *from* Cunecæaſter (*i. e.* Cheſter) *to the place where the City of* Durham *was afterwards built,* l. 6. p. 26.

Cuthred *had Three thouſand Hides of Land given him by* Cenwalc, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *near* Æſcaſdune, l. 4. p. 182.

He was the Son of Cwichelme, Ibid.

His Death, Id. p. 186.

Cuthred, *Couſin to* Ethelred, *ſucceeds him in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons. *His War with* Ethelbald, *King of the* Mercians, *with various Succeſſes. He and* Ethelbald *fight againſt the* Britains, l. 4. p. 224, 226.

In the Twelfth Year of his Reign fights againſt Ethelune *the Ealdorman, and prevails,* Id. p. 225.

He and Ethelune *reconciled, and both fight againſt* Ethelbald, *who fled. His Deceaſe, and* Sigebert *his Couſin ſucceeds to him,* Id. p. 226.

Cuthred, *King of* Kent, *made King thereof by* Kenwulf; *inſtead of* Ethelbert, *called* Præn. *His Death,* l. 5. p. 248, 251.

Cuthwulf, *or* Cutha, *Brother to* Ceawlin, *fights againſt the* Britains *at* Bedicanford, *and takes Four Towns,* l. 3. p. 145.

They both fight againſt the Britains, *at a place called* Frethanleag, *where* Cutha *is ſlain,* Id. p. 147. l. 4. p. 159.

Cwichelme, *Brother to* Ceawlin, *his Death,* l. 3. p. 149.

Cwichelme *and* Cynegils *fight with the* Britains *at* Beamdune, *and there ſlay Two thouſand and forty ſix men,* l. 4. p. 166.

His Character, and how related to Cynegils, Id. p. 167.

Matthew Weſtminſter's *miſtake concerning his Death,* Id. p. 172.

Fights with Penda, *King of* Mercia, *at* Cirenceſter, *and at laſt a League is made between them,* Id. p. 174.

Is converted, and baptized into the Chriſtian Faith, and ſoon after dies, Id. p. 179.

Cycle *of Eighty four years, an account of it; the uſe of which the* Romans *having left off, took up another of nineteen years,* l 4. p. 160.

Cynebald *the Biſhop, reſigns his See at* Lindisfarne, l. 4. p. 232.

Cynebryht, *Biſhop of the* Weſt-Saxons, *goes to* Rome, *to take the Habit of a Monk,* l. 4. p. 242.

Cynegils; *when he began to reign over the* Weſt-Saxons, *and whoſe Son he was,* l. 4. p. 166. *Vid.* Cwichelme.

His Character, Id. p. 167.

Fights with Penda *at* Cirenceſter, *and the Succeſs thereof,* Id. p. 174.

The Weſt-Saxons *receive the Chriſtian Faith in his Reign, and himſelf too,* Id. p. 179.

Cyneheard *ſucceeds* Hunferth *in the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter, l. 4. p. 226.

Cyneheard Ætheling, *Brother to* Sigebert, *kills* Cynwulf, l. 4. p. 226, 232.

Is ſlain by the Thanes *of King* Cynewulf, *and lies buried at* Axminſter, Id. p. 233.

Cynoth, *King of the* Picts, *to whom* Alhred, *King of the* Northumbers, *fled, after he was depoſed,* l. 4. p. 230.

Cynric *fights againſt the* Britains *at* Searebyrig (*i. e.* Old Sarum) *and puts them to flight,* l. 3. p. 142.

And at Banbury, *anciently called* Berinbyrig, Id. p. 243.

His Death; and Ceawlin *his Son reigns after him,* Ibid.

Cynric Ætheling, *a Prince of the Blood-Royal of the* Weſt-Saxons *is ſlain; Son of* Cuthred, *a great Warrior for his time, and how he fell,* l. 4. p. 225.

Cynwulf, *with the Great Council, depoſes* Sigebert, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *and by them is unanimouſly* elected *King in his room. He often overcomes the* Britains *in fight, but at laſt is ſlain,* l. 4. p. 226, 227.

And Offa, *King of the* Mercians, *fight at* Benſington *in* Oxfordſhire, Id. p. 230.

Is ſlain by Cyneheard, *but he fell likewiſe with him,* Id. p. 232.

Buried at Wintenceſter; *he was deſcended from* Cerdic, Id. p. 233. *Vid.* Kenwulf.

D

Dagobert, *King of the* French, *his Death,* l. 4. p. 217.

Dalliance *with other men's Wives, the Fine impoſed for it by* Alfred's *Law,* l. 5. p. 293.

Danegelt, *viz. Seventy two thouſand Pounds paid as a Tribute throughout* England, *beſides Eleven thouſand Pounds more, which the Citizens of* London *paid,* l. 6. p. 51.

Vid. Tribute *and* Tax.

It was now by conſtant Uſage become a Prerogative, Id. p. 66.

This cruel Burthen taken off the Nation by Edward *the* Confeſſor, *and how it came to paſs,* Id. p. 78.

What it was, and upon what occaſion it was firſt impoſed. The Church always excuſed from this Payment till Will. Rufus's *time,* Id. p. 100.

Danes,

Danes, *upon their firſt arrival in* England *were forced to fly to their Ships again. Theſe and the* Normans *then looked upon to be but one and the ſame People*, l. 4. p. 235.

Miſerably deſtroying the Churches of God in Lindisfarne, *and committing great Ravages*, Id. p. 238.

Deſtroy Northumberland, *and rob the Monaſtery built there by* Egbert, Id. p. 240.

Their Invaſion and Conqueſt of ſeveral Principalities, till expelled by King Alfred, *and his Son* Edward *the* Elder, *when theſe Kingdoms became united under the general name of* England. *An account of their Invaſion, both as to its Cauſes and Inſtruments, by which effected, being the fierceſt and moſt cruel that this Iſland ever felt*, Id. p. 246.

Their Nation in the Saxon *Annals called ſometimes* Northmanna, *and ſometimes* Deanſcan, l. 5. p. 256.

They keep the Field at the Battel of Carrum (*now* Charmouth *in Dorſetſhire*) *from* Egbert, Id. p. 256.

Conſultation in a General Council of the whole Kingdom how to prevent their Invaſion. A great Fleet of them land among the Weſtern-Welſh, (*that is,* Corniſh-Men) *and fight* Egbert, Id. p. 257.

Daniſh *Pyrates beaten at* Southampton *by* Wulfheard *the Ealdorman; they fight again, and their various Succeſſes*, Id. p. 258, 259.

Fight with the Somerſetſhire *and* Dorſetſhire *Men, but are miſerably worſted*, Id p. 260.

Their ſeveral Battels and Succeſſes, Id. p. 261, 262.

They take Wincheſter *from King* Ethelbert, Id. p. 266.

Make a League with the Kentiſh-men, *but for all that they waſte all the* Eaſt *part of it, as knowing they could get more by Plunder than peace. A great Army of them land here, and take up their Winter-quarters among the* Eaſt-Angles, *who are forced to make Peace with them; then they march to* York, *Kill the Two Kings there, and put to flight the whole Army, as well within as without the Town*, Id. p. 267.

Make one Egbert *King over the* Northumbers, *though under the* Daniſh *Dominion*, Id. p. 268.

Force the Mercians *to make Peace with them*, Id. p. 269.

Return to York, *where they ſtay Twelve Months, and commit horrible Cruelties there, and in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles, *which they wholly conquer*, Id. p. 269, 270.

Landing in Lincolnſhire, *they ſpoil all that Country, committing Murthers and Deſolations without mercy, though not without great loſſes to themſelves*, Id. p. 271, 272.

The reaſon of their Invading the Kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles, Id. p. 272, 273.

Going into the Weſt-Saxon *Kingdom to* Reading *in* Berkſhire, *are routed*, Id. 274, 275.

In other places meet with various Succeſſes of good and evil fortune, Id. p. 276.

Enter into a Peace with the Engliſh Saxons *to depart the Kingdom, which they did not long obſerve; for the next year they land again, and take up their Winter-Quarters in* London, *and the* Mercians *forced to make Peace with them. They deſtroy* Alcluid *in* Scotland; *oblige* Burhred, *King of* Mercia, *to deſert his Kingdom and go to* Rome; *and bring the whole Kingdom under their Dominion and Vaſſalage*, Id. p. 277.

Deſtroy the whole Country of Northumberland, *and ravag up to* Galloway; *ruin* Warham *in* Dorſetſhire, *a ſtrong Caſtle of the* Weſt-Saxons; *give Hoſtages to King* Alfred, *but upon breach of their Oath are all put to death. From whence they date their Reign over the King of* Northumbers. *A Hundred and twenty of their Ships caſt away in a ſtorm near* Swanwick *in* Hampſhire, Id. p. 278.

Fix their Quarters in Weſt-Saxony, *and make* Ælfred *very uneaſy*, Id. p. 280.

Hinguar *their Captain, with Twelve Hundred Men ſlain near the Caſtle of* Kenwith, Id. p. 281.

Are ſignally beaten by King Ælfred, *ſo as to deſire Peace on Conditions*, Id. p. 282, 283.

The Laws made between them and King Ælfred *in a Common Council of the Kingdom, acknowledging his Superiority over them*, Id. p. 285.

Beſiege the City of Rocheſter, *build a ſtrong Fort before the Gates of it, but however they are forced to retire and go to their Ships*, Id. p. 286.

One Fleet of theirs beaten by King Alfred; *another meeting him on his Return home, prove too hard for him. The Peace lately made with King* Alfred, *broke by the* Danes *of* Eaſt-England, Id. p. 286, 287.

Beaten by the Bretons, *and by* Arnulf *the Emperor*, Id p. 298.

Infeſt the Kingdom for Three years worſe than ever; their landing in Kent, *and their various Succeſſes*, Id. p. 298, 299, 300, 301, 302.

Fight at Holme *with the* Kentiſh-men, *and their ſucceſs,* l. 5. p. 312, 313.

Break their League with King Edward *the* Elder ; *afterwards are beaten by the* Engliſh *in* Staffordſhire, Id. p. 315, 316.

Commit great Ravage and Slaughter in Oxfordſhire, *and ſeveral other Countries, but* [illegible]*en worſted,* Id. p. 319, 321.

[illegible]*ir power beginning to decreaſe, and that of the* Engliſh *to increaſe,* Id. p. 321, 322.

Burn Taviſtock *in leſs than Fifty years after it was founded,* l. 6. p. 4.

With the Welſhmen *that aſſiſted them, routed by* Howel ap Jevaf, *their Pyrates deſtroy* Southampton, *and commit great Ravage there: They land in* Cornwal, *and Burn the Church and Monaſtery of St.* Petroc, Id. p. 20.

They land in Dorſetſhire, *and ſpoil the Iſle of* Portland, Id. p. 21.

Deſtroy Weedport (*that is* Watchet) *in* Somerſetſhire, Id. p. 22.

As likewiſe the whole Iſle of Angleſey, *and the Town of* Ipſwich *in* Suffolk, Id. p. 23.

Several Tributes paid them, and yet thoſe did not long ſatisfy their Covetouſneſs, Id. p. 25, 29, 32.

Their Fleet eſcape by flight from being encompaſſed by King Ethelred*'s,* Id. p. 23.

Come hither again with Ninety three Ships, and ravaging ſeveral Countries, Id. p. 24, 25.

Maintained by the Weſt-Saxons, *and received a great Tribute beſides,* Id. p. 25.

Take much plunder from the Welſh, Cornwal, *and* Devonſhire, *&c.* Id. p. 26, 27.

And the Spoils, Burnings, and Deſolations they made where-ever they came, Id. p. 28. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45, 46, 47, 74.

Leagues made with them, but they never regarded them long, Id. 28, 31.

King Ethelred *commands all the* Danes *that could be found in* England *to be ſlain, with the reaſon why; which was moſt barbarouſly put in Execution, eſpecially at* London; *but not long after it was bloodily revenged,* Id. p. 29, 30, 31.

They inſolently demand greater Tribute of the King and Kingdom, l. 6. p. 35.

Two thouſand of them periſh by divers inward Torments; Their ſubmiſſion to King Ethelred *upon Conditions,* Id. p. 36, 37.

Upon a Peace with Edmond Ironſide, *they take up their Winter-Quarters at* London, Id. p. 48.

They and the Engliſh *are reconciled and united at* Oxford, *at a Great Council,* Id. p. 51.

At the Election *of* Edward *the* Confeſſor, *the Great Council agreed and Swore, That no* Danes *ſhould Reign over them any more, and why,* Id. p. 70.

Lothen *and* Yrling, Danes, *with Five and twenty Ships, landing at* Sandwic, *commit great havock, and carry off abundance of Booty,* Id. p. 74.

Daniel, *the Learned and moſt Pious Biſhop of* Bangor, *in what Age he lived among the* Britains, l. 3. p. 149.

Daniel, *being worn out by Age, reſigns the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter *to* Hunferth, l. 4. p. 224.

His Death, after he had been Three and forty years a Biſhop, Id. p. 225.

Darwent, *a River near* York, *not far from which ſtood an* Idol-Temple, *called* Godmundingham, *in King* Edwin*'s time,* l. 4. p. 174.

David, (*afterwards Sainted*) *ſucceeds* Dubritius *in the Archbiſhoprick of* Caer-Leon, l. 3. p. 149.

Is ſaid to have been Uncle by the Mother ſide to King Athur, Ibid.

St. Davids *deſtroyed by the* Danes, *who ſlew* Urgeney *the Biſhop of that See,* l. 6. p. 27.

Deadly Feuds, *vid.* Quarrels.

Death, *None to Die for ſmall offences, but Mercy to be ſhewn to ſuch Criminals by King* Cnute*'s Law,* l. 6. p. 58.

He that dies in fight, &c. *his* Heriot *ſhall be remitted, and his Children ſhall equally divide his Goods and Lands between them,* Id. p. 60.

Decennary, *every one of Twelve years old to be entered into it,* l. 6. p. 58, 104.

Decianus (Catus) *ſolicited by the* Romans *here to ſend them ſome Aſſiſtance againſt the* Iceni *and* Trinobantes, l. 2. p. 47, 48.

Decimation, *a very ſtrange one indeed, which the* Danes *made both of the Monks and Laity, ſo that but One out of Ten perſons was kept alive,* l. 6. p. 36.

Decius (Scil.) Quintus Trajanus, *a great Enemy to Chriſtianity; he raiſed the Seventh Perſecution,* l. 2. p. 81.

Defamation, *puniſhable by cutting out the Tongue of the Party, or redeeming it with the Value of his Head,* l. 6. p. 13.

Degradation *of a Prieſt for Murther, (as well as Confiſcation of all his Eſtate) unleſs his Lord will obtain his Pardon by the Price of his Head,* l. 5. p. 297.

Degſa-ſtan (*or* Degſtan) *where* Adian, *jealous of* Ethelfrid*'s great Succeſs, came againſt him with a powerful Army, but was routed,* l. 4. p. 159.

Deira, *a Kingdom in* Northumberland, *whoſe Kings were generally named* Ella, l. 4. p. 152.

And Bernicia, *united into one Kingdom in* Oſwald*'s time,* Id. p. 178.
Demetæ, *that is,* South-Welſhmen, l. 3. p. 139 *Vid.* Venedoti.
Denulph, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *his Education, Advancement, and Death,* l. 5. p. 315.
Deomed, *ſuppoſed to be* South-Wales, l. 5. p. 319.
Deorham, *now* Durham *in* Glouceſterſhire, l. 3. p. 146.
Depoſition, *the firſt Inſtance of it by the Authority of the* Great Council, l. 4. p. 227.
  Alhred *depoſed by the Common Council, and Conſent of his own Subjects,* Id. p. 230.
  Of Edwi, *confirmed by the Common Council of the Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 354. & Sparſim.
Deprivation *of* Boſa, *Biſhop of* Dunmoc, *and for what,* l. 4. p. 193.
Derawnde, *now called* Beverley *in* Yorkſhire, l. 4. p. 202.
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Devils-Ditch, *formerly divided the* Mercian *Kingdom from that of the* Eaſt-Angles, l. 4. p. 239. l. 5. p. 313.
Deviſe of Lands *by Will. Vid.* Teſtament.
Deuſdedit *the Pope,* grants Adrian *the Abbot of* Canterbury, *a Privilege concerning the free Election of the Abbot of that Monaſtery,* l. 4. p. 165.
Deuſdedit, *conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and was the firſt* Engliſh *Monk that had ever been choſen Archbiſhop of that See, and the firſt Biſhop conſecrated, but by one; he changed his Name to this, having before been called* Fridona, *or* Fridon, l. 4. p. 186.
  His Death, Id. p. 189.
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  Reſigned his Biſhoprick, and became an Anchoret in the Iſle of Bardſey, Ibid.
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    A great Propagator of Monkery, many Monaſteries being either new built, or new founded in his time. Exerciſed Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline without reſpect of perſons; witneſs the Penance he made King Edgar ſubmit to, Ibid.
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E

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Eadburga, *Daughter to King* Offa, *Marries* Brithtrick *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, l. 4. p. 235.

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Ealfric, *an Ealdorman, and one of King* Ethelred's *Admirals, who was to have encompaſs'd the* Daniſh *Fleet by ſurpiſe, but underhand he betrays the deſign, ſending them notice to take care of themſelves; and the night before the intended* Engagement, *goes over to them himſelf,* l. 6. p. 23, 24.

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Departs from the Northumbers, *and afterwards Conſecrates and places on the Throne* Eardwulf, *who had begun his Reign over* Northumberland *about a Month before,* Id. p. 240.

His Death and Burial at York *the Year after,* Id. p. 241.

Another *of the ſame Name upon his Deceaſe was Conſecrated Archbiſhop of* York, *and the Year following he received the Pall,* Ibid.

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Eardulf *ſucceeds* Alfred, *or* Ealfert, *in the Kingdom of the* Northumbers, *but is expelled from it within Two Months by a Plot laid againſt him,* l. 4. p. 213.

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Aldhelm, *Abbot of* Malmeſbury, *wrote an excellent Book about the Keeping of* Eaſter; *whereby he converted many of the* Britains *then Subject to the* Weſt-Saxons, Id. p. 213.

Naitan, *King of the* Picts, *concerns himſelf about the Celebration of* Eaſter; *and it is appointed to be kept on the Firſt* Sunday *after the* Firſt Full Moon *that follows the* Vernal Equinox, l. 4. p. 216.

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Eaſt-Saxons, *the beginning of this Kingdom by* Erchenwin, *the Son of* Offa, *according to* H. Huntington, l. 3. p. 138.

It had London *(the Chief City of* England*) under its Dominion,* Ibid.

This Kingdom was divided from that of Kent *by the River* Thames, *&c.* l. 4. p. 159.

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Eatta, *Biſhop of the Province of* Bernicia, *had his Epiſcopal See at* Hagulſtad, l. 4. p. 197.

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Of the Sun *which was ſo great, that it's whole Orb ſeemed as it were covered with a black Shield.* Another *of the* Moon, *appearing firſt as ſtained with Blood, which laſted a whole hour, and then a Blackneſs following, it returned to its own Colour,* l. 4. p. 222.

One of the Moon,
From the Cock Crowing till the morning, Id. p. 240.
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Gives Wilfrid Commiſſion to convert and baptize in his Province, Id. p. 197.
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Is elected by the Mercians and Northumbrians their King, and confirmed ſo by the Common Council of the Kingdom, Id. p. 354.
On the death of his Brother Edwi, is elected by the Clergy and Laity King of the Weſt-Saxons; and though he was not the firſt, yet he was the beſt that deſerved the Title of Firſt Monarch of all England, l. 6. p. 1.
And ſo he ſtiles himſelf in his Charter to the Abbey of Glaſtenbury, Id. p. 9.
His great Charity, and the Nation's happineſs under him, Id. p. 2, 11.
Seven years Penance is impoſed upon him by Archbiſhop Dunſtan (part of which was, That he ſhould not wear his Crown all that time), and that for taking a Nun out of a Cloyſter, and then debauching her, Id. p. 3.
Haraſſes North-Wales with War, till he forces a Peace, upon this Condition, That the Tribute in Money ſhould be turned into that of ſo many Wolves-Heads yearly, Id. p. 3, 4, 11.
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Marries Ethelfreda (or Elfreda) Daughter of Ordgar Earl of Devonſhire; and his Iſſue by her, Id. p. 5, 6.
Hath an Elder Son by Elfleda, ſirnamed, The Fair Daughter of Earl Eodmar, who is called afterwards, Edward the Martyr; but doubtful whether he was married to her, or not, Id. p. 6.
Places Nuns in the Monaſtery of Rumſey in Hampſhire; commands all the Countrey of Thanet to be laid waſte, and for what reaſon, Ibid.
Cauſes the Chanons to be driven out of all the greater Monaſteries in Mercia, and Monks to be put in their places, Id. p. 7.
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Edgitha, Daughter of King Egbert, is firſt bred up under an Iriſh Abbeſs, and then made Abbeſs her ſelf of the Nunnery of Poleſworth, l. 5. p. 257.
Another of this Name, King Athelſtan's Siſter; her Marriage with Sihtric, the Daniſh King of Northumberland; and being afterwards a Widow, ſhe became a Nun at Poleſworth. Her Character, and the Falſe Story of the Scots upon her, Id. p. 330.
Edgitha, or Editha, Daughter of Earl Godwin, married to Edward the Confeſſor, a Lady not only Beautiful and Pious, but Learned above her Sex in that Age, l. 6. p. 72, 73, 96.
An improbable Story of her cauſing Goſpatrick to be murthered, upon the Account of her Brother Toſtige, l. 6. p. 90.
Subſcribes King Edward's Charter of Endowment of the Abbey of Weſtminſter, Id. p. 94.

p. 94. Vid. *more in* Tit. Edward the Confeſſor.

Edinburgh, *anciently called* Mount-Agned, *built by* Ebrank, *the Son of* Manlius, l. 1. p. 10.

In the Poſſeſſion of the Engliſh-Saxons, *when, and how long,* l. 5. p. 249.

Editha, *Daughter to King* Edgar *by* Wilfreda, (*whom he took out of a Cloyſter at* Wilton) *and who was afterwards Abbeſs of the ſaid Nunnery,* l. 6. p. 3, 12, 20.

Edmund *the* Martyr, *anointed King of the* Eaſt-Angles *by Biſhop* Humbert, *at fifteen years of Age, at* Buram, *then the Royal Seat,* l. 5. p. 265.

An Account of his Pedigree, Education, living in Germany, *Return into* England, *and* Election *to the Kingdom, which, as well as himſelf, he ſubmitted to the direction of Biſhop* Humbert; *his Reign Fourteen Years in Peace, and his Glorious End of Martyrdom,* Ibid. p. 273.

Fighting with the Danes, *they ſlew him, and wholly conquer that Kingdom,* Id. p. 269, 273.

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Had a Church and Monaſtery erected to his Memory, Id. p. 274, 323.

Edmund, *Prince,* (*Son to* Edward *the* Elder) *the relation of his commanding part of his Father's Army, with his Brother* Edred, *cannot be true, for he was but Four Years old when his Father died,* l. 5. p. 321.

A great Benefactor to the Church built over the Tomb of King Edmund *the* Martyr, Id. p. 323.

He and his Brother Athelſtan *overcome the* Scots *about* Bromrige *in the* North, Id. p. 334.

Succeeds his Brother Athelſtan *in the Kingdom at eighteen years of Age. Invades* Mercia, *and forces* Leiceſter, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, *and* Derby (*all then under the Power of the* Danes) *to ſubmit to him. The Battel he had with* Anlaff, *and the Agreement made at laſt between theſe two Kings,* Id. p. 343.

Conquers Anlaff, *expels him the Kingdom of* Northumberland, *and adds it to his own Dominions,* Ibid. p. 344.

Subdues the whole Countrey of Cumberland, *giving it to* Malcolme *King of Scots, upon this Condition, That he ſhould aſſiſt him both by Sea and Land,* Id. p. 344.

Sends Ambaſſadors to Prince Hugh *of* France, *to reſtore King* Lewis. *His deceaſe, and the manner of it. His Burial at* Glaſtenbury; *with his great Benefaction to that Abbey. He ſtiles himſelf in his Charter,* King *of the Engliſh,* and Governor and Ruler of the other Nations round about, Id. p. 345.

The Laws he made in the Great Council he held at London, Id. p. 346, 347, 348.

The Legend of St. Edmund's *Ghoſt ſtabbing King* Sweyn *the* Dane, l. 6. p. 39, 40.

Edmund, *a Son of King* Alfred, *born before Prince* Edward (*commonly called the* Elder) *is crowned King by his Father's Appointment, in his Life-time, but dying before him, he was buried in the Abbey-Church of* Wincheſter, l. 5. p. 311.

Edmund Ætheling, *marries the Widow of* Sigeferth (*who was lately murthered*) *againſt his Father's Will, upon the Fame of her Beauty and Virtue: And invades all the Countrey where her Husband's Lands lay,* l. 6. p. 40.

His Expedition againſt Cnute *and* Ædric *of little ſervice to him, and why,* Id. p. 41.

Is Elected *King by all the Great and Wiſe Men then at* London, *together with the Citizens, upon his Father's deceaſe; though he held it but a ſhort time, and that with great difficulty. He is called* Ironſide, *for his Strength both of Body and Mind, and born of a Concubine,* Id. p. 45.

The ſeveral Battels he fought with Cnute *and his Party,* Id. p. 45, 46, 47.

His Prudence not to be commended, though his Courage and Conſtancy were praiſe-worthy, Id. p. 46.

Concludes a Peace with King Cnute, *and the Particulars of it,* Id. p. 47, 48.

His Deceaſe (*being murthered*), *and Burial at* Glaſtenbury, *with his Grandfather King* Edgar, Id. p. 48, 49.

His Children (Edward *and* Edmund) *excluded from the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, *and by whom. They were ſent to the King of* Sweden *to be made away; but he generouſly conveyed them to* Solyman *King of* Hungary, *to be educated, where* Edmund *died,* Id. p. 49.

St. Edmundsbury, *anciently called* Badriceſworth, *where King* Cnute *built a Noble Monaſtery,* l. 5. p. 323.

Is given by King Edmund, *with divers other Lands, to build a Church and Monaſtery in Memory of St.* Edmund *the* Martyr, Id. p. 345.

For ever exempt from all Juriſdiction of the Biſhops and Earls of that Countrey, by Parliament, *according to the* MS. l. 6. p. 52.

Edred, *an Abbot of* Northumberland, *made a certain Youth, ſold to a Widow at* Withingham (*whom he redeemed*) King; *and by that means the Church got all that Countrey, now called the Biſhoprick of* Durham, l. 5. p. 286.

~~Edred, Brother to King Athelſtan and Edmund, takes upon him the Title of Firſt Monarch, l. 5. p. 331.~~
Is made King, and the manner of his Succeſſion; Crowned at Kingſton, reduces all Northumberland under his Obedience; and upon their relapſe, lays the whole Country waſte, Id. p. 349, 350.
Their continual Rebellions againſt him, and his regaining that Kingdom, Id. p. 350.
The Firſt King of England that ſtiled himſelf Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, as appears by a Charter of his to the Abbey of Croyland, Id. p. 351.
Dies in the Flower of his Age, of what; his Character and Iſſue, Id. p. 351, 352.
Edric, vid. Ædric.
Edwal ap Meyric, is received by the Inhabitants of the Iſle of Angleſey for their Prince; he was the right Heir of North-Wales; routs Meredith in a ſet Battel, l. 6. p. 24.
But is ſlain in Battel by Sweyne, the Son of Harold the Dane, Id. p. 25.
Edwal Ugel (that is, the Bald) Succeeds his Father Anarawd, and is ſtiled by Hiſtorians, Supreme King of all Wales, l. 5. p. 316.
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Conjectured to be Cadwallo by Dr. Powel, and Mr. Vaughan, l. 4. p. 205.
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Meets with a great Diſturbance at his firſt entrance to the Crown from Æthelwald his Couſin-German, Ibid. & p. 312.
Builds new Towns, and repairs Cities that had been before deſtroyed. Id. p. 312.
Has great Battels with the Danes, but at laſt he overcomes them all; calls a great Council, (though the place where is not ſpecified, but wherein Plegmund preſided) which appoints Biſhops over each of the Weſtern-Counties, and makes Five out of Two Dioceſſes, Id. p. 313.
Subdues Eaſt-Sex, Eaſt-England, and Northumberland, with many other Provinces, which the Danes had long before been poſſeſſed of, Id. p. 314, 315.
Very much waſts Northumberland with his Army, and deſtroys many Danes, Id. p. 315.
Takes the Cities of London and Oxenford into his own hands; Commands the Town of Hertford to be New Built; Builds and Fortifies another Town at Witham near Maldon in Eſſex, Id. p. 316.
Confirms to the Doctors and Scholars of Cambridg, by Charter, all their former Privileges to endure for ever by a perpetual Right, Id. p. 317, 318.
Builds Two Forts on both ſides the River Ouſe in Buckinghamſhire, to oppoſe the Danes, who at laſt (almoſt all) ſubmit to him, Id. p. 319, 320.
Has the Town of Bedford ſurrendred to him, where he built a Caſtle; Rebuilds and Fortifies the Town of Maldon; and makes the whole Nation of the Mercians ſubmit to him, Id. p. 320.
Overcomes Leofred the Dane, and Griffyth ap Madac, Brother-in-Law to the Prince of Weſt-Wales, Id. p. 321.
The ſeveral Towns he ordered to be rebuilt, l. 5. p. 321, 322, 323, 324.
Is accepted for Lord and Protector by ſeveral Countries under the Daniſh Dominions, and adds the Kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles to his own, Id. p. 322, 323.
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Ælfleda, the Daughter of the Earl Æthelem, was his Queen and Wife, Id. p. 327.
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His Children, how bred up, and beſtowed in Marriage, &c. Id. p. 327.
His Character of being Mild and Humble as well as Couragious, Id. p. 328.
No Martyr, as Buchanan in his Hiſtory fancies him, and why, Id. p. 332.
Edward Ætheling, Son of King Edmund, ſirnamed Ironſide, Marries Agatha, the Queen of Hungay's Siſter; his Iſſue by her, l. 6. p. 49.
Is ſought by Ambaſſy to return into England, which he did about Three years after, together with his Children, and ſoon after Dies, his Body being Buried in St. Paul's Church, Id. p. 86, 87.
Edward (Sirnamed the Martyr) is Elected in a great Council, and preſently Anointed King according to his Father Edgar's Appointment, l. 6. p. 15.
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Is Killed, by whom, and by what, at Corfeſgeate, now Corfe-Caſtle in the Iſle of Purbeck, and buried at Werham without any Royal Pomp, having Reigned Three years and a half, Id. p. 17, 18.
His Character, Ibid.
His Body taken up, and carried and Buried at Shaftsbury with great Solemnity, Id. p. 20.

Edward *the* Confeſſor, *Son of King* Ethelred, *comes into* England *from* Normandy, *and returns no more back, but tarried till his Brother* Hardecnute *died*, l. 6. p. 66, 67.
- *His Advancement to the Crown by* Election *in the Great Council, and how it is effected*, Id. p. 69, 70.
- *His undutifulneſs to his Mother, by taking from her all the Gold and Silver ſhe had, with other things, becauſe of her ſeverity to him formerly, ſhews him not to be altogether ſo great a Saint as the Monks repreſent him*, Id. p. 71, 97.
- *Marries* Edgitha, *or* Editha, *the Daughter of Earl* Godwin, *who was not only Beautiful and Pious, but Learned above the Women of her Age; but he never carnally knew her*, l. 6. p. 72, 73, 97.
- *Sends Biſhops to the Great Council at St.* Remy, *to know what was there decreed concerning the* Chriſtian Faith, Id. p. 74.
- *The Difference between the King and Earl* Godwin *and his Sons, and what the ground of it*, Id. p. 75, 77, 78, 81.
- *Sends away his Wife who had been Crowned Queen, committing her to the Cuſtody of his Siſter, at the Nunnery of* Werwel, *and takes away almoſt all ſhe had*, Id. p. 78.
- *Begs his Mother's Pardon for having ſuffered her to undergo the* Ordeal, *and upon what Account*, Id. p. 79.
- *Hearing Earl* Godwin *was come with his Ships for* England, *he orders his Fleet to purſue him, whereupon he returns to* Bruges, *but ſoon after comes again, and commits many Inſults upon the Sea-coaſts*, Id. p. 80, 81.
- *Reſtores to the Queen, his Wife, (upon his Peace with Earl* Godwin*) whatſoever ſhe had been before poſſeſſed of*, Id. p. 81.
- *In a great Council is Reconciled to Earl* Godwin, *whom he reſtores to his former Honours and Eſtate*, Id. p. 82, 83.
- *Commands* Rees *(the Brother of* Griffyn *King of* South-Wales*) his Head to be cut off, and ſent him to* Glouceſter, *for his Inſolencies againſt the* Engliſh, Id. p. 85.
- *His Forces under* Siward, *the Valiant Earl of* Northumberland, *are ſaid to Conquer* Scotland, Id. p. 86.
- Ælfgar's *Rebellion againſt him twice, and yet he was forced to Pardon him*, Ibid. p. 87, 88.
- *Confirms by his Charter the Foundation of the Abbey of the* Holy-Croſs *at* Waltham *in* Eſſex, Id. p. 89.
- Wales *Subdued, and becomes ſubject to him, the Inhabitants giving Hoſtages*, Ibid.
- *After which he makes Two Brothers Joint-Princes of* North-Wales, l. 6. p. 90.
- *Confirms and renews the Laws of King* Cnute, *at the Requeſt of the* Northumbers, Ibid.
- *Builds* Weſtminſter Church *and* Abbey: *its Conſecration. Calls his* Curia, *or Great Council, to confirm his Charter of Endowment of this Monaſtery. His Sickneſs and Speech to thoſe about him concerning the Viſion he had ſeen of Two Holy Monks that told him of the Miſery which would befall this Nation after his Death*, Id. p. 93, 94, 95.
- *The Application of it, with what befell the Kingdom in ſucceeding Reigns*, Id. p. 96.
- *Recommends upon his Death-bed the Queen to her Brother*, &c. *and highly extols her Chaſtity and Obedience*, Id. p. 96.
- *His laſt Words, Death and Burial in St.* Peter's *Church at* Weſtminſter, Ibid. p. 97.
- *The various reports of his Bequeathing the Crown to his Couſin* William *Duke of* Normandy, Id. p. 96, 97.
- *His Character; and the ſtory of the Boy that Robbed his Cheſt, he being then in the Room*, Id. p. 97, 98, 104.
- *His Miracles, of Curing the Blind, and thoſe Sores we now call the* King's Evil, *and of his being* Elected *King by his Father's Command in a Great Council, whilſt he was in his Mother's Belly*, Id. p. 98.
- *His Laws, or thoſe which bear his Name, becauſe he renewed the Obſervance of them, ſhew what Liberty* Engliſh *Subjects enjoyed before the Conqueſt*, Id. p. 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104.
- *By the Laws of St.* Edward, *are meant the* Engliſh-Saxon *Laws*, Id. p. 104.

Edwi, *When he Began his Reign, and where, and by whom Crowned; he turns the Monks out of* Glaſtenbury, *and out of the greateſt Monaſteries in* England, *placing Secular Channons therein*, l. 3. p. 353.
- *The* Mercians *and* Northumbrians *Depoſing him, Elect* Edgar, *his Brother, for their King, which is confirmed by the Common Council of the Kingdom;* Edwi *having no more left him than that of the* Weſt-Saxons *for his ſhare*, Id. p. 354.
- *His Death, and Character, and Burial at* Wincheſter, Id. p. 355.

Edwin, *of the Blood-Royal of* Northumberland *(being the Son of* Ælla*) is forced to fly from* Ethelfrid, *as a Baniſhed Man, with the cauſe of his future Converſion*, l. 4. p. 169.
- *The wonderful Viſion he had, and the Succeſs of it. He ſucceds* Ethelfrid, *and Baniſhes his Sons*, Id. p. 170.
- *Being Converted to the* Chriſtian Faith, *he receives Baptiſm with all his Noblemen, and*

~~Edred, *Brother to King* Athelſtan *and* Edmund, *takes upon him the Title of Firſt Monarch,* l. 5. p. 331.~~

Is made King, and the manner of his Succeſſion; Crowned at Kingſton, *reduces all* Northumberland *under his Obedience; and upon their relapſe, lays the whole Country waſte,* Id. p. 349, 350.

Their continual Rebellions againſt him, and his regaining that Kingdom, Id. p. 350.

The Firſt King of England *that ſtiled himſelf* Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, *as appears by a Charter of his to the Abbey of* Croyland, Id. p. 351.

Dies in the Flower of his Age, of what; his Character and Iſſue, Id. p. 351, 352.

Edric, *vid.* Ædric.

Edwal ap Meyric, *is received by the Inhabitants of the Iſle of* Angleſey *for their Prince; he was the right Heir of* North-Wales; *routs* Meredith *in a ſet Battel,* l. 6. p. 24.

But is ſlain in Battel by Sweyne, *the Son of* Harold *the* Dane, Id. p. 25.

Edwal Ugel (*that is, the* Bald) *Succeeds his Father* Anarawd, *and is ſtiled by Hiſtorians,* Supreme King of all Wales, l. 5. p. 316.

Edwal Ywrch, *Son of* Cadwallader, *Prince of* Wales, *began to Reign upon his Father's ſuppoſed Journey to* Rome, l. 3. p. 145.

Conjectured to be Cadwallo *by Dr.* Powel, *and Mr.* Vaughan, l. 4. p. 205.

Edward *the* Firſt, (*commonly called the* Elder) *the Son of King* Alfred, *when he began his Reign; he was* Elected *by all the Chief Men of the Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 311.

Meets with a great Diſturbance at his firſt entrance to the Crown from Æthelwald *his* Couſin-German, Ibid. & p. 312.

Builds new Towns, and repairs Cities that had been before deſtroyed. Id. p. 312.

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Subdues Eaſt-Sex, Eaſt-England, *and* Northumberland, *with many other Provinces, which the* Danes *had long before been poſſeſſed of,* Id. p. 314, 315.

Very much waſts Northumberland *with his Army, and deſtroys many* Danes, Id. p. 315.

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Confirms to the Doctors and Scholars of Cambridg, *by Charter, all their former Privileges to endure for ever by a perpetual Right,* Id. p. 317, 318.

Builds Two Forts on both ſides the River Ouſe *in* Buckinghamſhire, *to oppoſe the* Danes, *who at laſt (almoſt all) ſubmit to him,* Id. p. 319, 320.

Has the Town of Bedford *ſurrendred to him, where he built a Caſtle; Rebuilds and Fortifies the Town of* Maldon; *and makes the whole Nation of the* Mercians *ſubmit to him,* Id. p. 320.

Overcomes Leofred *the Dane, and* Griffyth ap Madac, *Brother-in-Law to the Prince of* Weſt-Wales, Id. p. 321.

The ſeveral Towns he ordered to be rebuilt, l. 5. p. 321, 322, 323, 324.

Is accepted for Lord and Protector by ſeveral Countries under the Daniſh *Dominions, and adds the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles *to his own,* Id. p. 322, 323.

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His Deceaſe at Fearndune *in the Province of the* Mercians, Id. p. 324.

Ælfleda, *the Daughter of the Earl* Æthelem, *was his Queen and Wife,* Id. p. 327.

The Laws both Civil *and* Eccleſiaſtical *made in his Reign,* Id. p. 325, 326.

His Children, how bred up, and beſtowed in Marriage, &c. Id. p. 327.

His Character of being Mild and Humble as well as Couragious, Id. p. 328.

No Martyr, *as* Buchanan *in his Hiſtory fancies him, and why,* Id. p. 332.

Edward Ætheling, *Son of King* Edmund, *ſirnamed* Ironſide, *Marries* Agatha, *the Queen of* Hungay's *Siſter; his Iſſue by her,* l. 6. p. 49.

Is ſought by Ambaſſy to return into England, *which he did about Three years after, together with his Children, and ſoon after Dies, his Body being Buried in St.* Paul's *Church,* Id. p. 86, 87.

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Not preſent at the Council of Calne *in* Wiltſhire, *upon the perſuaſion of Archbiſhop* Dunſtan, *as ſuppoſed,* Id. p. 16, 17.

Is Killed, by whom, and by what, at Corſeſgeate, *now* Corſe-Caſtle *in the Iſle of* Purbeck, *and buried at* Werham *without any Royal Pomp, having Reigned Three years and a half,* Id. p. 17, 18.

His Character, Ibid.

His Body taken up, and carried and Buried at Shaftſbury *with great Solemnity,* Id. p. 20.

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His Advancement to the Crown by Election *in the Great Council, and how it is effected,* Id. p. 69, 70.

His undutifulneſs to his Mother, by taking from her all the Gold and Silver ſhe had, with other things, becauſe of her ſeverity to him formerly, ſhews him not to be altogether ſo great a Saint as the Monks repreſent him, Id. p. 71, 97.

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Sends Biſhops to the Great Council at St. Remy, *to know what was there decreed concerning the* Chriſtian Faith, Id. p. 74.

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His Forces under Siward, *the Valiant Earl of* Northumberland, *are ſaid to Conquer* Scotland, Id. p. 86.

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Confirms by his Charter the Foundation of the Abbey of the Holy-Croſs *at* Waltham *in* Eſſex, Id. p. 89.

Wales *Subdued, and becomes ſubject to him, the Inhabitants giving Hoſtages,* Ibid.

After which he makes Two Brothers Joint-Princes of North-Wales, l. 6. p. 90.

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The Application of it, with what befell the Kingdom in ſucceeding Reigns, Id. p. 96.

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His Character; and the ſtory of the Boy that Robbed his Cheſt, he being then in the Room, Id. p. 97, 98, 104.

His Miracles, of Curing the Blind, and thoſe Sores we now call the King's Evil, *and of his being* Elected *King by his Father's Command in a Great Council, whilſt he was in his Mother's Belly,* Id. p. 98.

His Laws, or thoſe which bear his Name, becauſe he renewed the Obſervance of them, ſhew what Liberty Engliſh *Subjects enjoyed before the Conqueſt,* Id. p. 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104.

By the Laws of St. Edward, *are meant the* Engliſh-Saxon *Laws,* Id. p. 104.

Edwi, *When he Began his Reign, and where, and by whom Crowned; he turns the Monks out of* Glaſtenbury, *and out of the greateſt Monaſteries in* England, *placing Secular Channons therein,* l. 3. p. 353.

The Mercians *and* Northumbrians *Depoſing him, Elect* Edgar, *his Brother, for their King, which is confirmed by the Common Council of the Kingdom;* Edwi *having no more left him than that of the* Weſt-Saxons *for his ſhare,* Id. p. 354.

His Death, and Character, and Burial at Wincheſter, Id. p. 355.

Edwin, *of the Blood-Royal of* Northumberland *(being the Son of* Ælla*) is forced to fly from* Ethelfrid, *as a Baniſhed Man, with the cauſe of his future Converſion,* l. 4. p. 169.

The wonderful Viſion he had, and the Succeſs of it. He ſucceds Ethelfrid, *and Baniſhes his Sons,* Id. p. 170.

Being Converted to the Chriſtian Faith, *he receives Baptiſm with all his Noblemen, and*

and a great many of the common people, Id. p. 171, 172, 173, 174.
At laſt is killed by the Pagans, *and his whole Army routed,* Id. p. 174, 176.
Had, after Redwald'*s death, the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles *delivered up to him by the People,* Id. p. 175.
Cauſes Braſs-Pots to be ſet upon Poſts at Fountains near the High-ways, for Travellers to drink in; and had a Banner carried before him as he went through the ſtreets, Ibid.
Chief King over all the Engliſh-Saxons; *overcomes* Cadwallo, *King of the* Britains, *and conquers almoſt all his Countrey,* Id. p. 176.
His Head brought to York, *and depoſited in* St. Peter'*s Church there, which he had begun to build,* Ibid.
He was the fifth *King that ruled over all* Britain, l. 5. p. 254.
Edwin *and* Ethelwin, *Sons of Prince* Ethelwerd, *are ſlain in a fight againſt* Anlaff *King of the* Danes, *and buried in the Church of the Abbey of* Malmeſbury, l. 5. p. 311.
Edwin Ætheling *drowned, (with an Account how); the greateſt Blot in King* Athelſtan'*s Reign,* l. 5. p. 331, 337.
Edwin, *the Brother of* Leofric, *Earl of* Mercia, *is overcome by* Griffyth ap Lewellin ap Sitſylt, *and ſlain at* Pencadair, l. 6. p. 64, 65.
Edwold, *Brother to St.* Edmund *the* Martyr, *lived and died a Hermit, in the Abbey of* Cerne *in* Dorſetſhire, l. 6. p. 22.
Egbert *ſucceeds his Father* Ercenbryht *in the Kingdom of* Kent, l. 4. p. 189.
Gives Reculf *to* Baſſe *the Prieſt; and at his Death beſtows part of the Iſle of* Thanet *to build a Monaſtery, for expiating the Murther of his Couſins, whom he had cauſed to be ſlain. His deceaſe,* Id. p. 192, 193.
Egbert, *the* Prieſt, *a Venerable Perſon, coming out of* Ireland, *converts the Monks of* Hij *to the right Faith, ſo that they afterwards obſerved the Catholick Rites; and when he had lived with them here thirteen years, dies,* l. 4. p. 217, 220.
Egbert, *made Biſhop of* York, *and the next year after receives a Pall from the Pope, whereby he became an Archbiſhop, and ſo Metropolitan of all the* Northumbrian *Provinces, and had ſupreme Juriſdiction over all the Biſhops in* Deira *and* Bernicia, l. 4. p. 222, 223.
His Death and Burial. He was baſe Brother to the King of the ſame Name, who regained the Pall to that See. Built a Noble Library in York, *accounted then one of the beſt in* Europe, Id. p. 223, 229.
Egbert, *the Son of* Æalmond, *was the Father of* Athulf, *or* Athelwulf, l. 4. p. 233.
Egbert, *or* Egferth, *the Son of* Offa *King of the* Mercians, *is anointed King with him,* l. 4. p. 233, 235.
When he began his Reign, but within a few Months after dies, Id. p. 240.
Egbert, *or* Ecgbryht, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *when he began to reign,* l. 4. p. 242.
His Succeſſion to Brihtric, *and afterwards Chief or Supreme King of this Kingdom,* Id. p. 243. l. 5. p. 254.
Through Brihtric'*s jealouſy he is forced to fly to King* Offa *for Refuge, from him he retires into* France, *where he tarries three years, and ſo poliſhes the roughneſs of his own Countrey Manners,* Id. p. 243.
But is, upon Brihtric'*s Death without Iſſue, recalled by the* Weſt-Saxon *Nobility, and* ordained *King, and reigned with great Glory and Honour,* Id. p. 244.
He unites all the Heptarchy into one Kingdom, to the laſting Peace of the Engliſh *Nation* l. 5. p. 245.
Leaves the Mercians, Northumbrians, *and* Eaſt-Angles, *to be held by their reſpective Princes, as Tributaries to his Crown,* Id. p. 2, 46, 253, 254, 255.
Is ordained King, which Ethelwerd *expreſly terms his* Election, *as being the only ſurviving Prince of the Blood-Royal of the* Weſt-Saxon *Kings, as great Nephew to* Ina *by his Brother* Inegilds, Id. p. 247, 255.
And in a Parliament at Wincheſter, *by the Conſent of his People, he changes the name of this Kingdom into that of* England, Id. Ibid.
Makes up a Peace between Eardulf *and* Kenwulf, *and hath it confirmed by Oath,* l. 5. p. 248.
Abſolutely ſubdues Cornwall, *and adds it to his own Kingdom,* Id. p. 249.
Subdues the Northern Welſh-men, *making them Tributary to him, and enters again their Borders (upon a freſh Rebellion) and lays them waſt from* North *to* South, *with Fire and Sword,* Id. p. 250, 251, 254, 255.
Obtains a great Victory over Beornwulf, *King of the* Mercians; *the* Kentiſh *and* Surrey *men, the* South *and* Eaſt-Saxons, *all ſubmit to him,* Id. p. 253, 254, 255.
Subdues the Kingdom of Mercia, *and all the* South *of* Humber. *He was the* Eighth *King that ruled over all* Britain; *the Seven before him are there enumerated,* Id. p. 254.
Is offered Peace and due Subjection by the Northumbers, *having led an Army againſt them as far as* Dore, *a place ſuppoſed to be beyond*

beyond Humber. *He was the greateſt King that till then had ever reigned in* England. *He expels* Withlaff, *King of* Mercia, *and adds it to his own Kingdom,* Id. Ibid.

Vanquiſhes Switherd, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *and drives him out of the Kingdom, which ever after that Expulſion the* Weſt-Saxon *Kings poſſeſſed. He waſtes* Northumberland, *and makes* Eanred, *the King thereof, his Tributary. Is crowned King of* Britain *by the Conſent of the* Clerus *and* Populus, *in a Great Council which he ſummoned to meet at* Wincheſter, Ibid.

Encounters Thirty Ships of Daniſh *Pyrates at* Carrum *in* Glouceſterſhire; *but after a great ſlaughter, the latter kept the field, being the only time that Fortune ceaſed to favour his Undertakings,* Id. p. 256.

Fights the Danes *and* Corniſh-*men at* Hengſton *in* Cornwall, *and beats them. His Death (having reigned thirty ſeven years and ſeven months) and Character. For nine years reigned Supreme King over all* Britain. Id. p. 257.

His Burial at Wincheſter, Id. p. 258.

Egbert, *King of the* Northumbers, *is by them* expelled: *His Death, and who ſucceeded to him,* l. 5. p. 277.

Egelfleda, *ſirnamed the* Fair, *the Daughter of Earl* Ordmar; *whether King* Edgar's *Wife, or Concubine, uncertain,* l. 6. p. 12.

Egelnoth. *Vid.* Ethelnoth.

Egfrid, *or* Ecverth, *ſucceeds* Oſwi *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, l. 4. p. 192.

Wages War with Wulfher, *and wins from him all the Countrey of* Lindſey, Id. p. 193, 196.

Gives Abbot Benedict *as much Land as ſerved Seventy Families, lying near the Mouth of the River* Wir *in the Biſhoprick of* Durham, Id. p. 194.

Had a great Contention with Biſhop Wilfrid, *who was* expelled *his Biſhoprick,* Id. p. 196, 197.

Fights with Ethelfred *near* Trent, Id. p. 198.

Sends a great Army to Ireland, *which miſerably waſtes that Nation,* Id. p. 201.

He and his Army through raſhneſs are all cut off by the Picts, Id. p. 202, 211.

Eglesburh, *now called* Alesbury, *in* Buckinghamſhire, l. 3. p. 145.

Egoneſham, *now* Eniſham, *in* Oxfordſhire, Id. Ib.

Egric, *upon King* Sigebert's *Reſignation, and turning Monk, becomes King of the* Eaſt-Angles, l. 4. p. 179.

His Death, Id. p. 181.

Egwin, *Biſhop of* Worceſter, *founds the Abbey of* Eveſham, *and upon what occaſion reported,* l. 4. p. 216, 217.

Egwinna, *a Lady, the Daughter of a Nobleman, whoſe Name is not certainly known: Her ſtrange Dream, and how ſhe came afterwards to yield to the Importunities of Prince* Edward *the* Elder, *on whom he begot* Athelſtan (*that is,* The moſt Noble), *that ſucceeded him in the Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 326, 327.

Eighth, *the* Eighth, *an Iſland ſo called, in the River* Severne, *anciently known by the name of* Olanege, *where a League was concluded between* Edmund, *ſirnamed* Ironſide, *and King* Cnute, l. 6. p. 47.

Elbodius, *a Learned and Pious Biſhop of* North-Wales, *gets it decreed in a general Synod of the* Britiſh *Nation,* That *Eaſter* ſhould be kept after the *Romiſh* Cuſtom, l. 4. p. 229.

Archbiſhop of North-Wales (*that is, of* St. Aſaph) *deceaſes, but when, uncertain,* l. 5. p. 249.

Election of Kings. *Vid.* Kings.

Eleutherius, *Biſhop of* Rome, *when choſen Pope. The ſtory of* Lucius *his ſending to him to receive Chriſtianity, of ſuſpicious credit,* l. 2. p. 69.

His Letters to King Lucius; *the Contents of them diſcover their Impoſture,* Id. p. 70.

Elfeage, *ſucceeds* Byrnſtan *in the Archbiſhoprick of* Wincheſter, l. 5. p. 333.

Deceaſes at the Feaſt of St. Gregory, Anno 951. Id. p. 350.

Elfeage, *whoſe Sirname was* Goodwin, *ſucceeds* Athelwald *in the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter: *He was firſt Abbot of* Bathe, *and afterwards Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *at laſt was killed by the* Danes, l. 6. p. 21.

Is ſent to King Anlaff, *with* Æthelward *the Ealdorman, and upon what occaſion,* Id. p. 25.

When made and conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Id. p. 31.

Is taken Priſoner by the Danes, *and killed, becauſe they had not Three thouſand Pounds in Silver for his Ranſom; he is buried in* St. Paul's Minſter, Id. p. 36.

His Reliques tranſlated from London *to* Canterbury, *by Archbiſhop* Ethelnoth, Id. p. 53.

Elfer, *Ealdorman of the* Mercians, *drives the Monks out of the Monaſteries, and commands them to be ſpoiled,* l. 6. p. 15.

His Death is reported by the Monks, that he was eaten up with Lice, Id. p. 21.

Elfgar, *Couſin to King* Edgar, *and Earl of* Devonſhire, *his Death,* l. 6. p. 4.

The Son of Earl Leofric, *had the Earldom given him which* Harold *formerly enjoyed,* Id. p. 78.

Is

Is outlaw'd *in a Great Council, and convicted for being a* Traytor to the King and whole Nation. *His going to* Griffyn, *Prince of* North-Wales, *and their burning* Hereford *City*, Id. p. 86, 87.

At length is reſtored to the Peace, and to his former Earldom, Id. p. 87.

Upon the Deceaſe of his Father Leofric, *he receives the Earldom of* Mercia, *and is baniſhed a ſecond time, but ſoon reſtored to his Earldom, and by what Force*, Id. p. 88.

Elfin, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *ſucceeds* Odo *in the Archbiſhoprick of* Canterbury; *his trampling on the Tombſtone of that Pious Prelate*, &c. *Going to* Rome *for his Pall, upon the* Alps *is found frozen to death*, l. 6. p. 2.

Elfleda, *or* Egelfleda, *the Fair Daughter of Earl* Eodmar, *or* Ordmar, *by whom King* Edgar *had a Son, called* Edward the Martyr; *but whether this Lady was married to the King, or not, is uncertain*, l. 6. p. 6, 12.

Elfric, *Archbiſhop, turns the* Secular Chanons *out of the Cathedral of* Chriſt-Church *in* Canterbury, *and places* Monks *in their rooms*, l. 4. p. 167.

Elfwald, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *his Death*, l. 4. p. 225. *Vid.* Alfwald.

Elfwinna, *Daughter and Heir of* Æthelfleda, *is deprived of the Dominion of the* Mercians *by King* Edward the Elder (*upon Contracting her ſelf in Marriage with* Reginald *King of the* Danes) *and brought into* Weſt-Seax *by him*, l. 3. p. 320.

Elgiva, *Vid.* Ælgiva.

Elidurus *the* Pious, *Reſigns the Crown (which the Kingdom had given him) to Reinſtate his Brother who had been* Depoſed, l. 1. p. 14.

After his Brother's Death, he receives the Crown the Second time, but is ſoon Depoſed *by the Ambition of his Brethren, who Seized and Confined his Perſon to the Tower of* London *for ſeveral years, whilſt they divided the Kingdom betwixt them; but they dying, he Reſumes the Crown the Third Time, and Governs for Four years to the general ſatisfaction of all*, Id. p. 15.

Ellendune, *ſuppoſed to be* Wilton *near* Saliſbury, *where a Battel was Fought between* Egbert, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *and* Beornwulf, *King of the* Mercians, l. 5. p. 253.

Ellwye *in* North-Wales, *a Biſhoprick, now known by the Name of St.* Aſaph, l. 3. p. 149.

Elutherius *a Prieſt, comes from* France *to King* Cenwalc, *and is Ordained Biſhop of the* Weſt-Saxons (*that is,* Wincheſter) *by* Theodore *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 4. p. 182, 192.

His Death and Succeſſion, Id. p. 193.

Ely-Monaſtery *Founded by* Etheldrethe, *late Wife to King* Egfrid, *in which ſhe became the firſt Abbeſs*, l. 4. p. 193.

Is deſtroyed by the Danes, *and when; and afterwards Re-edified by King* Edgar, Ibid.

Emma, *ſaid to be King* Ethelred's *only Wife, had* Edward *and* Alfred *by him*, l. 6. p. 45.

Is Married afterwards to King Cnute, *and how ſhe is Cenſured for it*, Id. p. 51.

Her Son Hardecnute, *his Father before his Death appointed to be King of* Denmark, Id. p. 56.

Decreed in a Great Council that ſhe ſhould reſide at Wincheſter *with the Domeſticks of the late King her Husband, and poſſeſs all* Weſt-Saxony: *She is alſo called* Elgiva, Id. p. 61.

Her Deceaſe and Character; is accuſed of having been too Familiar with Biſhop Alwyn, *for which ſhe undergoes the* Ordeal, Id. p. 79.

Emperor, *the Firſt Emperors that were not* Romans, *were* Trajan *and* Hadrian, *who were both* Spaniards, l. 2. p. 67.

Eneon, *the Son of* Owen, *Prince of* South-Wales, *ſubdues all the Countrey of* Gwin, *or* Gwyr, *in* North-Wales, l. 6. p. 6.

Deſtroys it again the ſecond time, Id. p. 16.

The greateſt part of Earl Alfred's *Army is ſlain by him and his Forces, and the reſt put to flight. But the Year after the Gentlemen of* Guentland *in* South Wales *cruelly ſlay him. His Character*, Id. p. 21.

England; Old England *ſeated between the* Saxons *and the* Jutes, *having for its* Capital City *that which is called in the* Saxon *Tongue* Sleſwic, *but by the* Danes Heathaby, l. 3. p. 118.

When the Nation came under this General Name, l. 5. p. 246, 247, 255.

Never had any long reſpite from Invaſions by the Danes, *&c. from King* Egbert's *time to the beginning of the Reign of* William *the Firſt*, l. 5. p. 247.

Waſted for many years by the Danes, Norwegians, Goths, Sweeds, *and* Vandals, Id. p. 255.

Is divided firſt into Counties, *and thoſe into* Hundreds *and* Tythings, *by King* Alfred, Id. p. 291.

Engliſherie, *what, and the Law made concerning it in* Edward *the* Confeſſor's *time*, l. 6. p. 101.

Engliſh-men, *by the general Conſent of the* Clerus *and* Populus *Aſſembled in the Great Council, it is Enacted*, That thoſe who before were called *Jutes*, or *Saxons*, ſhould now be call'd by this Name, l. 5. p. 255, 292.

Engliſh-

Engliſh-Saxons, *their Character, vid.* Saxons.
In one year had fought eight or nine Battles againſt the Danes, *&c. beſides innumerable Skirmiſhes,* l. 5. p. 277.

Entail of the Crown, *mentioned by* Alfred *in his laſt Will to have been made formerly in a* General Council *of the* Weſt-Saxon *Nobility at* Swinburne, l. 5. p. 309.
Of Lands alſo to be in force in his time, Ibid. & 310.

Eoppa, *who he was, and what his Pedigree,* l. 4. p. 217.

Eoric, *a* Daniſh *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *killed in Battel by the* Kentiſh men, l. 5. p. 313.
After his Death the Danes there yielded themſelves up to Edward *the* Elder, l. 5. p. 322, 323.
The Eccleſiaſtical Laws made between this Eoric *(who ſucceeded* Gutherne *in the Government of* Eaſt-England*) and King* Edward, Id. p. 326.

Eorpenwald, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *Son to* Redwald, *when he began his Reign,* l. 4. p. 157.
Is ſucceeded by his Brother Sigebert, *whom formerly he had Baniſhed,* Id. p. 179.

Eorpwald, *or* Eorpald, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *Baptized, but not long after is ſlain by one* Richbert, *a Heathen,* l. 4. p. 175.

Eowils, *ſlain in battel with many thouſands of his* Danes, *at a place called* Wodnesfield, *by King* Edward *the* Elder*'s Army,* l. 5. p. 315.

Ercenbright, *or* Ercombert, *Vid.* Earcombert.

Eric, *the Son of* Harold, *whom the* Northumbers *ſet up for their King, and about a year or two after, drove him out again,* l. 5. p. 350.

Erkenwald, *Younger Son to* Anna *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *is Conſecrated Biſhop of* London *by* Theodore *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *He founded Two Monaſteries before he came to be Biſhop, and for whom,* l. 4. p. 196.
Continued Biſhop thereof till after the Reign of King Ina, Id. p. 201.

Ermenred, *The Eldeſt Son of* Eadbald, *craftily ſupplanted by his Younger Brother* Earcombert, *who got the Kingdom from him. He had Two Sons who were cruelly Murthered by* Thunore, *one of the King's* Thanes, *whom he employed in that Execution,* l. 4. p. 180, 185.

Eſylht, *Daughter to* Conan, *King or Prince of* North-Wales, *Marries* Merwyn Urych *a Nobleman, the Son of* Gwyriad, *who aſterwards was King in her Right,* l. 5. p. 251.

Ethelard *Ordained Archbiſhop of* York, l. 4. p. 238.

Ethelbald *ſucceeds* Ceolred *in the Kingdom of* Mercia, *and holds it One and Forty years,* l. 4. p. 217.

Ethelbald *after his Father's Death ſucceeds him in* Weſt-Saxony, l. 5. p. 265.
Marries his Father's Widow, but afterwards Repenting of the Inceſt, puts her away from him. His Character, Reign, Death and Burial, Id. p. 266. *Vid* Æthelbald.

Ethelbert *King of* Kent, *in his time Pope* Gregory *made the* Engliſh-Saxons Chriſtians, l. 3. p. 143, 153.
Beaten by Ceawlin *and* Cutha *his Brother; his double Character and Alliance,* l. 3. p. 145.
The moſt powerful Prince that had Reigned in Kent, *having extended the bounds of his Dominions as far as* Humber; *he Marries* Bertha, *a Chriſtian Lady, the King of* France *his Siſter, and upon what Conditions,* l. 4. p. 153.
By Auguſtin*'s perſuaſion builds the Church of* St. Peter *and* St. Paul *in* Canterbury, Id. p. 157.
Is Baptized in St. Pancrace *Church there, which before had been a* Heathen *Temple,* Ibid.
Had many noble Preſents ſent him by Pope Gregory, *with a Letter full of Sanatory Advice,* Id. p. 158, 159.
Builds the Church of St. Andrew *at* Rocheſter, *and endows it,* Id. p. 160.
Confirms in a Great Council both of Clergy and Laity, all the Grants and Charters, whereby he had ſettled great Endowments on both Chriſt-Church *and that of* St. Pancrace, Ibid.
But his Charters are very ſuſpitious of being Forged in many reſpects, Id. p. 163.
The Secular Laws *that were Enacted in the Great Council in his time,* Id. Ibid.
His Death and Burial in St. Martin*'s Porch in the Church of* St. Peter *and* St. Paul. *He was the Firſt* Engliſh *King that ever received Baptiſm, and lived above Twenty years after his Converſion,* Id. p. 168.
He was the Third King that Ruled over all Britain, l. 5. p. 254.

Ethelbert *is Conſecrated Biſhop of* Witerne *(called in* Latin, Candida Caſa*) at* York, l. 4. p. 231.
One of his Name, Biſhop of Hagulſtad, *Deceaſes,* l. 4. p. 241.

Ethelbert, *the Son of* Ethelred, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *is ſlain in the Court of King* Offa, *and by whoſe Inſtigations,* l. 4. p. 237.

Ethelbert, *or* Æthelbryht, *after his Brother* Ethelbald*'s Deceaſe, takes the Kingdom, and holds it in great Peace and Quiet from Domeſtick Commotions,* l. 5. p. 266.

His Death lamented, after having Governed Five years to general ſatisfaction; buried at Shireburne, *and is ſuppoſed to have a Son, called* Ethelwald, Id. p. 267.

Ethelbryht, *the Son of King* Withred, *ſucceeds* Eadbryht *King of* Kent, l. 4. p. 225.

Nothing remarkable, but that the City of Canterbury *was Burnt in his Reign,* Id. p. 228.

His Death, Ibid.

Ethelburgh. *Vid.* Æthelburga.

Etheldrethe, *twice married, but would let neither of her Husbands enjoy her, which was accounted in thoſe days a great piece of Sanctity,* l. 4. p. 193, 198.

Is Foundreſs of the Monaſtery of Ely, *in which ſhe her ſelf became the Firſt Abbeſs,* Id. p. 193.

Daughter to Anna, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *her Death; and after Sixteen Years Burial, her Body being taken up as whole as at firſt, ſhe was Canonized, and called St.* Audrey of Ely, Id. p. 198, 199.

Etheldrith, *Daughter to King* Offa (*and once the Spouſe of* Ethelbert, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles), *a holy Virgin that lived in a Cell; wherein* Withlaff *King of the* Mercians *found a ſafe Retreat from the high Diſpleaſure of* Egbert *for Four Months, till he was reconciled to him,* l. 5. p. 254.

Etheler, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *taking part with* Penda *againſt* Oſwy, *is ſlain,* l. 4. p. 185.

Ethelfleda (*the Lady of* Mercia) *builds many Caſtles, to ſecure the* Mercian *Frontiers againſt the* Danes *and* Welſh, l. 5. p. 316.

Sends an Army againſt the Welſh, *which took* Brecenanmere (*ſuppoſed to be* Brecknock *Caſtle*), *and the King's Wife, and about Four and thirty Priſoners,* Id. p. 319.

Takes the Town of Derby, *and the City of* Canterbury. *Reduces* Leiceſter *under her Dominion, and the* Danes *become ſubject to her. Dies at* Tamworth *in the Eighth Year of her Government, and lies buried at* Glouceſter, *in the* Eaſt-*Iſle of St.* Peter's *Church. Her Character,* Id. p. 320.

Vid. Ethelred, *Duke of* Mercia, *her Husband.*

Ethelfred (*the Son of* Ethelric, *the Son of* Ida) *reigns over both the* Northumbrian *Kingdoms,* l. 3. p. 148. l. 4. p. 159.

A Warlike Prince, that waſted the Britains *more than any other* Saxon *Kings,* l. 4. p. 159.

Leads his Army to Leger-Ceaſter, *and there ſlays a great multitude of* Britains, Id. p. 164.

His Purſuit of Edwin, *after his Baniſhment, though he was of the Blood-Royal,* Id. p. 169.

Is ſlain by Redwald, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *and his Sons baniſhed by* Edwin, Id. p. 170.

Ethelfreda, *or* Elfreda, *Daughter to Earl* Ordgar, *and Widow of* Ethelwald *Earl of the* Eaſt-Angles, *married to King* Edgar, *and her Children by him,* l. 6. p. 5, 6.

The Trick her firſt Husband plaid to obtain her, and the return ſhe made him for it, Id. p. 9, 10.

Builds a Nunnery in the place where her firſt Husband was ſlain, Id. p. 10, 20.

She is crowned Queen, to the great diſpleaſure of Archbiſhop Dunſtan, Id. p. 10.

Contrives the Death of Edward the Martyr, *and how; but being convinced of her wickedneſs for it, ſhe betook her ſelf to very ſevere Penalties,* Id. p. 17, 18.

Her violent Paſſion to her Son Ethelred, *a Youth, in beating him unmercifully with a Wax-Taper, and why,* Id. p. 19.

Takes upon her the Habit of a Nun at Werewell, *a Nunnery which ſhe had lately founded; and alſo builds another at* Ambreſbury, Id. p. 20.

Ethelfrid, *a Prince moſt ſkilful in War, though utterly ignorant of the Chriſtian Religion,* l. 4. p. 171.

Ethelgar (*Biſhop of* Selſey) *ſucceeds Archbiſhop* Dunſtan *in the See of* Canterbury, *enjoys it but a Year and Three Months, and then dies,* l. 6. p. 22.

Ethelheard, *his Kinſman, ſucceeds* Ina *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, l. 4. p. 219.

Fights with, and worſts Oſwald Ætheling, *the Son of* Æthelbald, *and forces him to flee,* l. 4. p. 220.

Ethelheard. *Vid.* Æthelheard.

The Abbot is elected *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *upon the Death of* Janbryht, l. 4. p. 236.

Calls a Synod, that confirms all things relating to the Church, which had been made before by King Withgar, Id. p. 241.

Goes to Rome *to obtain his Pall,* Id. p. 242.

Ethelnoth, Ailnoth, *or* Egelnoth, *a Monk and Dean of* Canterbury, *is conſecrated Archbiſhop of that See, by* Wulſtan *Archbiſhop of* York, l. 6. p. 51.

Goes to Rome, *and is honourably received by Pope* Benedict, *who put on his Pall with his own hands,* Id. p. 53.

Conſecrates Ælfric *Archbiſhop of* York *at* Canterbury, *and tranſlates the Reliques of* Ælfeage *his Predeceſſor, from* London *to* Canterbury, Id. Ib.

A Letter ſent to him by Cnute, *upon his Return from* Rome, *of what he did there,* Id. p. 55.

His Deceaſe, Id. p. 65.

Ethelred, *Brother to* Wulfher, *ſucceeds him in the Kingdom of* Mercia; *his notable Expedition into* Kent, *and recovering all* Lindſey *from* Egfrid, *and his Fame for Devotion,* l. 4. p. 195, 196.
Waſtes Kent, *deſtroys* Rocheſter, *and carries away a great deal of Spoil,* Id. p. 196.
A Battel fought, and Peace made, on condition that this King ſhould pay Egfrid *a Pecuniary Mulct,* Id. p. 198.
His Charter to the Monaſtery of Medeſhamſted, *juſtly ſuſpected of Forgery,* Id. p. 200, 201.
He receives Biſhop Wilfrid *with great Honour,* Id. p. 206.
Reſigns his Kingdom (paſſing by his Son Ceolred, *whom he had by his Wife* Oſgilde) *to his Couſin-German* Cenered, *Son of his Brother* Wulfher, *and himſelf turns Monk,* Id. p. 212.

Ethelred, *the Son of* Moll, *is* choſen *by the* Northumbrians *for their King, in the room of* Alhred, *whom they had* expelled *from* York, l. 4. p. 230, 236.
Is expelled *the Land, for cauſing three of his Nobles to be treacherouſly ſlain by two of the ſame Order,* Id. p. 231.
Is again reſtored to the Kingdom, upon Oſred's *being driven out,* Id. p. 236, 239.
Betroths Elfreda, *the Daughter of King* Offa, Id. p. 237.
Is ſlain by his own People, and ſaid deſervedly, as having been the Death of Oſred *his Predeceſſor,* Id. p. 239, 240.

Ethelred, *the Ealdorman, deceaſes; a famous Commander at firſt, but a Monk in the City of* York, *when he died,* l. 4. p. 240.

Ethelred, *Son to* Eanred, *ſucceeds his Father in the Kingdom of* Northumberland; *is driven out from his Kingdom, but ſoon after reſtored to it, and about three years after is ſlain,* l. 5. p. 260.

Ethelred, *Son of King* Ethelwulf, *reigned in* Kent, *as alſo over the* Eaſt *and* South-Saxons, l. 5. p. 265.
Began his Reign in Weſt-Saxony, *after his Brother* Ethelbert's *Deceaſe,* Id. p. 267.
Makes (with his Brother Ælfred) *a great Slaughter of the* Danes *at* Reading, Id. p. 275.
Deceaſes, and is buried in the Monaſtery of Winburne *in* Dorſetſhire; *but whether ſlain in Battel, or died a Natural Death of the Plague, which then reigned, is uncertain; though this latter is the more probable,* Id. p. 276.
An Account of his Children, Ibid.

Ethelred, *Biſhop of* Wiltunſcire, *is* elected *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *upon the Deceaſe of* Ceolnoth, *his Predeceſſor,* l. 5. p. 274. *His Death,* Id. p. 298.

Ethelred, *Duke, or Ealdorman of* Mercia, *and* Elfleda *his Wife, by their Care is* Leiceſter *repaired,* l. 5. p. 314.
By their command Caer-Legion (*that is now* Weſtcheſter) *is repaired,* Id. p. 315.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 316.

Ethelred, *Brother to* Edward the Martyr, elected *King, and crowned; being a lovely Youth,* l. 6. p. 19.
He rather diſtreſſed than governed the Kingdom for Seven and thirty years. His averſion to Wax-Lights, and for what reaſon, Ibid.
Lays waſte the Biſhoprick of Rocheſter, *becauſe of ſome Diſſentions between him and the Biſhop. His ſordid Covetouſneſs,* Id. p. 21, 22.
A weak and unwarlike Prince, and moſt of the Nobility as bad as himſelf. His Fleet deſigned to encompaſs that of the Danes, *but he was betrayed by* Ælfric, *one of his Admirals, who went over to them,* Id. p. 23.
Commands the Eyes of Ælfric's *Son to be put out, and for what,* Id. p. 24.
Calls a Council, who agree (upon reading the Pope's Letters to the King) to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Marquis of Normandy, *to treat of Peace. He receives King* Anlaff *with great Honour, who promiſes never to infeſt the* Engliſh *Nation more,* Id. p. 24, 25.
Sends for the valiant Son of Waltheof *Earl of the* Northumbers, *and for a Reward of his Bravery in overcoming the* Scots, *gives him not only his Father's Countrey, but adds to it that of* Yorkſhire, Id. p. 27.
Lays Cumberland *almoſt waſte, becauſe the Prince thereof denied to bear his ſhare in the Tribute paid to the* Danes, Id. p. 28.
Ælgiva, *Daughter of* Richard *Duke of* Normandy, *comes hither to be married to the King,* Id. p. 29.
At the inſtigation of Huena, *one of his Evil Counſellors, he commands all the* Danes *in* England *to be ſlain at the Feaſt of St.* Brice, *becauſe he was told that they endeavoured to* deprive *him and all his Great Men of their Lives, and to ſeize the Kingdom for themſelves,* Ibid.
The Calamities that befel him and his Kingdom hereupon, by the coming over of King Sweyn *from* Denmark, *with a mighty Fleet,* Id. p. 30.
His Diſpleaſure againſt two Noblemen, depriving one of all his Honours, and putting out the eyes of the other, Id. p. 31.
Enters into ſeveral Treaties of Peace with the Danes, *and pays them Tributes in Money, as well as Maintenance and Proviſion; but nothing did long oblige them,* Id. p. 25, 29, 32,

Perceiving his error in the want of a good Fleet, commands over all England, *That out of every Hundred and ten Hides of Land a Ship ſhould be built,* &c. *But his Fleet is much deſtroyed either by Tempeſt or Fire,* Id. p. 33.

Is betrayed, and hindred from falling upon the Danes, *when his whole Army had hemm'd them in, and were juſt ready to give them Battel. His Forces too ſignified but little to him, for when the Enemy went* Eaſt, *they were ſure to be taken up in the* Weſt, &c. Id. p. 34.

He demands of the Londoners *full Pay and Victuals for his Army; and is in ſuch diſtreſs by* Sweyn, *that he is forced to ſend his Wife and Children into* Normandy, *and afterwards to go thither himſelf, where he tarried till* Sweyn *died: But upon his return unto his own Kingdom, he is received, on conditions to govern them better than he had done before, and then is* again *ſolemnly crowned at* Weſtminſter, Id. p. 38, 39.

But he was not very long mindful of his Promiſe to his Subjects, Id. p. 40.

Through his Cowardice or Ill Fortune, he was conſtantly attended with ill ſucceſs, Id. p. 41.

He is called, THE UNREADY, *(and juſtly) by our* Engliſh *Hiſtorians. His Deceaſe, and Burial at St.* Paul's *Church in* London, Id. p. 42.

His Character, and excellent Laws, Id. p. 19, 42, 43.

The Iſſue he had by his Queen, Id. p. 38, 42.

Ethelwald, *ſucceeds his Brother* Etheler *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles, l. 4. p. 186.

His Death, and who ſucceeds him, Id. p. 190.

Ethelwald, *Earl of the* Eaſt-Angles, *by what Trick he got* Ethelfreda *for his Wife from King* Edgar, *but which coſt him his Life,* l. 6. p. 9, 10.

Ethelward, *the Third Synod at* Cloveſhoe *was held under him, and twelve Biſhops of his Province, and what was therein tranſacted. The next year he dies,* l. 5. p. 248.

Ethelwerd, *King* Alfred's *Youngeſt Child, bred up at* Oxford; *his Death, and Iſſue,* l. 5. p. 311.

Was learned above that Age. He was buried at Wincheſter, Id. p. 324.

Ethelwin. *Vid.* Edwin *and* Ethelwin.

Ethelwold, *Biſhop, by King* Edgar's *Command turns out the* Chanons *at* Wincheſter, *and places* Benedictines *in their rooms,* l. 4. p. 181.

His Deceaſe, when, Id. p. 223.

Ethelwold, *ſirnamed* Moll, *when he began to reign over the* Northumbers. *Slays Duke* Oſwin *in a Fight at* Edwinſcliffe, l. 4. p. 228.

Is murthered by the Treachery of Alhred, *who ſucceded him,* Id. p. 229.

Ethelwulf, *the Son, ſucceeds* Egbert *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, *who gave him good Advice how he might be happy in his Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 257, 258.

Comes to the Crown by virtue of his Father's Teſtament. *His Education and Tutors during his Elder Brother's life. His Character, and what Kingdoms he made over to* Athelſtan *his Son,* Id. p. 258.

Fights againſt Five and thirty Daniſh *Ships at* Charmouth, Id. p. 251.

A Son, called Ælfred, *is born to him by* Oſberge *his Wife,* Id. p. 261.

He and Ethelbald *his Son, with the Forces of the* Weſt-Saxons, *fight with the* Pagan Danes, *and make a greater ſlaughter of them than ever before,* Ibid.

Aſſiſting Burhred, *makes the men of* North-Wales *ſubject to him,* Id. p. 262.

His Famous and Solemn Grant of Tythes *throughout his Kingdom,* Id. p. 262, 263.

Goes to Rome, *carrying* Ælfred *his Son along with him,* Id. p. 263.

In his return marries Leotheta, *the Daughter of* Charles *the Bald, King of the* Franks, Ibid.

A moſt infamous Conſpiracy is formed in the Weſt *of* England *againſt him, on the account of his new Wife,* Id. p. 263, 264.

Divides the Kingdom (which was before united) with the Conſent of all his Nobility, between him and his Son Ethelbald. *And to prevent Quarrels between his Sons, he orders by his Will how his Kingdom ſhould be enjoyed amongſt them,* l. 5. p. 264.

By his Laſt Will grants Corrodies *for the Maintenance of Poor People, a Yearly Allowance of Three hundred* Mancuſes *to* Rome, *and one hundred of them to the Pope. His Death, and Burial at* Wincheſter, *after he had reigned Twenty Years,* Id. p. 264, 265.

St. Swithune, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* Alſtan *Biſhop of* Shireborne, *were this King's two Principal Counſellors in all Affairs,* Id. p. 267.

Eveſham-*Abbey, concerning the Forging of the Charters about it,* l. 4. p. 216, 217.

Is repaired by Leofric, *with the Conſent of his Lady* Godiva, l. 6. p. 72.

Eugenius, *ſet up againſt* Valentinian *the ſecond, by* Arbogaſtes, *the former's General, but he was ſoon after put to death by* Theodoſius, l. 2. p. 97.

Eugenius, *Prince of* Cumberland, *aſſiſts* Anlaff *againſt King* Athelſtan, l. 5. p. 334, 335.

The Scotch *call him King of* Deira, *and own he died in this Battel,* Id. p. 336.

Evil Councils *bring all the Miſeries imaginable on a Nation,* l. 6. p. 23, 27, 32, 35.

Europe, *firſt peopled by the Poſterity of* Japhet, *either from one* Alanus, *ſuppoſed to have been his Grandſon, or from* Gomer *his Son,* l. 1. p. 4.

Euſtatius (*Earl of* Boloigne, Edward *the* Confeſſor*'s Brother-in-Law*), *with his Retinue entring* Dover, *and reſolving to quarter where they pleaſed, was reſiſted by the Townſmen, upon which enſued a great deal of Bloodſhed on both ſides,* l. 6. p. 76.

Eutherius, *Archbiſhop of* Arles; Auguſtine *and the Monks recommended to his Care and Protection,* l. 4. p. 153.

Ordains Auguſtine, *Archbiſhop of the* Engliſh *Nation,* Id. p. 154.

Excommunication *had in King* Withred's *time no other Temporal puniſhment than a pecuniary* Mulct, l. 4. p. 211.

Exeter, *anciently* Exanceſter, *Beſieged, and where King* Alfred *purſued the* Danes, l. 5. p. 300, 306.

The removal of the See from Crediton *to this City,* l. 5. p. 333.

Is made a Biſhops See inſtead of Credington *in* Cornwal, *at the requeſt of Pope Leo,* l. 6. p. 78.

Exmouth, *anciently called* Exanmuthan, l. 6. p. 28.

F

Faith, *the firſt People that were ever Executed by any Chriſtian Prince for meer matters of* Faith, l. 2. p. 96.

Falſe News, *the ſpreaders of it againſt the Government to be puniſhed with loſs of Tongue, or to Redeem themſelves by the value of their Head, and to be of no credit afterwards,* l. 5. p. 294.

Famine, *a dreadful one about the Year* CCCCXLVI *in* Britain, l. 3. p. 115.

Another among the South-Saxons, *wherein multitudes of the poorer People periſhed daily, it being ſaid not to have rained in that Countrey for Three years before,* l. 4, p. 198.

A cruel one followed ſtrange Prodigies in the Countrey of Northumberland, Id. p. 238.

A little after the Death of King Edgar *a very great Famine happened,* l. 6. p. 15, 16.

In Ethelred *the* Unready*'s time, ſo great a Famine raged, as* England *never underwent a worſe,* Id. p. 31.

And in the Reign of Edward *the* Confeſſor *there was another ſo great here, that a* Seſter *of Wheat was ſold for Sixty Pence and more,* Id. p. 72.

Farrington *in* Berkſhire, *anciently called* Fearndune, *where King* Edward *the* Elder *died,* l. 5. p. 324.

Fealty, *or* Fidelity, *the Oath required by Law to be taken by all Perſons to King* Edmund, l. 5. p. 346.

King of the Scots *Swears Fidelity to King* Edmund, *and all the* Northumbrian *Lords do the ſame,* Id. p. 349.

Two joint Princes of North-Wales, *upon his Grant of it to them, Swear Fealty to* Edward *the* Confeſſor, *and likewiſe to Earl* Harold, l. 6. p. 90.

Fee, *or* Feuds, *the firſt footſteps of Military* Feuds, *afterwards ſo much in uſe amongſt the* Goths, Normans, *and other Nations,* l. 2. p. 80.

Fee-tayl-Eſtate, *much more Ancient than the* Thirteenth *of* Edward *the* Firſt, *appears by the* Thirty ſeventh *Law of King* Alfred *concerning* Bockland, l. 5. p. 295, 296.

Feologild *the* Abbot, *his being ſaid to be choſen Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, (*but certainly a miſtake*). *His Death,* l. 5. p. 255.

Fergus, *the Son of* Erk, *bringing great Supplies of the* Scots *from* Ireland *and* Norway, *they came to recover their Countrey: With a Relation of* Fergus *his Action,* l. 2. p 98.

King of the Scots *is ſlain in Battel, and by whom,* Id. p. 102.

Fernham, *the place where King* Alfred *fought with the* Danes, *and put them to flight,* l. 5. p. 300.

Feſtidus, *a Learned* Britiſh *Biſhop, if not an Archbiſhop,* l. 2. p. 107

Fidelity, *vid.* Fealty.

Fighting, *the Puniſhment of ſuch as do ſo, either in the King's Houſe, Church, or Earldorman's, Nobleman's, or Villager's Houſe, or in the open Field,* l. 4. p. 208.

The Puniſhment of thoſe in Holy Orders if they chance to fight, l. 5. p. 284.

The Law againſt Fighters in the King's Palace, and the puniſhment of an Offender that flies, Id. p. 293, 295.

No Fyhtwite, *or* Manbote, (*that is, Fine for Fighting or Killing*) *to be Remitted,* Id. p. 347.

Finan, *a Biſhop, calling to him Two other Biſhops, Ordains* Cedda *Biſhop over the* Eaſt-Saxons, l. 4. p. 184.

Fines, *vid.* Pecuniary Fines *and* Mulcts.

Finkley, *in the Biſhoprick of* Durham, *and Kingdom of the* Northumbers, *anciently called* Pynchanhale, *or* Finekanhale, *where a General Synod Aſſembled,* l. 4. p. 236.

Fire, *great miſchief done thereby at* London, Wincheſter, *and other places,* l. 4. p. 229.

Vid. London *and* Wincheſter.

Firſt-Fruits, *vid.* Tythes.

Five Burghs, *not known where, but ſomewhere in* Northumberland, l. 6. p. 37, 40.

Flanders, *what we now call ſo, was anciently accounted part of* France, *or* Frankland, l. 5. p. 283.

Flattery, *notorious in Two of King* Leir's *Daughters to their Father,* l. 1. p. 11.

  Of the Biſhops, Ealdormen, and Chief Men throughout the Kingdom, about making Cnute *(upon the Death of* Edmund Ironſide*) King of all* England, *to the Excluſion of his Children and Brethren,* l. 6. p. 49.

Fleet, *ſet out againſt the* Danes, *but continually delayed from doing any good,* l. 6. p. 27, 33.

  Out of ſo many Hydes of Land to build a Ship, in order to ſet out a great Fleet againſt the Danes, Id. p. 33.

  Abſolutely neceſſary for an Iſland to maintain a Powerful Fleet, Id. p. 35.

Fœlix, *a Biſhop, Preached the Faith of Chriſt to the* Eaſt-Angles; *he was a* Burgundian, *and the firſt Biſhop in* Dunwich *in* Suffolk, l. 4. p. 179.

Folcmote, *Strangers to be brought before the King's Officers there by the Merchants, that ſo their Numbers might be known, and they forthcoming upon occaſion,* l. 5. p. 294.

  The Puniſhment of ſtriking therein before the King's Ealdorman, Id. p. 295.

  If any Abſent himſelf thrice, *he is to be Puniſhed as Contumacious to the King; and in caſe of refuſal to do right, all he hath is to be ſeized, and he to give ſecurity for his appearance,* Id. p. 341.

Folcſtone *in* Kent, *anciently called* Folceſtane, *where Earl* Godwin *took all the Ships he could find,* l. 6. p. 80.

Foreign-Tongue, *where it prevails, generally ſpeaking, it is reckoned half a Conqueſt,* l. 6. p. 98.

Foreſts *are priviledg'd places, fenced in with certain Bounds, Laws and Immunities, under Magiſtrates, Judges, Officer's,* &c. *for the King's Service and Game,* l. 6. p. 60.

Forfeitures, *thoſe the King challenges as due to himſelf in the County of* Weſt-Saxony, l. 6. p. 58.

Formoſus *the Pope, ſends Letters to* England, *threatning Excommunication and his Curſe to King* Edward *the* Elder *and all his Subjects, for ſuffering the Province of the* Weſt-Saxons *to be Seven years without Biſhops,* l. 5. p. 313.

  A notable Error either in the Date of theſe Letters, or of the Name of the Pope, Id. p. 314.

Fornication, *if any one in Holy Orders commit it, what his Puniſhment,* l. 5. p. 284, 346. *vid.* Adultery.

Framarius *King of the* Almans, *ſent by the Emperor* Valentinian *into* Britain, *though with no higher a Command than that of a Tribune,* &c. l. 2. p. 94.

France, *how early it became the moſt Civilized of thoſe* Gothic *and* German Nations, *that had ſome Ages before ſettled themſelves in this part of* Europe, l. 4. p. 243.

Frank-pledges, *the Antiquity of them; no* Norman *Invention, as ſome People pretend,* l. 6. p. 14.

Franks, *the Kingdom ſo called, divided by* Earnwulf (Charles *the* Groſs *his Brother's Son) into Five parts, and each King to Govern under* Earnwulf, *and where their ſeveral Kingdoms were fixed,* l. 5. p. 290.

Freemen, *no* Engliſh *Freeman could in the* Saxon *times be hanged for any Crime but Treaſon,* l. 4. p. 209.

  Every one to find Sureties, that he ſhall do right, if accuſed, l. 6. p. 42.

  Every one to enter himſelf into ſome Hundred *or* Tything, Id. p. 58.

Freodguald *Succeeds* Theodoric *in the Kingdom of* Bernicia, l. 3. p. 146.

Freothwulf *Reigned in* Bernicia *Seven or Eight years,* l. 3. p. 145.

  His Deceaſe, Id. p. 146.

Frethanleage, *now* Fretherne *in* Glouceſterſhire, l. 3. p. 147.

Friburg, *that is,* Barons *to have their Dependants forth-coming, or to anſwer for them upon any complaint,* l. 6. p. 102.

Frieſland (Old) *the Goſpel firſt preached there, and by whom,* l. 4. p. 211.

  The Engliſh-Saxons *derived from the* Friſians, l. 3. p. 120.

Friſians *aſſiſt the ancient* Saxons *of* Germany *againſt the* Danes *in a Sea-fight,* l. 5 p. 287..

Fritheſtan, *when he was Ordained and took the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter, l. 5. p. 314. 315.

  Edward *the* Elder's *Charter of Confirmation of the Priviledges of* Cambridge, *directed to this* Fritheſtan, *then Chancellor and Doctor; but the Charter is grievouſly ſuſpected,* Id. p. 318.

  His Deceaſe, Id. p. 331.

Frithogithe, *Queen of the Weſt-Saxons, went with* Forthere *Biſhop of* Shireburne *to* Rome, l. 4. p. 223.

Frithwald *Biſhop of* Wytherne *died, when he was Conſecrated; and how long he continued a Biſhop,* l. 4. p. 228.

Fugitives, *King* Edward *the* Elder's *Law againſt them,* l. 5. p. 325, 326.

What

What the Forfeiture of relieving or harbouring any, l. 6. p. 58.

Fullenham, *now* Fulham, *not far from* London, l. 5. p. 283.

Furſeus (*or* Furſee) *comes out of* Ireland *to preach the Goſpel to the* Eaſt-Angles, *and converts many people*, l. 4. p. 180.

G

GAcon, *Biſhop of* Landaff, *the Firſt of the* Welſh-Biſhops *that was conſecrated by an Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 6. p. 21.

Gaini, *anciently the Countrey about* Gainsborough *in* Yorkſhire, l. 5. p. 269.

Gainsborough *in* Lincolnſhire, *anciently called* Gegnesburgh, l. 6. p. 37, 39.

Galgacus, *Chief of the* Britains *in Authority and Birth, makes a Noble Oration to his Army*, l. 2. p. 60.

Their utter Overthrow and Flight, Id. p. 62, 63.

Galienus (Pub. Licinius) *Emperor in his Father* Valerian's *life-time. The Empire had been quite ruined through his Exceſſes and Careleſneſs, had not the* Thirty Tyrants, *as they are called, undertaken its Defence*, l. 2. p. 81.

Is at laſt ſlain by the Treachery of three of his own Captains, Ibid.

Gallio, *of* Ravenna, *ſent againſt* Bonifitius *in* Africa; *but the year before, he was ſent into* Britain, *upon their earneſt ſoliciting the* Romans *the ſecond time for Supplies; which in all probability were brought hither in the beginning of the Reign of* Valentinian *the third*, l. 2. p. 105, 106.

Game. *None in hunting to meddle with the King's Game*, l. 6. p. 60.

Gavelkind. *That old Cuſtom or Tenure firſt ſet up in* Wales, *and the great miſchief it occaſioned*, l. 5. p. 250.

Gaule, *upon compoſition, delivered up to the* Goths *by* Honorius, l. 2. p. 105.

Gemote, *or* Hundred-Court, *every one ought to be preſent at it*, l. 6. p. 13, 14.

General; *if his heart fails, the Army flies. A Cowardly General often makes Cowardly Soldiers*, l. 6. p. 30, 87.

Gentlemen *of ordinary Eſtates had in King* Alfred's *time Villages and Townſhips of their own (as well as the King and the Great Men), and they received the Penalties due for Breach of the Peace*, l. 5. p. 295.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *is the chief, if not the only Author of* Brutus *and his Succeſſors, and his Hiſtory cried out againſt almoſt as ſoon as publiſhed*, l. 1. p. 6.

His ſtory of the Britiſh *War in* Claudius *the Emperor's time, different from the* Roman *Accounts, and wherein*, l. 2. p. 39, 40.

A notorious Falſhood in him about Severus *his Death*, Id. p. 78.

His ſtory of Conſtantine's *being elected King by the* Britains, *proved falſe*, l. 3. p. 116.

His ſtory (as to its truth) enquired into, of Auguſtine's *perſuading King* Ethelbert *to incite* Ethelfrid *King of* Northumberland, *to make War on the* Britains, l. 4. p. 164, 165.

His Account of Cadwallo's *being buried at* London, *and his Body put into a Brazen Statue of a Man on Horſeback, and ſet over* Ludgate *for a Terror to the* Saxons, *all falſe*, Id. p. 177.

Gerent, *King of the* Britains, *fights with King* Ina, *and* Nun *his Kinſman*, l. 4. p. 215.

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Germanus *and* Lupus, *ſent from* France *to confirm* Britain *in the Catholick Faith*, l. 2. p. 107.

His ſecond Voyage to Britain (*upon the renewed Addreſſes of the* Britains) *to defend God's Cauſe againſt* Pelagianiſm, l. 3. p. 117.

The Miracle he wrought upon a Magiſtrate's Son, the Sinews of whoſe Legs had been long ſhrunk up, which by his ſtroking he reſtored whole as the other, Id. Ibid.

Gerontius, *General to* Conſtans, *brings all* Spain *under his Obedience*, l. 2. p. 103.

But being turned out of his Command, revolts, and ſets up Maximus, *one of his Creatures, for Emperor. His cruel End*, Id. Ib.

Geſſoriacum, Portus Iccius *in* Cæſar's *time, afterwards* Bononia, *and now* Buloigne, l. 2. p. 31, 40.

Geta, Severus *the Emperor's Younger Son, Governor of the* Southern *part of this Iſland*, l. 2. p. 75.

Is killed by the Treachery of his Brother Baſſianus, *in his Mother's Arms*, Id. p. 77.

And Baſſianus *had taken the Sirname of* Antonini, Ib. & 79.

His Name commanded to be razed out of all Monuments, by this his wicked Brother; which was done accordingly, Id. p. 79.

Gethic, *the ancient* Scythic, *or* Gethic *Tongue, the Mother of the* German, l. 3. p. 122.

Gewiſſes; *the Nation of the* Weſt-Saxons, *anciently ſo called, received the Chriſtian Faith in the Reign of* Cynegils, *by the preaching of* Byrinus *an* Italian, *who came hither by the order of Pope* Honorius, l. 4. p. 179.

Gildas, *deſigned not any exact Hiſtory of the Affairs of his Countrey, but only to give a ſhort Account of the Cauſes of the Ruin of it by the* Scots, Picts, *and* Saxons, l. 3. p. 137.

His ſharp Invective againſt the Britiſh Kings, accuſing Five of them of very heinous Enormities, Id. p. 139.

His ſevere Character of the Britiſh Clergy, Id. p. 140, 141.

That he could not Study at Oxford, as is ſuppoſed by ſome, for the Pagan-Saxons were then Maſters of that part of England, l. 5. p. 290.

Girwy, now Yarrow near the mouth of the River Tyne, where a Monaſtery was built in Honour of St. Paul, l. 4. p. 194, 205, 222.

Giſa ſucceeds Duduc in the Biſhoprick of Somerſetſhire (i. e. Wells), l. 6. p. 88

Glan-Morgan in Wales, had its Name from one Morgan, who was driven thither by his Brother Cunedage, and there ſlain, l. 1. p. 11.

Glappa King of Bernicia, Reigned for Two years, but who he was, or how Deſcended, the Authors are ſilent in, l. 3. p. 144.

His Death, Id. p. 145.

Oſgat Glappa, the Daniſh Earl, when he was Expelled England, l. 6. p. 73.

Glaſs, when the Art of making it was firſt taught the Engliſh Nation, l. 4. p. 194.

Glaſtenbury Beſieged by King Arthur in Gildas his time, with a great Army out of Cornwal and Devonſhire, becauſe Queen Gueniver, his Wife, had been Raviſhed from him by Melvas, who then Reigned in Somerſetſhire, l. 3. p. 135.

The Ancient Regiſters of this Monaſtery are not to be wholly ſlighted as falſe, ſince King Arthur was there Buried, and his Tomb diſcovered about the end of the Reign of King Henry the Second, Id. p. 137.

This Ancient Monaſtery was new built by King Ina with large Endowments and Exemptions from Epiſcopal Juriſdictions, &c. l. 4. p. 218, 219.

King Edmund's Body was brought from a place called Pucklekirk (where he was killed) hither, and here buried, l. 5. p. 345.

And ſo likewiſe King Edgar's with great Solemnity, for he had been a very liberal Benefactor to this Monaſtery, l. 6. p. 9.

As was Edmund, Sirnamed Ironſide, his Grandſon's. This was by all the Saxons called Glæſtingabyrig, Id. p. 48.

Gleni, a River, but where is not by our Authors mentioned, l. 4. p. 174.

Glewanceſter, now called Glouceſter, l. 3. p. 145.

Glotta and Bodotria, two Streights, now the Friths of Edinburgh and Dunbritton in Scotland, l. 2. p. 99.

God in Bede's time was ſerved in Five ſeveral Languages, l. 1. p. 5.

Goda Earl of Devonſhire, marching out with one Strenwald a Valiant Knight to fight the Danes, they were both killed, l. 6. p. 22.

Godfathers, anſwerable for thoſe Children for whom they ſtand, till they come to years capable of Learning the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, l. 4. p. 233.

Godfred, Son of Harold the Dane, ſubdues the whole Iſle of Angleſey, and ſpoils all the Land of Dywet, with the Church of St. David's, &c. l. 6. p. 7. 20.

Godiva, a Foundreſs (with her Husband Leofrick Earl of the Mercians) of the Monaſtery of Coventry, and how ſhe freed the ſaid Town from the Grievous Taxes impoſed on it, l. 6. p. 71.

Godmundingham, the place where an Idol-Temple ſtood in King Edwin's time, not far from York, Eaſtward, near the River Darwent, l. 4. p. 174.

Godwin, Earl, Governor, or Lord Lieutenant of Weſt-Saxony, l. 6. p. 61.

His Treachery to Alfred (one of King Ethelred's Sons) whom by a Forged Letter, in the Name of Queen Emma his Mother, he enticed over into England, then made him Priſoner at Guilford, and ſent him up to Harold; and what afterwards became of him and his Six hundred followers; his Eyes put out, and he not long ſurvived their loſs, and moſt of them ſuffered various kinds of cruel Deaths, Id. p. 62, 63.

Is accuſed of the Villany by Ælfrick Archbiſhop of York, and how he purchaſed his Reconciliation to King Hardecnute, Id. p. 67.

By his Intereſt gets Edward the Confeſſor (the Brother of the abovementioned Alfred) to be Elected, and afterwards Crowned King at Weſtminſter, Id. p. 69, 70.

His own and his Son's great Power, in being able to withſtand the King and all the Nobility that were with him at a Great Council at Glouceſter, Id. p. 77, 81.

But being ſummoned to appear at another Curia held at London, he and Earl Sweyn his Son, fled to Baldwin Earl of Flanders for Protection, Id. p. 77, 78.

His ſailing for England, but being purſued he returns to Bruges, and coming again ſoon after, commits a thouſand Ravages, Id. p. 80, 81.

What the ground of all this conteſt between the King and him; at laſt in a Great Council a Peace was made, and Hoſtages given on both ſides, Id. p. 81.

Is Accuſed by King Edward for the Death of his Brother in the Great Council, and how he made his Peace, Id. p. 83.

He and his Sons reſtored to their former Honours and Eſtates, in a Great Council, Id. p. 82, 83, 84.

His Death, and Burial in the old Monaſtery of Wincheſter, Id. p. 84, 85.

His Character, Wives, and Iſſue, Id. p. 85.

Gogmagog, *the mighty Gyant in* Cornwall, *taken up by* Corinæus *in his Arms, though he was no Gyant himſelf, and flung off by him (if you will believe the Fable) from a Cliff into the Sea*, l. 1. p. 9.

Gordianus M. Anton. *elected Emperor by the* Prætorian *Bands, had an Army in* Britain; *though nothing was done, by what can be found*, l. 2. p. 81.

Gormond, *an* African *King, comes out of* Ireland *to fight* Careticus; *and what the ſucceſs*, l. 3. p. 148.

Goſpatrick (*a great Officer in* Northumberland) *murthered upon the account of a quarrel between him and Earl* Toſtige, l. 6. p. 90.

Goſpel; *ſuppoſed to be firſt preached in this Iſland in the Reigns of either* Claudius *or* Nero; *though by whom, unknown*, l. 2. p. 51, 52.

The ſtory of Joſeph *of* Arimathea, *and his Twelve Companions coming to preach the Goſpel in* Britain, Id. p. 52, 53.

Chriſt was preached here as early as the firſt Conqueſt of it by the Britains, Id. p. 69.

Who firſt preached the Goſpel in the Countrey of the Griſons, l. 2. p. 70.

The firſt preaching of the Goſpel in Germany, *and by whom*, l. 4. p. 211.

The joyful Tidings of it firſt brought to us from Canterbury, l. 6. p. 36.

Government *devolved on the* People, *when the Emperor acquitted the* Britains *of the* Roman *Juriſdiction*, l. 2. p. 104.

Grætanleage, *the Laws that were made there by King* Athelſtan, *in a Great Council*, l. 5. p. 339, 340, 341.

Grand Inqueſt. *Vid.* Inqueſt.

Gratian, *the Emperor, creates* Theodoſius *the Younger his Partner in the Empire, aſſigning him the* Eaſt *for his ſhare*, l. 2. p. 95.

Being routed by the Forces of Maximus, *is forced to fly with Three hundred Horſe towards the* Alps; *but* Andragathius *with ſome Light-Horſe being ſent after him, overtakes him near the Bridge of* Singidunum, *and there kills him*, Id. Ibid.

Gratianus, *ſirnamed* Funarius (*from his great ſtrength in pulling a Rope from Four Men*) *made General of all the Forces throughout* Britain, l. 2. p. 89.

The Britiſh *Army* elected *him Emperor, and cloathed him with the* Imperial Purple, Id. p. 102.

But he is ſoon after deprived both of his Life and Empire, Id. p. 104, 105.

Gregory, *made Biſhop of* Rome, *in what year*, l. 3. p. 149.

Sirnamed the Great, *to whom the* Engliſh *Nation owed its Converſion*, l. 4. p. 152.

Would have come himſelf to preach God's Word to the Engliſh; *but the Citizens of* Rome *would by no means ſuffer him to go ſo far from them*, l. 4. p. 153.

In the Fourth Year of his Pontificate he ſends Auguſtine *with many Monks over to the* Britains, *to preach the Goſpel to them: Calls the Emperor his* Lord, *and dates his Letters by the year of* His *Reign, and not that of* his own, l. 3. p. 149. l. 4. p. 153, 158.

His Deceaſe; the Account of his life may be read in Bede, Id. p. 163, 165.

Griffyn, *Prince of* Wales, *entring* England, *ſpoils great part of* Herefordſhire, *and carries away much Booty*, l. 6. p. 84, 86, 87.

The Son of Ratherch ap Juſtin, *raiſes a great Army againſt* Griffyth *Prince of* North-Wales, *and what the ſucceſs*, Id. p. 85.

A Peace mediated between Edward *the* Confeſſor *and this Prince*, Id. p. 87.

How he reſtores Ælfgar *to his Earldom, after he was a ſecond time baniſhed by King* Edward, Id. p. 88.

Is ſlain by his own people, and his Head ſent to Earl Harold, *and the* gilded Stern *of his Ship, which he cauſed to be carried to King* Edward, Id. p. 89.

Griffyth ap Lewellin ap Sitſylt, *raiſes a great Army againſt Prince* Jago *of* North-Wales, *whoſe Soldiers deſerting him, he was ſoon overthrown and ſlain*, l. 6. p. 64.

His good Government afterwards over thoſe of North-Wales, *and his total ſubduction of* South-Wales, *and his other Conqueſts:* Howel ap Edwin *narrowly eſcapes him; but he took his Wife Priſoner, whom he liked ſo well, that he kept her for his Miſtreſs*, Ibid.

He is taken Priſoner by ſurprize, but is immediately reſcued, Id. p. 70.

His Engagement with Ritherch *and* Rees, *and the ſucceſs thereof*, Id. p. 71.

Revenges the death of One hundred and forty of his beſt Soldiers, treacherouſly killed by the Gentlemen of Yſtrad Towy, Id. p. 73.

Griffyth ap Madoc, *deſigning to bring all* Wales, &c. *under his ſubjection, was ſlain by the Princes* Edmund *and* Edred, *who brought his Head to their Father*, l. 5. p. 321.

St. Grimbald: *the Univerſity of* Oxford, *founded in the ſecond year of his coming over into* England; *the difference between him and thoſe he brought over with him, and the* old Scholars *whom he found there*, l. 5. p. 288, 289, 290, 306.

St. Grimbald ſent for from France by King Alfred to aſſiſt him in his Learning, l. 5. p. 306.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 312.
Grime, King of the Scots, refuſing to pay part of a Tribute to the Danes, which King Ethelred demanded of him, had his Countrey of Cumberland laid almoſt waſte, l. 6. p. 28.
Griſons make Lucius to have been their Apoſtle, and firſt to have Preached the Goſpel in their Countrey, and ſhew his Tomb at Cloir at this day, l. 2. p. 70.
Grymkytel, made (upon the Death of Ethelric) Biſhop of the South-Saxons, that is, of Selſey, l. 6. p. 65.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 73.
Guarinus King of the Huns, l. 2. p. 96.
Gueld, that is, Tribute, l. 4. p. 187.
Guendelew, Son of Keidiaw, a Prince of the North parts of Britain, l. 3. p. 146.
Gueniver, Vid. Glaſtenbury.
Guiderac in the Britiſh Tongue, is Mould in Flintſhire in the Engliſh; the place is called Maes German, that is German's-Field, where the Britains got a great Victory over the Picts and Saxons, by the means of Germanus a French Biſhop, l. 2. p. 108, 109.
Guild, or Fraternity, ſignified ſometimes ſuch as were Fellow-Contributors to the ſame Pariſh-Feaſt in honour of the Saints; ſometimes ſuch as were bound together in the ſame Decennary or Tything, l. 5. p. 294.
Guintelin, his Character, his Virtuous Wife Maetia, and his Reign, l. 1. p. 13.
Gunhilda, Cnute's Niece, being his Siſter's Daughter, Marries Hacun a Daniſh Earl, l. 6. p. 53.
Hardecnute's Siſter ſent over to the Emperor Henry, to whom ſhe had been before Betrothed, and was kindly received by him for ſome time, till ſhe was accuſed of Adultery, and how her Honour was vindicated at laſt by her little Page, Id. p. 66, 67.
But it made her forſake her Husband, and retire into a Monaſtery for all her life afeer, Id. p. 67.
The Noble Matron was Baniſhed England with her Two Sons, Id. p. 73.
Gunhildis, a Beautiful Young Lady (Sweyn's Siſter) Beheaded, and bore her death with great bravery, having ſeen her Husband and her Son ſlain before her face, l. 6. p. 37.
Gurgi, a Britiſh Prince, Son of Gliver Goſgard Vawr, a Prince of Cumberland, l. 3. p. 147.
Gurguint, in his Reign the Danes refuſed to pay him the Tribute which had been impoſed by Belinus, l. 1. p. 13.
Guthfrith, or Godfred, Son to Syhtric, a Daniſh King of Northumberland, ſucceeds his Father there, but was ſoon expelled by Athelſtan, who added thoſe Dominions to his own, l. 5. p. 330.
Flies into Scotland, and raiſes a Rebellion againſt Athelſtan, but he makes him ſubmit to him: The Civil Treatment Athelſtan gives him, and his Revolt from him afterwards, Id. p. 331, 332, 333.
Guthlac, firſt a Monk, then a profeſſed Anchorite, builds a Cell at Croyland; the incredible Miracles told of him, l. 4. p. 216.
A Monaſtery founded in honour of him (by Ethelbald King of the Mercians) who was then lately deceaſed, Id. p. 218.
The Danes break open his Tomb, and thoſe of the Princes there buried, and finding no plunder, ſet the Church on fire, and burn their dead bodies, l. 5. p. 271.
Guthrun, Gythram, or Gorman, their Leader or King, was promiſed by the Danes to become a Chriſtian, and accordingly King Alfred was his Godfather at his Baptiſm, l. 5. p. 283, 284, 298.
The Kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles delivered up to him, Id. p. 283.
The League between King Alfred and him, as alſo the Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Laws that were made then by them, Id. p. 283, 284, 285.
His Chriſtian Name, Ethelſtan; called King of the Normans; his Deceaſe, l. 5. p. 298.
He died Ten years before King Alfred, therefore no Eccleſiaſtical Laws could be made between him and Edward the Elder, who was Alfred's Son and Succeſſor, Id. p. 326.
Guy, Earl of Warwick, returning from the Holy Land in a Pilgrim's Habit, Fights one Colebrand, a Monſtrous Daniſh Giant near Wincheſter, and kills him, and retiring to a Hermitage near Warwick, there ends his days, l. 5. p. 337, 338.
Gwgan, King or Prince of Cardigan, his death; ſome ſay he was drowned by misfortune, l. 5. p. 277.
Gwido, Earl of Ponthieu, detains Earl Harold Priſoner, but ſoon ſets him at Liberty by the Command of William Duke of Normandy, l. 6. p. 92.
Gwyn, or Gwyr, a Countrey in North-Wales, ſubdued by Eneon, Son of Owen, Prince of South-Wales, l. 6. p. 6.
Is deſtroyed a ſecond time by the ſame Perſon, Id. p. 16.
Gwyneth, that is North-Wales, l. 3. p. 147. l. 5. p. 317.
Gyrth, King Harold's Youngeſt Brother, his excellent Advice to him not to fight in Perſon againſt

againſt Duke William, rejected, which coſt Harold his Life, l. 6. p. 111.

H

HAcun, a Daniſh Earl, Baniſhed England (under pretence of an Ambaſſy) by King Cnute, who was afraid of him, and why, l. 6. p. 53.

Hadrian (Ælius) a Spaniard, ſucceeds his Uncle Trajan in the Empire; his Politicks, l. 2. p. 67.

Comes over into Britain, and reduces the Inhabitants; he builds a wall of Eighty Miles in length croſs the Iſland, Id. p. 67, 76.

Hæſe, ſuppoſed to be Hatfield in Northumberland, l. 4. p. 215.

Halfdene Marches with one half of the Daniſh Army into the Kingdom of Northumberland, and there ſoon conquers the whole Countrey, ſpoiling as far as Galloway, l. 5. p. 277, 315.

Divides that Kingdom amongſt his People, from whence they date their Reign there, Id. p. 278.

Is ſlain by King Alfred, Id. p. 286.

Hamtun (that is now Southampton) where Wulfheard the Ealdorman fights with a Fleet of Three and thirty Daniſh Pyrates, and obtains a ſignal Victory over them, l. 5. p. 258.

Hardecnute, Son to King Cnute by Queen Emma, is appointed by his Father to be King of Denmark, l. 6. p. 56.

But is Decreed in the Great Council at Oxnaford, upon the fierce diſputes of the contending Parties, That this Kingdom ſhould be divided between Harold and him, and Hardecnute to enjoy all the Southern Provinces; but he never did all the time of his Brother Harold, Id. p. 62.

He being at Harold's Death in Bruges with his Mother, is invited by the Chief Men of England to come over and receive the Crown, which he accordingly did with all poſſible convenience, and ſo is Elected King. The ſeveral Taxes he raiſes. His Conſecration. His revenging the Injury Harold did to his Mother, and ſending his Siſter Gunhilda to the Emperor Henry, to whom ſhe had been before Betroth'd, and the Feaſt he firſt kept for her Nuptials, Id. p. 66.

Is incenſed againſt Biſhop Liſing and Earl Godwin for the Death of his Half-Brother Alfred, and how the buſineſs was made up, and he reconciled to them, Id. p. 67.

Plunders and Burns the City, and waſtes the County of Worceſter, and upon what account; Deceaſes at Lambeth, and is Buried in the New Monaſtery of Wincheſter. His Character. A Holyday kept to his remembrance, Id. p. 68.

Harold King of Norway, his Preſent to King Athelſtan of a Ship, whoſe Stern was Gilded, and it's Sails Purple, l. 5. p. 339.

Harold, Son to King Cnute by Ælgiva, he appoints to be King of England after him, l. 6. p. 56.

Is Choſen King by the Great Council held at Oxnaford, though oppoſed by the Great Men of the Weſt-Saxons, upon the pretence of a Suppoſititious Birth, and the Diſputes riſe ſo high about the Election, that many fearing it would iſſue in a Civil War, left their Habitations upon it, Id. p. 61, 62.

Sends a Guard to Wincheſter, and Tyrannically ſeizes on his Father's Treaſures there, which he had bequeathed to the Queen his Mother-in-law, Id. p. 62.

Dies at Oxnaford, and is Buried at Weſtminſter; how long he Governed England, Id. p. 65.

The Tax he raiſed for ſetting out Sixteen Sail of Ships whereof every Port was to bear their proportion, incenſes the minds of the Engliſh againſt him. His Character, and the reaſon of his being called Harefoot, l. 6. p. 65.

His Body is dug up by Hardecnute's Order, his Head cut off, and flung into the Thames, bui afterwards taken up by Fiſhermen, and Buried in St. Clement's Curch-yard, Id. p. 66.

Harold, ſirnamed Hairfax, King of Norway, and Brother to King Olaf, putting Sweyn King of Denmark to flight, ſubdues that Kingdom, but dying ſoon after, Sweyn recovers it again, l. 6. p. 74.

Harold, Son of Earl Godwin, the Quarrel that aroſe between Edward the Confeſſor and his Father, his Brother Sweyn and him, and how he is forced to fly into Ireland for Protection, l. 6. p. 75, 77, 78.

Returns from Ireland, and kills and plunders all that comes in his way, but is in a Great Council reſtored to his former Honour and Eſtate, Id. p. 80, 81, 82.

Is Founder of the Abbey of the Holy Croſs at Waltham in Eſſex; goes (with Earl Toſtige his Brother) with a great Army both by Land and Sea into Wales, and ſubdues that Countrey, Id. p. 89.

Seems to be the Adopted and Declared Heir of the Crown, Id. p. 90.

Endeavours to appeaſe the Northumbers about his Brother Toſtige, but in vain; his Character of being a Valiant and Worthy Prince, Id. p. 90, 91.

His going over into Normandy, and the occaſion of it. His promiſes to Duke William there, That when King Edward died, he would

would deliver up Dover-*Caſtle to him, and procure him the Succeſſion; but yet he ſucceeded the* Confeſſor, *who declared him his Succeſſor in the Kingdom,* Id. p. 92.

The various Reports how he was advanced to it, whether by Election, *or otherwiſe,* Id. p. 105.

The wiſe courſe he takes to preſerve himſelf in that Dignity he had got, Id. p. 106.

The ſeveral Invaſions deſigned and preparing againſt him, and his great Care and Induſtry in oppoſing them both by Sea and Land, Id. p. 106, 108, 109.

An Ambaſſador ſent to him from Duke William, *to put him in mind of the Breach of his Word, and threatning to force him to perform it; with* Harold's *Anſwer*, l. 6. p. 107.

His Victory over the King of Norway, *and his Brother* Toſtige, Id. p. 109.

His going againſt Duke William *(who landed at* Haſtings *) with but part of his Forces, with a Reſolution to fight him, and his preparations for it,* Id. p. 110, 111.

The precipitate Anſwer he gave to the Monk whom Duke William *ſent to him with Propoſals; telling him,* He would leave it to God to determine between them, Id. p. 111.

The manner how he drew up his Army in order to a Battel, Id. p. 111, 112.

His Foot breaking, in purſuit of the Enemy, who they thought were flying, loſt him the Victory, his Crown, and Life; for he was ſlain by an Arrow ſhot through his Brains; his Standard taken, and ſent to the Pope, Id. p. 112, 113.

How his Body came to be known amidſt the Crowd of the ſlain, and not long after buried in the Abbey-Church of Waltham. *His Character: His Wives and Children; and the Law he made,* Id. p. 114, 115.

Harwood-Foreſt, *anciently called* Warewell, *where* Athelwold *was ſlain with a Dart, by whom, and upon what account,* l. 6. p. 10.

Haſtings, *or* Hæſtein, *the* Dane, *his arrival in* Kent, *and the Ravages he makes there; but is at laſt forced to ſurrender to King* Alfred, *with his Wife and two Sons, and to become a Chriſtian, and accept of Conditions, which he ſoon after broke,* l. 5. p. 299, 300.

His Ships broke to Pieces, the beſt of them being ſaved, and carried into Port, Id. p. 300.

Hatred; *too many men's natures to hate thoſe that have too much obliged them,* l. 2. p. 64, 65.

Heacca, *Biſhop of the* South-Saxons *(that is, of* Chicheſter *), his Deceaſe,* l. 6. p. 88.

Headda, *Abbot of* Medeſhamſted, *the Charter ſaid to be wrote by him,* l. 6. p. 4, 5.

Heads; Oſwald's *Head and Arms cut off by* Penda's *Order, and ſet on a Pole for a Trophy of his Victory,* l. 4. p. 181.

Scotch; *ſlain in War, ſet upon high Poles round about the Walls of* Durham, l. 6. p. 27.

Healfange, *that is, what is paid in Commutation for the Puniſhment of hanging by the Neck, to the King, or Lord,* l. 5. p. 347. Vid. l. 6. p. 59.

Healfden, *a* Daniſh *King, is ſlain in Battel, with ſeveral Earls, and many Thouſand Soldiers, by King* Edward *the* Elder's *Army,* l. 5. p. 315.

Heathens *and* Pagans; *by theſe names are meant the* Danes *and* Norwegians, *together with the* Goths, Swedes, *and* Vandals, *which for ſo long together waſted* England, l. 5. p. 255, 256.

Heavens; *a Red-Croſs appeared in the Heavens after Sun-ſet,* l. 4. p. 230.

Hedda, *when he ſate as firſt Biſhop of* Wincheſter, Id. p. 181.

Took the Biſhoprick of the Eaſt-Saxons, Id. p. 196.

His Death, and Excellent Character, Id. p. 212, 213.

Heddi, *conſecrated Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *that is, of the* Weſt-Saxons, *by Archbiſhop* Theodore, *when,* l. 4. p. 193.

Heddi (Stephen) *the Author of the Life of St.* Wilfrid, *his Account of the Quarrel between* Egfrid *King of* Northumberland, *and that Biſhop,* l. 4. p. 197.

Heliogabolus (Anton.) *ſucceeds* Opilius Macrinus *in the Empire, but after three years Reign is killed by the* Prætorian *Band,* l. 2. p. 80.

Helmeſtan, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and the Dean of that Church, had the Education of Prince* Ethelwulf, *during the Life of his Elder Brother,* l. 5. p. 257.

Helmham *in* Norfolk, *a Biſhop's See, taken out of the Biſhoprick of* Dunmoc, l. 4. p. 193.

Is continued to be the ſole Biſhop's See for the Kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles, *till long after that it was removed to* Norwich, l. 5. p. 274.

Hemeida, *a* Welſh *King, expelled the Biſhops of St.* Davids, *and Archbiſhop* Novis, *but at laſt he and all the Inhabitants of* South-Wales, *and* Rodri *with his Six Sons ſubmit to* Alfred, l. 5. p. 306.

Hengeſt *and* Horſa, *their firſt coming over to* Britain, l. 3. p. 118.

They were originally Saxons *by Deſcent,* Ib. & p. 120.

Thoſe that came over with them were rather Friſians, Id. p. 120.

Were

Were the Sons of Witgilſus, *who was the Son of* Witta, *and he the Son of* Vecta, *and he the Son of* Woden, Id. p. 121.

Hengeſt *demands of King* Vortigern *the Countrey of* Kent *for his Daughter, and has it,* Id. p. 126.
Sends over for Octa *and* Ebuſa, *his Son and Nephew,* Ibid. & p. 142.
Is choſen King by the Saxons, *and made to retire into the Iſle of* Thanet, Id. p. 128.
When he and his Son Æsk *fought againſt the* Britains, *and obtained a great Victory,* l. 3. p. 129.
When he and his Brother fought again with them, and took much ſpoil, Id. p. 131.
His Death, Id. p. 132.
With Alrick, *King of* Kent, *ended the Race of* Hengeſt, l. 4. p. 238.
His Brother Horſa, *ſlain at* Engleford *in* Kent, l. 3. p. 128.

Hengeſtdune (*now* Hengſton *in* Cornwal) *where King* Egbert *beats the* Danes *and* Weſtern Welſh, l. 5. p. 257.

Henwald, *two Prieſts of this name barbarouſly murthered by the* Old Saxons, *and their Bodies flung into the* Rhine; *but their Murther was notoriouſly revenged,* l. 4. p. 212.

Heofenfield (*or* Heaven-field), *lying near to what we call the* Picts-Wall, l. 4. p. 177.

Heraclitus, *made by* Severus *Lieutenant of the* Southern *Parts of* Britain, l. 2. p. 74.

Herefrith, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *his Deceaſe,* l. 5. p. 257.

Hereman, *King* Edward *the* Confeſſor's *Chaplain, ſucceeds* Brightwulf *in the Biſhoprick of* Shireburne, l. 6. p. 73.
Is ſent with Biſhop Aldred *to the great Synod held at* Rome, *and for what,* Id. p. 75.

Hereſy, Arrian, *when it firſt began to infect* Britain, l. 2. p. 106.
Pelagian, *when it was broached here by a* Britiſh *Monk, for abſolute* Freewill, *without the Aſſiſting Grace of God,* l. 2. p. 107.
Of Eutiches (*who maintained but One Will and Perſon in Chriſt*), *condemned in a Synod at* Heathfield *in* Hertfordſhire, l. 4. p. 199.

Herethaland, *that is, the Countrey of* Pyrates, l. 4. p. 235.

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Hethfield, *ſuppoſed* Hatfield *in* Yorkſhire, *where King* Edwin *was ſlain, and his whole Army quite routed,* l. 4. p. 176.
In Hertfordſhire, *where* Theodore *the Archbiſhop ſummoned a Synod, in which the* Five Firſt General Councils *were not only received and confirmed, but the latter held at* Rome *under Pope* Martyn I. l. 4. p. 199.

Hiberni, *whether* Iriſh-men *or* Scotch *underſtood by that name,* l. 2. p. 83, 84.

Higbald, *conſecrated at* Soccabrig *to be Biſhop of* Lindiſfarne, l. 4. p. 232.
When he deceaſed, and who was his Succeſſor, l. 5. p. 248.

Higbert, *conſecrated Biſhop of* Hagulſtad, *in the room of Biſhop* Alchmund, l. 4. p. 232.
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Hilda, *founds the Monaſtery of* Streanſhale, *in which ſhe lived, and died Abbeſs,* l. 4. p. 188, 199.
Grand-Niece to King Edwin, *and converted by* Paulinus: *Her ſevere Sanctity,* Id. p. 199.
Very much againſt Biſhop Wilfrid, *upon ſubſtantial reaſons,* Id. p. 215.

Hinguar *and* Hubba, *two cruel* Daniſh *Tyrants, burnt* Coldingham-*Nunnery, with the Abbeſs and all her Nuns in it; and many other Monaſteries,* l. 5. p. 269, 270.
And deſtroys the whole Countrey of the Eaſt-Angles, *and* Edmund *their King,* l. 5. p. 270, 271, 272, 273, 274.
Makes a great ſlaughter of the Britains, *but is ſlain with* 1200 *men, near the Caſtle of* Kenwith, Id. p. 281.

Hlothe. *Vid.* Troops.

Hock-Wedneſday, *a Holiday in Memory of* Hardecnute's *Death, on which the people danced, and drew Cords acroſs the ways, as they do now on ſtated days in ſeveral Pariſhes in* England, *to ſtop Paſſengers till they get ſome Money from them,* l. 6. p. 68.

Holland *in* Lincolnſhire, *anciently called* Hoyland, *whence all the Youth were drawn out againſt the* Danes, *and their Succeſs,* l. 5. p. 270.

Homage; *whether the Submiſſion the King of* Scots *paid to King* Edward *the* Elder, *amounted to it, queſtioned,* l. 5. p. 323.
The ſtory of Llewelyn, *Prince of* North-Wales, *his doing* Homage *to* Edward *the* Elder, *very ſuſpicious; for that Ceremony was not in uſe till after the coming in of the* Normans, Id. p. 328.
Godwin's *performing it, if Authentick, would ſhew this Tenure to be in uſe before the Conqueſt; but it is much doubted,* l. 6. p. 83, 84.
Vid. Fealty.

Honorius, *the Emperor of the* Weſt, *had, during his Minority,* Stilico *appointed for his Governor,* l. 2. p. 97.
Admits Conſtantine *Partner with him in the Empire,* l. 2. p. 102.
Delivers Gaule *up to the* Goths, *and did not in his time recover the Province of* Britain, Id. p. 105.

Honorius, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *received his Ordination from* Paulinus, l. 4. p. 175.

Conſecrates Ithamar *a* Kentiſh-man, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter *(in the room of* Paulinus*) who was equal to his Predeceſſors in Learning and Piety,* Id. p. 181.

His Death, and who ſucceeded him in the Archbiſhoprick, Id. p. 185, 186.

Honorius *Succeeds* Boniface *in the* Roman See, *and ſends* Paulinus *(upon his hearing the* Northumbrians *had received the* Chriſtian Faith *by his Preaching) an Archiepiſcopal Pall,* &c. l. 4. p. 175.

Another Pope of the ſame Name, by his Bull *not only ratifies all the Privileges confirmed by former Popes to the Abbey of St.* Albans, *but grants to that and his Succeſſors, Epiſcopal Rights,* &c. Id. p. 237, 238.

Hoocnorton *in* Oxfordſhire, *anciently* Hocneratune, *where the* Danes *committed great Ravages and Slaughter,* l. 5. p. 319.

Horeſti, *ſuppoſed to be the Inhabitants of* Eskdale *in* Scotland, l. 2. p. 63.

Horſa, *Vid.* Hengeſt.

Horſes, *Forbidden by King* Athelſtane's *Law to be Tranſported out of* England, l. 5. p. 341.

St. Dunſtan's *Horſe falling down dead under him, upon his hearing a voice from Heaven, crying aloud,* King Edred is dead; *as true as that the Sea burns,* Id. p. 351.

Hoſtages *given to* Sweyn *the* Dane *where-ever he came,* l. 6. p. 37, 38.

Hoſtilianus (Trebonianus Gallus) Depoſed *from the Empire by the* Soldiers *that firſt raiſed him to it,* l. 2. p. 81.

Houſes Religious, *Vid.* Monaſteries.

Howel, *Brother to* Conan, *Prince of* Wales, *upon a Quarrel betwixt them, obtains the Victory; it was upon his claiming the Iſle of* Angleſey, l. 5. p. 250.

Howel, *the Son of* Jevaf, *reſtores his Father to his Liberty, but takes upon himſelf the ſole Government of all* North-Wales, l. 6. p. 7, 9.

His being Subject to King Edgar, Id. p. 9.

Makes War upon all who Succour his Uncle Jago, *and the Countries he Spoils,* Id. p. 16.

Routs the Danes *and* Welſh-men, *aſſiſted* Conſtantine *the* Black, *(Son to Prince* Jago*) who is there ſlain in the Field,* Id. p. 20.

Comes into England *with an Army, where he was fought with, and killed in Battel; leaving no Iſſue of his Body,* Id. p. 21.

Howel *and* Meredyth, *the Sons of* Edwin *or* Owen, *how they came to get the Government of* South-Wales, l. 6. p. 56.

Is forced to fly his Countrey from Griffyth ap Lewelin ap Sitſylt, Id. p. 64.

Is ſlain, and his Army routed by Prince Griffyth, Id. p. 71.

Howel Dha *Succeeds his Father* Cadelh *in the Principality of* South-Wales, l. 5. p. 315.

Takes upon him the Government of all Wales, *His Laws and Character,* Id. p. 337.

A worthy Prince; his Death and Iſſue; and whom he left his Heirs to all South-Wales, Id. p. 349. l. 6. p. 9.

His Sons engaged in long Wars with Jago *and* Jevaf, *Princes of* North-Wales, Id. p. 349, 350.

Hubba, *Vid. the next Word.*

Hubbleſtones, *or* Hubbleſtow, *in* Devonſhire, *had its Name from a* Daniſh *Captain (one* Hubba*) being ſlain by* Odun, *Earl of that County, and there buried under a heap of ſtones,* l. 5. p. 281.

Huda *and his* Surrey-men, *with* Ealcher *and his* Kentiſh-men, *fight the* Daniſh *Army in the Iſle of* Thanet, *and their Succeſs,* l. 5. p. 262.

Huena, *General of King* Ethelred's *Forces, his advice to have all the* Danes *in* England *ſlain, and for what reaſon; which was barbarouſly put in execution,* l. 6. p. 29, 30.

Hugh, *King of the* French, *ſends an Ambaſſador to King* Athelſtan *to demand his Siſter in Marriage,* l. 5. p. 339.

Hundred-Courts, *every one to be preſent at them,* l. 6. p. 13, 14.

Hundreds, *when the Counties were firſt thus divided by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 291.

Every one of Free Condition ought to enter himſelf into ſome Hundred, l. 6. p. 58, 104.

The puniſhment of them, how it came to be in uſe where a Murther could not be found, Id. p. 101.

Hunferth *has the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter *reſigned to him by* Daniel, *Biſhop thereof, and why,* l. 4. p. 224.

He dies, and who ſucceeds him, l. 4. p. 226.

Hungus *King of the* Picts *(by* Achaius *King of the* Scots *his helping him with a Thouſand Men) beats the* Engliſh, *and ſlays one King* Athelſtan *in fight. A mere fancy the whole ſtory,* l. 5. p. 250.

Hunting, *Liberty for every Man to Hunt in his own ground, but none to meddle with the King's Game under a penalty,* l. 6. p. 60.

Huntington, *anciently called* Huntandune, l. 5. p. 321.

Is repaired and rebuilt in thoſe places that had been deſtroyed, by the Command of King Edward *the* Elder, Id. p. 322.

Huſſa *Succeeds* Freodguald *in the Kingdom of* Bernicia, l. 3. p. 146.

Hyde, *an Abbey called by this Name, near* Wincheſter, l. 5. p. 318.

Hye, *an Iſland that had always a Biſhop reſiding in it,* l. 3. p. 143, 144.

The

The Monks of Hye Converted by Egbert to the Right Faith, in making them to obſerve Eaſter Orthodoxly, as alſo the Eccleſiaſtical Tonſure, l. 4. p. 217.

I

JAgo and Jevaf, Princes of North-Wales, raiſe great and long Wars to get the Supreme Government of all Wales, as being of the Elder Houſe to the Sons of Howel, l. 5. p. 349, 350.

Civil Wars between them, Jago keeping his Brother Priſoner by force for near ſix years, l. 6. p. 6.

Jevaf reſtored to his Liberty by his Son Howel, and Jago driven out of the Countrey, but by Edgar's mediation with Howel, his Uncle, was reſtored to what he held in Jevaf's time, Id. p. 7.

Great Commotions in Wales upon theſe Princes and their Sons accounts, and the iſſue thereof, Id. p. 16, 20, 21, 22, 23.

Jago, Son to Edwal, a Prince of Wales, is advanced to the Throne, as lawful Heir, but could not be admitted to South-Wales, Id. p. 53.

His Soldiers deſerting him, he is ſlain in Battel by Griffyth ap Lewelin, Id. p. 64.

Janbryht (alſo called Lambert) Conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, received the Pall, l. 4. p. 228, 229.

Loſt part of his Province to the See of Litchfield, Id. p. 233.

His Death, and who ſucceeded him, Id. p. 236.

Japhet, very probable that Europe was Peopled by his Poſterity, l. 1. p. 4.

From him originally deſcended the Saxons that firſt came into Britain, l. 3. p. 121.

Iberi, were the Spaniards, by whom the Southern part of Britain was Peopled, l. 1. p. 4.

Icanho, ſuppoſed to be Boſton in Lincolnſhire, where one Bottulf began to build a Monaſtery, l. 4. p. 185.

Iceni, thoſe who inhabited Suffolk, Norfolk, Camebridge, and Huntingtonſhire, l. 2. p. 42.

Their being overcome by Oſtorius Scapula, Id. Ib.

Are turned out of their ancient Eſtates, and treated like Slaves, Id. p. 47.

With the Trinobantes, riſe up in Arms againſt the Romans, to deliver themſelves from their hated ſervitude, Id. p. 47, 48.

Ida, the firſt that took upon him the Title of King of the Northumbrian Kingdom, who had Twelve Sons, partly by Wives, partly by Concubines; with his Sons he came into Britain, and landed at Flensburgh with Forty Ships, and built Bamborough Caſtle in Northumberland, l. 3. p. 142.

He hath the Character of being a very Gallant Man, but dies within a few years, Id. p. 143.

Idel, a River on the Mercian Border, now in Nottinghamſhire, l. 4. p. 170, 171.

Idols, Their Temples Pope Gregory would not have pulled down, but a-new Conſecrated, l. 4. p. 158.

Coifi, Burns and utterly deſtroys the Idol Temples, l. 4. p. 173, 174.

Are deſtroyed at Earcombert's Command throughout his Kingdom of Kent, Id. p. 180.

Jerne, that is according to the Scottiſh Writers, the Province of Strathern, l. 2. p. 98.

Jeruſalem, the Temple there, laboured (though in vain) to be rebuilt by Alypius, a Heathen, l. 2. p. 90.

Jews, all that were in the Kingdom to be under the Protection of the King, l. 6. p. 102.

Iffi, the Son of Prince Oſfrid, received Baptiſm, l. 4. p. 174, 176.

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Igmond the Dane, with a great Number of Soldiers, Lands in the Iſle of Angleſey, where they obtain a Victory over the Welſhmen, who gave them Battel, l. 5. p. 303.

Ilford, near Chriſt-Church in Hampſhire, ſeated in the New Foreſt, called Itene in Engliſh-Saxon, perhaps it anciently went by the Name of Ityngaford, l. 5. p. 314.

Iltutus, a Pious and Learned Britain of Glamorganſhire, l. 3. p. 149.

Images, not introduced into the Engliſh-Saxon Church at the foundation of the Abbey of Eveſham, by Edwin Biſhop of Worceſter, as is pretended by ſome, l. 4. p. 216, 217.

Image-Worſhip, the Church of God wholly abominated, as practiſed in the Greek and Roman Churches, and was not then receiv'd in England, l. 4. p. 236, 237.

Impoſtor, a notable Scotch one, who called himſelf Run, ſets up for Prince of South-Wales, but he and his Army ſoon put to the Rout, l. 6. p. 52.

Ina, King of the Weſt-Saxons, builds a Monaſtery at Glaſtenbury, endows it with divers Lands, and exempts it from all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; Reigns Seven and thirty years, goes to Rome, and there Dies, l. 4. p. 204, 218, 219, 220.

The Son of Kenred, the Son of Ceolwald, when he took the Kingdom, but without any Right of Succeſſive Deſcent, Id. p. 205.

Summons the firſt Authentick Great Council, whoſe Laws are come to us entire, Id. p. 208, 209.

The Kentiſh-*men enter into a League with him, and give him Thirty thouſand Pounds for his Friendſhip, and why,* Id. p. 209.

And Nun *his Kinſman fight with* Gerent *King of the* Britains, Id. p. 215.

And Ceolred *fight a bloody Battel at* Wodenſburgh *in* Wiltſhire, Id. p. 217.

Fights with the South-Saxons, *and ſlays* Eadbert Ætheling, *whom before he had baniſhed,* Id. p. 218.

Romeſcot *is conferred on the Biſhop of* Rome *firſt by him; but if ſo, it muſt be with the Conſent of the* Great Council *of the Kingdom,* Id. p. 219.

A Great Example of his Magnanimity and Juſtice, Piety and Devotion, Id. p. 219, 220.

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Indian Apoſtles; *St.* Thomas *and St.* Bartholomew *were ſo called, becauſe they were there martyr'd,* l. 5. p. 286.

Indians; *their deadly Feud againſt all the Kindred of one that murthers any of them,* l. 5. p. 347.

Ingerlingum, *the place where King* Oſwin *was treacherouſly murthered, and where afterwards a Monaſtery was built,* l. 4. p. 182, 183.

Ingild, *the Brother of King* Ina, *his Death,* l. 4. p. 218.

Ingwar, *a* Daniſh *Captain, who held* London, *is ſlain by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 286.

Inqueſt (Grand) *the Antiquity of Trials by them of more than twelve men,* l. 6. p. 43.

Inteſtates; *how the Goods of thoſe who dye ſo, are to be diſtributed,* l. 6. p. 59.

Inundation; *a mighty one about* Greenwich, *that drowned both many People and Towns,* l. 6. p. 39.

Invaſion, *Of the* Romans *upon the* Britains, *an Account thereof; as alſo of that of the* Picts *and* Scots; *and then of the* Engliſh-Saxons; *after that of the* Danes; *and laſtly of the* Normans, Ep. Dedic. l. 5. p. 246.

John of Beverlie; *firſt he was Biſhop of* Hagulſtad, *then of* York, l. 4. p. 202, 213, 215.

He was Biſhop Three and thirty Years, and Eight Months, then dies, and is buried at Beverlie, *and afterwards canonized by the name of St.* John of Beverlie, Id. p. 218.

John, *ſirnamed* Scotus *and* Erigena, *and* Grimbald, *aſſiſted King* Alfred *in founding the Univerſity of* Oxford: *He tranſlates* Dionyſius *his* Hierarchia *out of* Greek *into* Latin, l. 5. p. 306.

Jointures; *the Antiquity of them ſhewn from a Law of King* Edmund, l. 5. p. 348.

Joſeph of Arimathea, *his coming to preach the Goſpel here,* l. 2. p. 52, 53.

Jovian, *choſen Emperor by the Army; who refuſing to command Heathens, they cried out,* They were all Chriſtians, *and then he accepts the Empire. He dies Seven Months after, by the Damp of a new-plaiſter'd Chamber where he lay, at* Daduſtana, *on the Borders of* Galatia, l. 2. p. 91.

Ipſwich *in* Suffolk (*anciently* Gipiſwic) *is waſted by the* Danes, l. 6. p. 23.

Ireland *exceeds all the Iſlands of the* Mediterranean Sea, *and therefore it was thought worth* Agricola's *Conqueſt,* l. 2. p. 57, 58.

Called Scotland *by* Columba, l. 3. p. 143.

The Letters directed by Archbiſhop Laurentius *to the* Iriſh *Biſhops, about the better obſerving of* Eaſter, *are ſuperſcribed to them,* per Univerſam Scotiam, *that is, throughout* Ireland, l. 4. p. 166.

Coleman, *Biſhop of* Lindiſfarne, *his departure into* Ireland *is there called* Scotland, Id. p. 189.

Is miſerably waſted by King Egfrid's *Army, which he ſent under one* Bert (*or* Bryt) *his General,* Id. p. 201.

Iſland; *'tis abſolutely neceſſary to maintain a powerful Fleet, if ever any Iſland means to be ſafe,* l. 6. p. 35.

Ithamar, *a* Kentiſh *man, ſucceeds* Paulinus *in the Biſhoprick of* Rocheſter, l. 4. p. 181.

Conſecrates Deus-Dedit *in the Archbiſhoprick of* Canterbury, Id. p. 186.

Ithanceſter, *upon the Bank of the River* Pent, *was anciently a City,* l. 4. p. 184.

Ivor, *Son to* Allan, *or* Aſſer, *Duke of* Armorica, *or* Little-Bretaigne, *conquers the Countries of* Cornwal, Devonſhire, *and* Somerſetſhire, *and re-peoples them with* Britains, *and by Agreement marries* Ethelburga, *Couſin to* Kentwyn, l. 3. p. 145. l. 4. p. 201, 220.

Is by the Welſh *Chronicles recorded to have reigned in* Wales, l. 4. p. 220.

Judges, *when they were firſt appointed by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 291.

None ſhould preſume to take upon them this Office without due Qualifications. How many Alfred *hang'd in one year for their falſe Judgments,* Id. p. 308.

Obliged to execute Juſtice according to the evidence of thoſe that were ſummoned, Id. p. 325.

How often they were to hold the Gemot, *or Aſſembly for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice,* Id. p. 326.

King Edgar's *Law of fining a Judge that paſſes an unjuſt Sentence, unleſs he will take his*

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Julian *the Emperor*, *commands the Villain* Paulus *to be burnt alive, and why*, l. 2. p. 89.
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Marches againſt Conſtantius, *is called the* Apoſtate, *and killed by an Arrow in a Battel againſt the* Perſians, Id. p. 91.

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Wholly inhabit the Countrey of Kent, *with the leave and conſent of King* Vortigern, Id. p. 126.
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K

KEawlin. *Vid.* Ceawlin.

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Kenelm, *Son to King* Kenwulf, *ſucceeds his Father, under the Tutelage of his Siſter* Quendride, *who makes him away, out of an Ambition of reigning her ſelf,* l. 5. p. 251, 252.

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A weak Prince, by the aſſiſtance of Able and Faithful Councellors, may Govern his Kingdom prudently and happily, *Id. p.* 267.

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L

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Between

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Lent, *by the Authority of* Earcombert, *Ordained to be obſerved, which ſeems to have been the* firſt *obſerved in* England *by a Law,* l. 4. p. 180.
Leo *the Pope, whom the* Romans *took, and cut out his Tongue and put out his Eyes,* Depoſing *him, but he was Reſtored to every thing he had loſt Miraculouſly,* l. 4. p. 241.
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Leo, *Biſhop of* Treve, *ſent by Pope* John *as his* Nuntio *to King* Ethelred, *with Letters of Complaint againſt the* Marquiſs *of* Normandy, l. 6. p. 24.
Leof, *a notorious Thief, Baniſhed by King* Edmund, *but he returned, and at a great Entertainment of the King's, Stabs him, ſo that he inſtantly died,* l. 5. p. 345.
Leofgar, *Ordained Biſhop of* Hereford *in the room of Biſhop* Athelſtane, *together with his Clerks, is Slain by* Griffyn *Prince of* Wales, l. 6. p. 87.
Leofred, *a* Dane, *his Ravages in* Wales, *but at laſt is Beheaded by* Athelſtan's *Order,* l. 5. p. 321.
Leofric, *Earl of* Mercia (*with his Lady* Godiva) *Founders of the Monaſtery of* Coventry, *and the Repairers of ſeveral others,* l. 6. p. 71, 72.
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Leofric, *King* Edward *the* Confeſſor's *Chaplain, ſucceeds* Living, *Biſhop of* Devonſhire, (*that is, of* Exeter,) l. 6. p. 73.
  Is Enthroned there, he walking to Church between the King and Queen Editha, *his Wife,* Id. p. 78.
Leofwin, *the Abbot, is unjuſtly Expelled from the Monaſtery of* Elig, *goes with Archbiſhop* Athelnoth *to* Rome, *and there clears himſelf before the Pope, of what he had been accuſed,* l. 6. p. 53.
Leotheta (*in* French, Judith) *Daughter of* Charles *the* Bald *King of the* Franks, *Married to* Ethelwulf *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, l. 5. p. 263.
  Places her by him on his Royal Throne, but the Nation would not permit her to be called Queen, *for there was formerly a Law made againſt it, upon account of a certain wicked Queen, called* Eadburga, *Wife to King* Brythtric, Id. p. 264.
Lethard, *Biſhop to* Bertha, *Wife of* Ethelbert *King of* Kent, *whom ſhe brings over with her from* France *to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen her in the* Chriſtian *Faith,* l. 4. p. 153.
  Levatriæ, *now* Bows *upon* Standmore *in* Richmondſhire, l. 2. p. 74.
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Leutherius, *or* Lothair, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, l. 4. p. 192. *Vid.* Eleutherius.
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Llewelin, *Prince of* North-Wales, *ſurely miſtaken, and put inſtead of* Howel *King of* South-Wales, l. 5. p. 328.
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  Raiſes great Forces againſt Aedan ap Blegored *the Uſurper of his Countrey, and in a bloody Battel Kills him with his Four Sons. His Deſcent,* Id. p. 40.
  After Conan's *Death he poſſeſſes himſelf of* South-Wales, *and Governs both the Countries with great Peace and Proſperity,* Id. p. 51, 52.
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Liblacum, *ſignifies the Art of Conjuration, or Witchcraft, that ſort of it particularly called Faſcination,* l. 5. p. 340.
Licinius, (Priſcus) *Proprætor, or Lieutenant in this Iſland in* Hadrian's *time,* l. 2. p. 67.
Lideford, *anciently called* Hildaford, l. 6 p. 26.

Liſing *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 6. p. 37.

Deceaſes, and who ſucceeds in his room, Id. p. 51.

Lightning, *ſuch fell as the Age had never ſeen before; it appeared as if the ſtars ſhot from Heaven,* l. 4. p. 224. l. 5. p. 261.

Vid. Miracles and Prodigies.

Strange kind of Wild-Fire *appeared, ſuch as none ever remembred, and did a great deal of miſchief,* l. 6. p. 56.

Limene, *a River, lying from the* Eaſtern *part of* Kent, *as far as the* Eaſt-*end of that great Wood called* Andred, l. 5. p. 299.

Lindiſfarne, *an Iſle and Epiſcopal See, till that Church was deſtroyed by the* Danes, *and then the See was removed to* Durham, l. 3. p. 144.

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Eadbert, *King of* Northumberland, *cauſes the Cathedral Church to be beſieged,* Id. p. 225.

Lindiſſe, *the* Danes *(landing at* Humberſtan*) ſpoil all that Countrey,* l. 4. p. 170.

Lindiſſi, *now* Lincoln, l. 4. p. 175.

Litchfield, *anciently called* Licetfield, l. 4. p. 217.

Two Biſhops ordained in this Dioceſs on the Death of Alwin, Id. p. 223.

Becomes an Archbiſhoprick, the Biſhops of the Provinces of the Kingdom of Mercia, *and the* Eaſt-Angles, *ſubject to it; obtained of the Pope by* Offa, Id. p. 229, 233.

The Archbiſhoprick confirm'd by a General Synod of the Kingdom, Id. p. 233.

Becomes again an ordinary Biſhoprick, ſubject to the See of Canterbury, Id. p. 235.

Living, *Abbot of* Taviſtock, *brings the Letter that* Cnute *wrote upon his Return from* Rome, *and ſent into* England, *the Purport of which is there ſet down,* l. 6. p. 55.

Succeeded in the Biſhopricks of Worceſter *and* Glouceſter, Id. p. 65.

Is accuſed to King Hardecnute, *and* deprived *of his Biſhoprick,* Id. p. 67.

Living, *Biſhop of* Devonſhire, *(that is,* Exeter*) deceaſes, and who ſucceeds him,* Id. p. 73.

London, *ſaid (though without any ground of truth) to be called by* Brute, Troja Nova, *which in time was changed to* Trinobantum, *or* Troynovant, l. 1. p. 9.

Mellitus *made Biſhop of* London, l. 4. p. 159, 166.

When it had been part of the Eaſt-Saxon *Kingdom for above One hundred years,* Id. p. 177.

When it ſuffered great miſchief by Fire, Id. p. 229.

With a great Multitude of its Inhabitants conſumed by a ſudden Fire, Id. p. 242.

Taken by the Danes, *Three hundred of their Ships coming into the Mouth of* Thames, l. 5. p. 261.

Tribute due from the King of Aberfraw *to the King of* London, l. 5. p. 229. l. 6. p. 3.

Taken from the Danes *by King* Alfred, *who repairs it,* l. 5. p. 288.

The City miſerably deſtroyed by Fire, l. 6. p. 21.

Beſieged by the Danes, *but they were forced to draw off,* Id. p. 25.

Always gave the Danes *an ill Reception,* Id. p. 34.

Becomes ſubject, and gives Hoſtages to Sweyn *the* Dane, Id. p. 38.

Beſieged by the Daniſh *Forces both by Land and Sea, but* God *delivers it from their fury,* Id. p. 46.

Submits to the Danes *(as part of the* Mercian *Kingdom) who take up their Winter-Quarters there,* Id. p. 48.

The flouriſhing Trade and Wealth of it, that in Cnute's *time could pay above a ſeventh part of that exceſſive Tax of* Danegelt *which was laid on the whole Nation,* Id. p. 51.

Lords, *to have none of the Inteſtate's Goods, but what is due to them as a* Heriot, l. 6. p. 59.

Lord's-Day; *if any Servant do then any work by his Maſter's order, he ſhall be* free, *and his Maſter fined Thirty Shillings; but if he does it of his own accord, he ſhall be* beaten, &c. *The Puniſhment of a Freeman, or Prieſt, that worketh on that day,* l. 4. p. 208, 211. l. 5. p. 285.

Strictly obſerved in the Saxon *times,* l. 4. p. 209.

No Market to be held on this day, under Penalty of the Wares, *and a Mulct of Thirty Shillings beſides, by King* Athelſtan's *twenty fourth Law,* l. 5. p. 341.

Edgar's *Law for keeping this day like the* Jewiſh *Sabbath,* l. 6. p. 13.

Lord's-Prayer. *Vid.* Creed.

Lothaire, *King of* Kent, *his Death,* l. 4. p. 202.

Lothair, *Nephew of Biſhop* Agelbert, *takes on him the Epiſcopal Charge over the* Weſt-Saxons, l. 4. p. 192.

Lothebroc, *deſcended from the Royal Family in* Denmark; *the ſtory of his coming hither into* Norfolk, *and being killed by King* Edmund's *Huntſman, the Body found out by his own Greyhound,* l. 5. p. 272, 273.

Lots; *none to be caſt for deciding of Civil Controverſies,* l. 4. p. 234.

Lucius, *ſucceeds his Father* Coil, *the Tributary King of the* Britains; *is called* Lees, *ſirnamed by the* Britains Lever-Maur, *that is, the* Great Light, l. 2. p. 68.

In the beginning of Commodus *his Reign, he ſends to* Eleutherius, *then Biſhop of* Rome, *deſiring by his means to be made a Chriſtian,* Id. p. 68, 69.

But the ſtory ſeems to be of very ſuſpicious credit, Id. p. 69.

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Lucullus (Saluſtius) *Legate of* Britain *in the days of* Domitian, l. 2. p. 65.

Ludgate, *received its name from King* Lud, *as conjectured,* l. 1. p. 16.

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Lupicinus, *ſent into* Britain *by* Julian, *to compoſe the Troubles there raiſed by the* Scots *and* Picts, l. 2. p. 90.

Lupus, *Biſhop of* Troyes, *and* Germanus *Biſhop of* Auxerre, *ſent to confirm* Britain *in the Catholick Faith,* l. 2. p. 107.

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M

MAccuſe, *King of* Man *and ſeveral other Iſlands,* l. 6. p. 9.

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His Deceaſe, Id. p. 148. *Vid.* Malgo.

Magnentius, *ſlays* Conſtans, *and keeps the* Weſtern *Empire from* Conſtantius *for three years; and then, not longer being able to conteſt it, kills himſelf at* Lyons, l. 2. p. 89.

Maildulf, *a* Scotch *Monk, and Philoſopher,* l. 4. p. 195.

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Malcolm, *King of* Scots, *receives from King* Edmund *the whole Countrey of* Cumberland, *upon condition to aſſiſt him both by Sea and Land,* l. 5. p. 344.

And to attend him at ſeveral great Feaſts *in the year, when he held his* Common-Council; *and for that end divers Houſes were aſſigned him to lye at by the way,* Id. p. 345.

Receives Sweyn, *and gives him free Quarter for fourteen years,* l. 6. p. 26.

Waſtes the Province of the Northumbers, *and beſieges* Durham, Id. p. 27.

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Malcolm
the [illegible]
[illegible] to the
[illegible]
[illegible] p. 91.

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Take Arms againſt their Earl Toſtige, ſlaying his Servants and ſeizing his Treaſures; committing a world of Outrages and Deſolations: And what the ground of this Inſurrection, Id. p. 90, 91,

Northumbrian Kingdom began in Ida, and when, l. 3. p. 142.

Becomes divided into Two, viz. Deira and Bernicia, Id. p. 143.

The Cuſtom of this Nation was anciently to ſell their own Children, or other near Relations to Foreign Merchants, l. 4. p. 152.

A perverſe and perfidious Nation, worſe than Pagans, Id. p. 240.

A certain Youth is made King hereof by the joint Conſent of both the Engliſh and Danes, King Alfred himſelf confirming the Election, l. 5. p. 286.

North-Wales, a part of the Roman Province, anciently called Genoani, or Guinethia, l. 2. p. 68. l. 5. p. 317.

All the Coaſts thereabouts ſpoiled by the Danes, l. 5. p. 319.

Upon the Death of Howel Dha, it returned to the Two Sons of Edwal Voel, l. 5. p. 349.

Is ſorely harraſſed by King Edgar, and the cauſe of the War, l. 6. p. 3, 4.

War is made upon it by Eneon, who ſubdues all the Countrey of Gwin or Gwir, Id. p. 6, 16.

Is Conquered by Meredyth, Prince of South-Wales for himſelf, Id. p. 22.

On the Death of Edwal ap Meyric, it was under an Anarchy for ſome time, l. 6. p. 25.

It gave occaſion to great diſturbances, till Ædan got and held it for Twelve Years, but whether by Election, or Force, uncertain, Id. p. 30, 31.

Blithen and Rithwallen made Joint Princes thereof by King Edward the Confeſſor, Id. p. 90.

Norway, Harold Harfager their King, coming with a great Fleet to Invade England, Lands in Yorkſhire but is ſlain in Battel with moſt of his Men, l. 6. p. 109.

Norwich, the only Biſhop in England, ſince the Diſſolution of Monaſteries, that has ſtill the Title of an Abbot, l. 6. p. 54.

Nothelm receives his Pall from Rome, and is made Archbiſhop of Canterbury after Tatwin, l. 4. p. 223.

His Death, and who is Conſecrated in his room, Id. p. 224.

Numerianus, the Son of the Emperor Carus, made Cæſar by him, whom he takes with him into the Eaſt; but this pious Son was ſlain by Aper, one of his Captains, l. 2. p. 83.

Nunnery, Vid. Monaſtery.

Nunnichia, the Wife of Gerontius, her extraordinary Courage and Affection to her Husband;

band, who was prevailed upon to ſlay her by her own Importunity, rather than ſhe would be left behind him, expoſed to the violence of an enraged Multitude, l. 2. p. 103.

O

OAkly *in* Surrey, *anciently called* Aclea, *where the* Danes *were beaten by King* Æthelwulf, l. 5. p. 261.

Oath of Fidelity. *Vid.* Fealty.

The Oath the Danes *took to King* Alfred *(which they ne'er would take before to any Nation) upon a Sacred* Bracelet, *to depart the Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 278.

*Or Pledge (*i.e. *a man's Promiſe to obſerve the Law, and keep the Peace) to be ſtrictly kept, and the Puniſhment in breaking it, made by King* Alfred, Id. p. 292.

To give Security by Oath at twelve years of Age, and for what, l. 6. p. 58.

Vid. Purgation.

Odo, *Biſhop of* Wells, *ſucceeds* Wulfhelme *in the Archbiſhoprick of* Canterbury. *His Character,* l. 5. p. 333.

Is ſeverely revenged on the Lady Athelgiva, *for cauſing King* Edwi *to turn all the Monks out of divers Monaſteries, and putting Secular Channons in their rooms,* Id. p. 354.

His Deceaſe, l. 6. p. 2.

Offa, *the Son of* Sigher, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *marries* Keneſwith, *but not long after, through her perſuaſions, takes upon him a Monaſtick Life, and goes to* Rome *for that end,* l. 4. p. 214. *Vid.* 217.

Is propoſed as a Pattern for all other Princes to follow, Id p. 214.

Offa, *expels the Uſurper* Beornred, *King of the* Mercians, *(His Pedigree.) and ſucceeds him by the* General Conſent *of the Nobles, and afterwards becomes a Terror to all the Kings of* England, Id. p. 227.

Obtains of the Pope a Pall for the See of Litchfield *to become an Archbiſhoprick,* Id. p. 229.

Subdues the Nation of the Heſtings, *but who they were, is not known,* Id. p. 230.

And Cynwulf *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *fight at* Benſington *in* Oxfordſhire, *where* Offa *prevails,* Id. Ib. & p. 236.

Is forced to make a Peace with the Saxon *Kings,* Id. p. 231.

Seizes on the whole Countrey of North *and* South-Wales, *planting* Saxons *in their places, and annexes them to his own Kingdom, making a famous* Ditch *from Sea to Sea, to defend his Countrey from the Incurſions of the* Welſh, *called* Offa's Ditch, Ibid. & p. 239.

His Eldeſt Son Egfred *(or* Egbert, *as in the* Saxon *Annals) is anointed and crowned King with him,* l. 4. p. 233, 235.

Builds a new Church and Monaſtery in honour of St. Alban, Id. p. 237.

His Death, after he had reigned forty years, and Burial in a Chappel at Bedford, *near the River* Ouſe. *He had a great mixture in him of Virtues and Vices, and ſeems to have been the firſt of our* Engliſh-Saxon *Kings, who maintained any great Correſpondence with Foreign Princes,* Id. p. 238.

His Enmity with Charles the Great, *and afterwards his firm League with him,* Id. p. 239.

Offerings at the Altar, *Pope* Gregory *determines how they were to be divided,* l. 4. p. 155.

Olaff, *is driven out of* Norway, Cnute *conquering that Countrey for himſelf,* l. 6. p. 53.

Returning to regain his Right, he was ſlain by the people, but afterwards was canonized under the Title of a Martyr, Id. p. 54.

Olanæge, *an Iſland in the River* Severne, *now called the* Eighth, l. 6. p. 47.

Old Saxony. *Vid.* Northalbingia.

Orcades, *the Iſlands in the* Northern Ocean, *near* Scotland, l. 2. p. 94.

Governed long by Engliſh *and* Daniſh *Kings,* l. 5. p. 259.

Ordeal, *not to be uſed to a perſon accuſed of a Crime, unleſs there be no direct proof againſt him,* l. 5. p. 285.

A ſimple and a threefold Ordeal, Id. p. 340. l. 6. p. 59.

A Daniſh *Cuſtom, and grew more in requeſt in the Reign of King* Cnute, l. 6. p. 43.

After what manner this Judgment was to be executed by the Biſhop's Officer, Id. p. 100.

Order; *that of St.* Baſil, l. 4. p. 167.

That of St. Benedict, Id. p. 167, 168.

Of St. Equitus, Id. p. 168.

Ordgar, *the Abbot, rebuilds the Abbey of* Abingdon, *which had been deſtroyed by the* Danes, l. 4. p. 196.

Ordgar, *Earl of* Devonſhire, *and afterwards Father-in-Law to King* Edgar, *founded the Abbey of* Taviſtock, *which was not long after burnt by the* Danes, l. 6. p. 4.

Ordination of a Biſhop, *whether without the preſence of other Biſhops, or not,* l. 4. p. 156.

Ceadda *renews his Ordination, and upon what account,* Id. p. 191.

Biſhop Wilfrid *is ſent into* France *to be reordained,* Id. p. 192.

Ordovices, *thoſe people now of* North-Wales, l. 2. p. 42.

Almoſt deſtroyed a whole Squadron of Roman *Horſe,* Id. p. 55.

Their whole Nation very near cut off by Agricola, Ibid.

Orgiva. *Vid.* Edgitha.

Orkeney, *the Iſles, when firſt diſcovered by the* Romans, l. 2. p. 63.

Orotius (Paulus) *took what he wrote from an Hiſtory of* Suetonius, *which is now loſt,* l. 2. p. 35.

Osbald, *a Nobleman, is made King of* Northumberland, *but held it not long, being forced to fly; and going to the King of the* Picts, *dies there an Abbot*, l. 4. p. 239, 240.

According to Simeon *of* Durham, *he was buried in* York Minſter, Id. p. 242.

Osberge, *the Daughter of* Aſlat, *or* Oſlac, *chief Butler to King* Æthelwulf, *to whom ſhe was married, and became the Mother of* Alfred, *who was afterwards King*, l. 5. p. 261.

Her Character, Ibid.

Osbert, *or* Osbryght, *ſucceeds* Ethelred *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, *and afterwards is killed by the* Danes, l. 5. p. 260.

Their lawful King, is expelled by the Northumbers, *who ſet up an Uſurper, not deſcended from the Royal Line,* Id p. 267.

Lies with the Wife of one of his Noblemen; who, complaining of the Affront to the King of Denmark, *cauſes a great Army to come over to revenge that Injury,* Id. p. 268, 269.

Osfrid, *a Son of King* Edwin *by* Quenburga, *the Daughter of* Ceorle, *King of* Mercia, l. 4. p. 174.

Is ſlain, with his Father, in the Battel of Hethfield, Id. p. 176.

Oskytel, *firſt conſecrated Biſhop of* Dorcheſter, *then made Archbiſhop of* York; *his Death and Burial,* l. 6. p. 7.

Oſmund, *when he began to reign over the* South-Saxons, l. 4. p. 228.

Oſred, *ſucceeds his Father* Alfred *in the Kingdom of the* Northumbers, l. 4. p. 213.

Is reconciled to Wilfrid, *with his Great Men and Biſhops,* Ibid.

Becomes Biſhop Wilfrid's *adopted Son,* Id. p. 214.

Is killed in a Fight near the Sea, on the Southern *Borders. His Character,* Id. p. 217.

Oſred, *the Son of* Alchred, *Nephew of King* Alſwold, *reigned after him, and is betrayed and driven out of his Kingdom, and who ſucceeded,* l. 4. p. 236.

Is put to death by King Ethelred's *Command, and where buried,* Id. p. 237.

Oſric, *the Son of* Elfric, *obtains the Kingdom of* Deira, *abjures the Chriſtian Religion, and is cut off by* Cadwallo, *with all his Army,* l. 4. p. 176.

Oſric *builds a Nunnery at* Bath, l. 4. p. 196.

And the Nunnery of St. Peter *in* Glouceſter, *which afterwards was deſtroyed by the* Danes, *and then rebuilt; and after was King of the* Northumbers, Id. p. 201.

Oſric, *King of* Northumberland, *ſlain, and who ſucceeded him,* Id. p. 220.

Oſtorius Scapula, *ſucceeds* Plautius *in the quality of Proprætor, and reduces the moſt* Southerly *parts of* Britain *to the form of a Province,* l. 2. p. 41.

Overcomes the Iceni; *engages with the* Silures *and* Caractacus, *and his Succeſs over them,* Id. p. 42, 43.

Is decreed by the Senate all the Enſigns of a Triumph; and being worn out with cares and troubles, dies, Id. p. 44, 45.

Oſwald *and* Oſwie, *with* Eanfrid *their Elder Brother, all Sons of King* Ethelfrid, *are baniſhed by* Edwin, l. 4. p. 170, 171.

Oſwald, Edwin's *Succeſſor in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, *finiſhes St.* Peter's *Church in* York, Id. p. 174, 176. l. 5. p. 254.

Routs Cadwallo, *with all his Forces. His Speech to his Army,* l. 4. p. 177.

His Kingdom extended over both Deira *and* Bernicia. *He would interpret Biſhop* Aidan's *Sermons to his Subjects that heard, but did not underſtand them. In his Reign Churches were built in divers places of his Kingdom. His Great Character,* Id. p. 178.

His Charity. He was Edwin's *Nephew by his Siſter* Acca, Ibid. & p. 179.

Fights a great Battel with Penda, *and was therein ſlain,* Id. p. 180.

The many Miracles ſuppoſed that he wrought after his death, Ibid.

He was the ſixth King that ruled over all Britain, l. 5. p. 254.

His Body (under the Title of Saint) long after tranſlated from Bardeney *in* Lincolnſhire, *into* Mercia, l. 5. p. 315.

Oſwald Ætheling, *fighting with* Ethelhard, *is worſted, and the next year dies,* l. 4. p. 220.

Oſwald, *Son to King* Ethelred, *is mentioned by his Father in his Charter to the Abbey of* Abingdon, l. 5. p. 276.

Oſwald, *Archbiſhop of* York, *his Deceaſe,* l. 6. p. 5.

Oſwald, *Biſhop of* Worceſter, *ſucceeds his Kinſman* Oskytell *in the Archbiſhoprick of* York, l. 6. p. 7.

His Death, and Burial in the Church of St. Mary *in* Worceſter, Id. p. 23.

Oſweſtre *in* Shropſhire, *anciently called* Maſerfield, *where was fought the great Battel between* Oſwald, *the moſt Chriſtian King of* Northumberland, *and* Penda, *the Pagan King of the* Mercians, l. 4. p. 180.

Oſwin, *the Brother of King* Oſwald, *is made King of* Deira, l. 4. p. 181.

His Death at Ingerlingum, Id. p. 182.

His Character, Id. p. 183.

The Seventh King that Ruled over all Britain, l. 5. p. 254.

Oſwulf, *his Son, ſucceeds* Eadbert *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, *but is ſlain within a Year after by the Treachery of his own Servants,* l. 4. p. 228.

Oſwy, *the Son of* Uſric, *King of* Bernicia, l. 4. p. 182.

Treacherouſly procures Oſwin *to be ſlain, but afterwards builds a Monaſtery where the Murther was committed, to expiate the Crime,* Id. p. 183.

Overcomes Penda, *who in the Battel is ſlain,* Id. p. 185.

The Ealdormen of Mercia *Rebel againſt him,* Id. p. 188.

His Death and Burial at Streanſhale-Monaſtery, Id. p. 192.

Otford *in* Kent, *anciently called* Ottanford, *where the* Mercians *and* Kentiſhmen *had a Battel,* l. 4. p. 230.

Outlawry, Ethelward *the Ealdorman is* Outlaw'd *in a Great Council of the Kingdom,* l. 6. p. 51.

Earl Sweyn; Son *of* Godwin, *is declared* Outlaw'd *in a Great Council at* London, Id. p. 77.

The Common Law of all Outlaws, *they are ſaid to have* Wulfes hefod, *(i. e. a* Wolf's head*) or as we ſay in* Latin, gerere Caput Lupinum, Id. p. 99, 100.

Uſurer's Convicted, to be look'd on as Outlaw'd *Perſons,* Id. p. 102.

Earl Elfgar *is* Outlaw'd *in the* Witena-Gemot; *and for what,* l. 6. p. 86.

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Oxford, *the Univerſity when Founded, and who the firſt Regents and Profeſſors there. The Quarrel that aroſe betwixt* Grimbald *and the Old Scholars of* Oxford. *This paſſage of the Quarrel,* &c. *objected againſt by Sir* Henry Spelman, *and anſwered,* l. 5. p. 288, 289, 290.

The flouriſhing ſtate of Learning here, related by Aſſer, *very much queſtioned,* Id. p. 304.

King Alfred *aſſiſted by* Grimbald, *and* John Scotus, *in Founding this Univerſity,* Id. p. 306.

Is taken and Burnt by the Danes, l. 6. p. 34, 35.

All Studies ceaſe there for a long time after, till about the Year Eleven hundred thirty three, from which time the Scholars have continued there, Id. p. 35.

P

PAenius Poſthumus *runs himſelf through with his own Sword, and why,* l. 2. p. 50.

Pagan-Rites, *the Forbidding of them to be obſerved by the Decree of* Calcuith, l. 4. p. 234.

Pagans, *Vid.* Heathens.

Palace-Royal, *the Puniſhment on any that fight within it,* l. 4. p. 208.

Palladius, *the Biſhop ſent by Pope* Cæleſtine *to the* Scots *to confirm their Faith,* l. 2. p. 109, 110.

St. Pancrace Church, *the firſt Built in* Britain, *and from a* Heathen *Temple was turned into a* Chriſtian *Church,* l. 4. p. 157.

It had been before the Old ruinous Church of St. Martin *without the City of* Canterbury, Id. p. 163.

Papinian, *the Great Lawyer, helping* Geta *to Govern the* South *part of this Iſland,* l. 2. p. 75.

Baſſianus *would have had him wrote a Defence of his Murthering his Brother* Geta; *but his ſharp reply to him coſt him his Life,* Id. p. 79.

Pardon, *Vid.* Prerogative.

Paris, *the Univerſity there when firſt Erected, by whom, and by what means,* l. 4. p. 244.

The Danes *paſſing up the River* Seine, *take up their Winter-Quarters there,* l. 5. p. 287.

Pariſh-Feaſts, *in ſeveral parts of* England *to this day: Their Antiquity,* l. 6. p. 99.

Parker, *the Archbiſhop, Author of the Latin Hiſtory* de Antiquitate Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, l. 4. p. 165.

Parliament, *King* Ethelbert *confirms there all the Charters of Endowment on Chriſt-Church, and that of St.* Pancrace *in* Canterbury, l. 4. p. 163.

Parliament Men to have no Injury done them, but the Party ſhall be Fined for it, Ibid.

Egbert *changed the Name of this Kingdom into that of* England, *by the Conſent of his Parliament held at* Wincheſter, l. 5. p. 247.

Where the Great Men of the Kingdom were wont of courſe to attend at the King's Court, to Conſult *and* Ordain *what was good and neceſſary for the* Common-Weal, Id. p. 261.

Paſchalis, *the Pope, ſucceeds* Stephanus, *and is Conſecrated,* l. 5. p. 251.

Paſham *in* Northamptonſhire, *anciently called* Paſſenham, l. 5. p. 322.

Patern, *a Preacher at* Llan Patern *in* Cardiganſhire, l. 3. p. 149.

Paulinus, *a* Roman, *Conſecrated by* Juſtus *to be Biſhop of the* Northumbers, l. 4. p. 171.

Is ſent as a Spiritual Guide and Guardian with Ethelburga *to the Court of King* Edwin, *where he is Inſtructed in the Principles of the* Chriſtian Faith, Id. p. 172.

Converts his Chief Idol-Prieſt, *and ſeveral of the Nobles. Is the firſt Biſhop of* York, Edwin *ſetling the Epiſcopal See there. Spent a*

Month

Month at Adefrin *in doing ſcarce any thing elſe but Catechiſing and Baptizing*, Id. p. 173, 174.
Converts Blecca, *the Governor of* Lincoln, *with all his Family, to the Faith. Has an Archiepiſcopal Pall ſent him by Pope* Honorius, *and he Ordains one of that Name Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, Id. p. 175.
Takes on him the care of the Church of Rocheſter, Id. p. 176.
His Death at Rocheſter, *and who ſucceeded him*, Id. p. 181.
St. Paul*'s Church at* London, *is cauſed to be Built by King* Sebert, l. 4. p. 159.
Burnt in the Reign of King Edgar, *and ſoon after Rebuilt*, l. 6. p. 4.
Paulus, *a Notary, ſent into* Britain, *a Malicious Inquiſitor, and his great Oppreſſions there*, l. 2. p. 89.
He is Burnt alive by the Command of Julian *the Emperor*, Ibid.
Peace of the King, Alfred*'s Law concerning the keeping it, and the Puniſhment in breaking it*, l. 5. p. 292, 295.
All People bound to keep the Peace, l. 6. p. 58.
Stated times and days appointed for the more ſtrict obſervance of it, l. 6. p. 99.
Or Protection *granted to Perſons and Places, and at certain times; and it is manifold, as the particulars there ſhew*, Id. p. 100.
What this was to free Perſons from, Id. p. 101.
Thoſe who have it, not to injure others under a double Penalty; the particular Mulcts *or Penalties of thoſe who violate it*, Id. p. 103.
Vid. Pledge, Protection, Suretyſhip.
Peace, *or* League, *agreed on, and confirmed by Oath between* Eardulf, *King of the* Northumbers, *and* Kenwulf, *King of* Mercia, *by the Interceſſion of King* Egbert, l. 5. p. 248.
Concluded on (Hoſtages and Oaths being mutually exchanged) between Edmund Ironſide *and King* Cnute, *with the particularities of it*, l. 6. p. 47.
made between Edward *the* Confeſſor *and Earl* Godwin, Id. p. 81, 82, 83.
Vid. League.
Peadda, *Son of* Penda, *deſiring* Alfreda *the Daughter of* Oſwy *to his Wife, and not being able to obtain her unleſs he turned to the* Chriſtian Faith, *he voluntarily accepted it*, l. 4. p. 183, 184.
Held the Province of South-Mercia *divided from the* Northern *by the River of* Trent, *to be held as Tributary to the* Northumbrian *Kingdom. At laſt is ſlain by the Treachery of his Wife*, Id. p. 186.
Pecuniary Fines, *Vid.* Puniſhments.
Pedidan, *or* Pendrid's Mouth, *the River* Parret *in* Somerſetſhire, *where a great Battel was fought between theſe, and the* Dorſetſhire-men *and the* Danes, l. 5. p. 260, 301.
Pelagius, *a* Britiſh *Monk, when he firſt broached his Hereſy*, l. 2. p. 107.
The Britains *being averſe to receive it, ſend for Biſhops out of* France, *and a publick Diſputation was agreed on between them and the Hereticks, and the ſucceſs the Biſhops had*, Ibid.
Vid. Hereſy.
Pen, *in* Somerſetſhire, *by the* Saxons *called* Peanhoe *and* Peonnan, l. 6. p. 28, 45.
Penda, *King of the* Mercians, *is overcome by* Cadwallo, l. 4. p. 176.
Fights a great Battel with Oſwald, *who is therein ſlain*, Id. p. 180.
Hates and deſpiſes thoſe profeſſing the Chriſtian *Faith, whom he found not to live anſwerably to it*, Id. p. 184.
His Death, with the manner how, Id. p. 185.
Had been the Death of Four or Five Chriſtian *Kings in Battel*, Ibid.
Pentarchy, *when the Kingdom was rent into it*, l. 1. p. 12.
Pentecoſt-Caſtle, *where is not known*, l. 6. p. 81.
Took it's Name from one Osbern, *Sirnamed* Pentecoſt, Id. p. 82.
Penvahel, *in the* Pict*'s Tongue, in* Engliſh Penvellum, *where*, l. 2. p. 100.
Pepin, *King of the* Franks, *makes a League with* Eadbert, *King of* Northumberland, *and ſends him great Preſents*, l. 4. p. 228.
His Death, Id. p. 229.
Perennis, *in higheſt Power with* Commodus *the Emperor, ſets only men of the* Equeſtrial *Order to Command the* Britiſh *Army; their Complaint and his Puniſhment*, l. 2. p. 70.
Perjury, *if any in Holy Orders Perjure themſelves, what the Puniſhment*, l. 5. p. 284.
No Credit to be given to any one that is Perjured, &c. Id. p. 325.
Some juſtly puniſhed for it by being put to Death, l. 6. p. 49.
Pertinax (Helvius) *made Lieutenant of* Britain *by* Commodus, *but not long enjoys it*, l. 2. p. 70, 71.
Created Emperor, but within Three Months is ſlain by the Prætorian Bands, l. 2. p. 72.
Peſtilence, *Vid.* Plague.
Peter, *a Monk, and* Lawrence, *ſent by* Auguſtine *to the Pope, and about what Meſſage*, l. 4. p. 155.
Vid. Lawrence.
A Presbyter, *firſt* Abbot *of the Monaſtery towards the* Eaſt, *not far from the City of* Canterbury, Id. p. 157.

L

Is drowned, going on a Meſſage into France, Id. Ib.

Peterburgh *Abbey, an Account of its Foundation, with the form and manner of erecting it; as alſo its Conſecration,* l. 4. p. 186, 187.

Peter-pence; viz. *a Penny to be paid to the Biſhop of* Rome, *from every Houſe in the Kingdom, firſt given by King* Ina; *but the truth of it ſuſpected, unleſs granted by the* Mycel-Synod, *or* Great Council *of the Kingdom,* l. 4. p. 219.

A perpetual Tribute granted by King Offa *to the Pope, out of Every houſe in his Kingdom; but however the Kingdom was not made Tributary to him by it, for it was only a Voluntary Annual* Alms, *or* Benevolence, Id. p. 239.

Alfred *call'd it* his Alms, *and how he ſent it to* Rome, l. 5. p. 281, 286, 291, 298.

Juſtly called Alms, and not a Tribute, *as the Modern Popiſh Writers term it,* Id. p. 291.

When it was to be paid, and the Penalty for not performing it accordingly, l. 6. p. 13.

Edward *the* Confeſſor's *Law to reinforce the Payment of it,* Id. p. 100.

Vid. Romeſcot.

Petroc, *a Learned* Britiſh *Preacher in* Cornwall, l. 3. p. 149.

Philip, *upon the death of* Henry *is made King of* France, l. 6. p. 88.

Viſited by Duke William, *who ſolicited his Aſſiſtance in his deſigned War againſt* Harold, *but he would not hearken to the Propoſals made him, and for what reaſon,* Id. p. 109.

Philippus (Marcus Julius) *an* Arabian, *ſucceeded* Gordianus *in the Empire, but his Army ſoon made away with him,* l. 2. p. 81.

Philippus (Nonnius) *a Lieutenant in* Britain *under the Emperor* Gordianus, Id. Ib.

Phœnicians, *the firſt Diſcoverers of this Iſland,* l. 1. p. 2, 3.

Picts, *came out of* Scythia, *and landed firſt in the* North *of* Ireland, l. 1. p. 4.

Are totally ſubdued by the Scots. *Their Language is unknown,* Id. p. 5.

Confederate with Carauſius *againſt* Conſtantius Chlorus, l. 2. p 83.

Surrender up many of their Forts and ſtrong Places to Fergus, Id. p. 98.

And Scots, *their landing firſt in* Britain, *paſſing over that part of the* Iriſh Sea *which is called the* Scythic Vale, l. 3. p. 114.

And Saxons *privately make a Peace,* Id. p. 126.

The Picts *cut off King* Egfrid *and his whole Army, and recover their Countrey the* Engliſh *had taken away,* l. 4. p. 202.

Slay Bert *the Ealdorman,* Id. p. 211.

Fight againſt Beorfrith *the Ealdorman,* Id. p. 215.

Keep their League with the Engliſh, *and rejoice to be partakers of the Catholick Peace and Truth,* Id. p. 221.

A great fight between them and the Britains, *that is, thoſe of* Cumberland, Id. p. 225.

Theſe and the Scots *conquer* Galloway *and* Lothian, *and the* Low-lands *of* Scotland, *as far as the* Friths *of* Dunbritton *and* Edinburgh, l. 5. p. 249.

Rout the Engliſh, *and ſlay King* Athelſtan *in fight, a ſtory,* Id. p. 250.

The total Conqueſt of the Picts *by* Kened, *the firſt King of* Scotland, Id. p. 259.

Pightwin (*or* Pechtwin) *is conſecrated Biſhop of* Witherne (*called in* Latin, Candida Caſa) *at* Ælfet, l. 4. p. 228.

His Deceaſe, Id. p. 231.

Pinchenhale, *or* Finkenhale, *now* Finkney *in the Biſhoprick of* Durham, *and Kingdom of* Northumberland, *where a General Synod aſſembled,* l. 4. p. 236.

The ſecond Synod, or Council, held here, under Eanbald, *Archbiſhop of* York, *&c.* Id. p. 242.

Pius (Antoninus) *ſucceeds* Hadrian, *and at his firſt coming to the Throne, hath a Law made, That all the Subjects of the* Roman *Empire ſhould be* Free Citizens *of* Rome, l. 2. p. 67.

Plague; *a very ſore one in* Britain, *when,* l. 3. p. 117.

A great one over all the Iſle of Britain, *and then it went into* Ireland, l. 4. p. 190.

A great Mortality both of Men and Beaſts, l. 5. p. 269.

Another great one upon Men, and Murrain of Cattle, Id. p. 302.

A great Mortality of Men, and a very malignant Feaver in London, l. 6. p. 4.

A great Mortality of Cattle in England, Id. p. 21.

A great number of Cattle died; and by the Intemperance of the Seaſon, the Fruits of the Earth were deſtroyed, Id. p. 70.

So great a Murrain of all ſorts of Cattle in England, *that none could ever remember the like,* Id. p. 85.

Plautius, *Prætor in* Gaul, *invades* Britain, *and his Succeſs,* l. 2. p. 38, 39.

Has an Ovation *allowed him by* Claudius, Id. p. 41.

Pledge; Alfred's *Law about keeping the Peace, and the Puniſhment in breaking it,* l. 5. p. 292, 295.

Thoſe who violate the Peace of Holy Church, and deſpiſe the Biſhop's Sentence, ſhall give Pledges to reconcile themſelves to God, the King,

King, and Church, or to be outlaw'd, l. 6. p. 99, 100. *Vid.* Security.

Plegmund, elected *by God and all his Holy Men to be Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 5. p. 298.

Sent for by King Alfred *out of* Mercia, *to help him in his Learning,* Id. p. 306.

Preſides at the Great Council held by King Edward *the* Elder, *where five new Biſhopricks were erected at once, by the Authority of the King and Council; with the Pope's Confirmation of this Decree,* Id. p. 313, 314.

His Deceaſe, Id. p. 324.

Plenty; *a wonderful one of all ſorts of Proviſion in* Britain, l. 3. p. 115.

Polidore Virgil, *an Hiſtorian of no extraordinary Credit, though he had the Peruſal of a great many curious Manuſcripts,* l. 5. p. 323.

Polycletus, *one of* Nero's *Free'd Men, ſent to inſpect the State of* Britain, l. 2. p. 50.

Pope, *who called the Emperor* Mauritius *his* Lord, and dated his Letters by the Year of his Reign, l. 4. p. 153, 158.

Sends more Preachers of the Word into England, *upon* Auguſtine's *notice of the want of them,* Id. p. 157.

Sends Letters to King Edwin, *exhorting him to caſt off his Idols, and to receive Chriſt,* Id. p. 172.

The Kings of Northumberland *thought themſelves not bound to obſerve the Pope's Decrees on* Appeals, *if contrary to a General Synod or Council of the whole Nation,* Id. p. 206, 207, 208.

Always encouraging Appeals *to* Rome, Id. p. 215.

Uſually ſent his Pall to every new Archbiſhop on his Conſecration, as a token of his Dependance on the See of Rome, Id. p. 223.

The Church of England *thought his Authority alone not ſufficient to annul what had been ſolemnly decreed in a great Council of the Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 248.

Anoints Alfred *King in his Father's Life-time, in way of Prophecy of his future Royal Greatneſs,* Id. p. 262.

Æthelwulf *orders by his laſt Laſt Will Three hundred* Mancuſes *to be ſent to* Rome *every year for ſuch and ſuch uſes; and One hundred of them to be for the* Pope *himſelf,* Id. p. 264, 265.

Port, *now called* Portland *in* Dorſetſhire, *where the* Danes *were put to flight,* l. 5. p. 258.

The Iſle ſpoiled by the Daniſh *Pyrates that landed in* Dorſetſhire, l. 6. p. 21.

The whole Iſland, and other Poſſeſſions, given to the Church of Wincheſter *by* Edward *the* Confeſſor, *and upon what account,* l. 6. p. 79.

Portlock-bay *in* Somerſetſhire, *anciently called* Portlocan, l. 5. p. 319.

Portſmouth, *ſo called from one* Porta, *who with his two Sons obtained a great Victory over the* Britains, l. 3. p. 133.

Portus Ictius, *where it was, and whether it be yet in being,* l. 2. p. 30, 31.

Poſentesbyrig, *ſuppoſed* Pontesbury *in* Shropſhire, l. 4. p. 188.

Præſidialis, *a Province that is ſo, is not governed by any particular* Prætor *or* Proconſul, *but is under the immediate Protection and Eye of the* Emperor, l. 2. p. 65.

Praſutagus, *King of the* Icenians, *deceived in leaving* Cæſar *Co-heir with his two Daughters; and how the* Romans *uſed them,* l. 2. p. 47.

Prayer *to be made for Kings, by* Withred *King of* Kent's *Law,* l. 4. p. 211.

Prieſts to learn the Lord's-Prayer *and* Creed *in* Engliſh, Id. p. 225.

Predur, *a* Britiſh *Prince, Son of* Oliver Goſgard Vawr, *a Prince of* Cumberland, l. 3. p. 147.

Prerogative, *a pretence of King* Offa's *unlimited Power in Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Matters,* l. 4. p. 239.

Danegelt; *how by conſtant uſage it became a Prerogative,* l. 6. p. 66.

That of Pardoning *in the King, not to extend to the* Prejudice *of the Party injured,* &c. Id. p. 102.

To ſet at liberty any Captive or Priſoner, when the King comes into a City, &c. Id. Ib.

Prieſts, *that are not able to contain, may marry,* l. 4. p. 155.

To learn the Creed *and* Lord's-Prayer *in* Engliſh, *and to interpret the* Maſs, *and* Baptiſm, Id. p. 225.

By the King's Prieſt, muſt be meant either his Chaplain, or Biſhop, l. 5. p. 295.

Breach of the Peace by Prieſts, how puniſhable, Id. p. 297.

Priſcilla, *and other Hereticks of his Party, were ſentenced to Death by* Maximus *the Emperor,* l. 2. p. 96.

Probus (M. Aurel. Valer.) *ſucceeds* Claudius Tacitus *in the Empire, vanquiſhes* Bonoſus, *who upon it Hang'd himſelf; prevents a new Rebellion in* Britain, *gains other Victories elſewhere, and at laſt is ſlain by his own Army,* l. 2. p. 82.

Prodigies, *a great fight and ſlaughter of Birds in the Air,* l. 4. p. 192.

A Comet continuing Three Months, carrying with it every morning a large Tail, like a Pillar, Id. p. 196.

Another appeared in King Ethelheard's *time,* l. 4. p. 220.

A Red Croſs appeared in the Heavens after Sun ſet, Id. p. 230.

The ſign of the Croſs appeared of it ſelf upon men's Clothes, Id. p. 235.

A Light frequently ſeen from Heaven over the place where Alfwold *was Murthered,* Id. p. 236.

Immoderate Lightnings, Meteors like fiery Dragons flying in the Air, Id. p. 238.

Sign of the Croſs ſeen in the Moon, 2d. Nones June, *in the Morning; and on the 3d.* Kal. September, *a wonderful Circle ſeen round the Sun,* l. 5. p. 248.

An appearance of a Croſs in day-time, Id. p. 250.

Strange Prodigies ſeen in the Heavens, l. 6. p. 15.

A ſtrange cloud appeared about midnight all over England *in divers Colours,* Id. p. 18.

A Column of Light ſtreaming down from Heaven over St. Edward the Martyr's *Grave,* Id. p. 20.

Protection, *granted anciently by the King, not only to Perſons, but to Places, by way of Privilege; the ſeveral ſorts of giving it, and what this* Peace *(as it was called) was to free Perſons from,* l. 6. p. 100, 101.

Proviſion for the King's Houſhold, *how to be made; not to oppreſs the Subjects,* l. 6. p. 59.

Puniſhments, *all Crimes Redeemable by Pecuniary Fines in* Edward *the* Elder*'s time, and ſome Ages after,* l. 5. p. 326.

Anciently conſiſted in Pecuniary Fines, rather than in Blood, Id. p. 342.

In Edgar*'s time, Fines were not* Arbitrary, *nor ſet above a conſtant rate,* l. 6. p. 13.

For what Crimes no Satisfaction ſhould be made by way of Mulct, Id. p. 59.

Purgation, *in caſe a man be of good Repute, his own ſhould be accepted, but otherwiſe either a Threefold one, or his ſingle Oath in Three* Hundreds, l. 6. p. 58, 59.

Puſa, *Abbot of the Monaſtery of* Vocingas, *and whom he ſucceeded,* l. 4. p. 231.

Putta, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *is forced to retire to the Biſhop of the* Mercians *(by his Church's being deſtroyed) and there died. This very Man is made the firſt Biſhop of* Hereford, l. 4. p. 196.

Q

Quarrel, *or* Deadly Feud, *King* Alfred*'s Law concerning it,* l. 5. p. 296.

King Edmund*'s Law about it,* Id. p. 347.

The Indians Deadly Feud *againſt all the Kindred of one that Murthers any of them,* Id. Ib.

Queen, *upon the Account of* Eadburga*'s ill conduct of her ſelf, both as Wife to* Brihtric, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *whom ſhe Poiſoned, and as Widow upon divers other accounts; a Law was made, That for the future no King's Conſort ſhould be ſo called,* l. 5. p. 264.

Quenburga, *Daughter of* Ceorle *King of* Mercia, *and Wife to King* Edwin, l. 4. p. 174.

Quendride, *Siſter to King* Kenelm, *Son to* Kenwulf *King of* Mercia, *makes her Brother away, out of a wicked Ambition of Reigning her ſelf; and the dreadful Judgement that befel her upon it,* l. 5. p. 252.

Is forced to make ſatisfaction to Archbiſhop Wilfrid *for the Wrongs that King* Kenwulf *her Father had done to the Church of* Canterbury; *afterwards profeſſed her ſelf a Nun, and at this time was an Abbeſs,* Id. p. 253.

Quendrith, *by her wicked Inſtigations,* Ethelbert, *the Son of* Ethelred *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *is ſlain going to* Offa's Court, *in order to Woo his Daughter,* l. 4. p. 237.

Quichelme, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *when he Governed that See,* l. 4. p. 201.

R

Radnor, *the Town deſtroyed by* Meredyth, *Prince of* North-Wales, l. 6. p. 23.

Radnorſhire-*men, ſuppoſed by* Cambden *to be meant by the* Magæſetons, l. 6. p. 46.

Raven, *the* Raven-Banner. *Vid.* Banner.

Reculf, *a Monaſtery built by* Baſſe, *a Prieſt,* l. 4. 192.

Now known by the name of Reculver *in* Kent, Id. p. 205.

Redburge, *Wife of King* Egbert, *was (according to the then* Weſt-Saxon *Law) never called Queen. What Law ſhe is ſaid to have procured from her Husband,* l. 5. p. 257.

Redwald, *called the greateſt King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *the Tenth from* Woden, l. 3. p. 146. l. 4. p. 171.

His Death, Id. p. 157.

Receives Edwin *(who had been forced to fly the Countrey of* Northumberland*) very kindly,* Id. p. 169.

Slays Ethelfrid *in Battel,* Id. p. 170.

Had been Baptized in Kent *by the means of* Eadbald, *but was afterwards by his Wife and others, perverted from the true Faith,* Id. p. 175.

He was the Fourth King that Ruled over all Britain, l. 5. p. 254.

Succeeds Ethelred, *who was driven out of his Kingdom of* Northumberland, *but ſoon after fighting with the* Danes *at* Alvethelie, *he and Earl* Alfred *were ſlain,* l. 5. p. 260.

Rees,

Rees, *the Brother of* Griffyn, *King of* South-Wales, *was by the Command of* Edward the Confeſſor, *put to death for his Inſolencies againſt the* Engliſh, *and his Head ſent to the King,* l. 6. p. 85.

Reginald, *ſucceeds* Eowils *and* Healfden *as King over the* Danes, l. 5. p. 315.
Enters into a Contract of Marriage with Ælfwinna, *Daughter of* Æthelfleda, *and Heir of the Kingdom of* Mercia, Id. p. 320.
Submits his Kingdom of Northumberland *to King* Edward the Elder, Id. p. 323, 324.
He takes York, Id. p. 324.
Was the Son of Eardulph, Id. Ibid.
Eadmund *receives him at his confirmation,* Id. p. 343.
Is called King of York, *becauſe he had conquered that Countrey,* Id. p. 344.

Regni, *thoſe Parts we now call* Surrey *and* Suſſex, l. 2. p. 69.

Reiderch-hoel (*that is, the* Liberal) *a* Britiſh *King of* Cumberland, l. 3. p. 146, 147.

Religion, *none ought to be* Compelled *to receive it, for the Service of Chriſt is to be* Voluntary, l. 4. p. 154.
The ſtate of it in the Weſtern *Church, when* Auguſtine *came over hither,* Id. p. 155.
The Chriſtian *Religion came not firſt into* Britain *by the Preaching of any Perſons ſent from* Rome, *but it was moſt likely propagated here by ſome Apoſtle of the* Eaſtern *or* Aſiatick *Church,* Id. p. 162.
The ſtate of it here before the coming in of William the Conqueror, l. 6. p. 116.

Religious Houſes, *Vid.* Monaſteries.

Reſignation of Biſhopricks, *and why,* l. 3. p. 149. l. 4. p. 224, 232.

Reſtitutus, *Biſhop of the City of* London, *is ſent (with others) to the Council of* Arles *in* Gallia, l. 2. p. 88.

Revenge, *none to take it for any Injury done him before* publick Juſtice *be demanded, and the Penalty on thoſe that do,* l. 4. p. 208.

Rhine, *fortified with Gariſons by* Conſtantine, l. 2. p. 102.

Richard *the* Elder, *took upon him the Dukedome of* Normandy, *and Governed it Two and fifty Years,* l. 5. p. 343.
His Enmity to, and War with Pope John, l. 6. p. 24.
His Death, and who ſucceeded him in that Dutchy, Id. p. 26.

Richbert, *a* Heathen, *ſlays* Eorpwald, *not long after he had received the* Chriſtian *Faith,* l. 4. p. 175.

Ricſige, *ſucceeded* Egbert *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, l. 5. p. 277.
His Death, and who his Succeſſor, Id. p. 278.

Ripendune, *alias* Hrepton *Abbey (now* Repton) *in* Derbyſhire, *Founded by King* Æthelbald, *the moſt famous one of that Age,* l. 4. p. 227. l. 5. p. 277.

Ripon *in* Yorkſhire, *the Monaſtery Burnt which had been Built by Biſhop* Wilfrid, l. 5. p. 350.

Ritheric ap Juſtin, *on the Death of* Llewelyn ap Sitſylt, *Seizes upon* South-Wales, *and holds it by Force,* l. 6. p. 53.
Is ſlain in Battel by Howel *and* Meredyth, *with the aſſiſtance of the* Iriſh Scots, l. 6. p. 56.

Ritherch *and* Rees, *the Sons of* Ritheric ap Juſtin, *their Engagement with* Griffith *Prince of* Wales, *and the Succeſs thereof,* l. 6. p. 71.

Robber, *his Puniſhment; who called* Robbers, l. 4. p. 209.

Robert, *Duke of* Normandy, *ſends Ambaſſadors to King* Cnute *to demand that his Nephews (* viz. Edward *and* Alfred, *King* Ethelred'*s Two Sons) might be reſtored to their Right; and upon his refuſing, he prepares a great Navy to force him to it, and what happened thereupon,* l. 6. p. 54.
To whom he recommends his Son William, *a Child of Seven Years Old (afterwards King of* England) *whilſt he undertakes his Pilgrimage to* Jeruſalem, *where he Dies,* Ibid. & p. 56.

Robert, *a* Norman *Monk, made Biſhop of* London *by* Edward *the* Confeſſor, l. 6. p. 73.
And upon the Death of Eadſige, *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury: *He immediately went to* Rome *to obtain his Pall,* Id. p. 75.
Accuſes Queen Emma *of being too Familiar with* Alwin, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, Id. p. 79.
His flight out of England *variouſly reported,* Id. p. 80, 81.
Is Baniſhed *and* Outlawed *for being a Chief Incendiary in the Quarrel between* Edward *the* Confeſſor *and Earl* Godwin, Id. p. 81.
But having made his Peace, King Edward *ſends him Ambaſſador to Duke* William *to acquaint him, That he had deſigned him his Succeſſor,* Id. p. 96, 97

Rodoric, *or* Rodri, *when he began to Reign over the* Britains *in* Wales, l. 4. p. 218.
Another Rodoric, *one of the Sons of* Edwal Voel, *Prince of* Wales, *is ſlain by* Iriſhmen, l. 6. p. 6.

Rodri Maur, *that is,* Rodoric the Great, *ſucceeds his Father* Merwyn Urych *in the King-*

Kingdom of the Britains, *and divides* Wales *into three Territories. His Wars, and Death,* l. 5. p. 260, 278.

His Wife, and Children, and Bequeſts amongſt them, Id. p. 278, 279.

Eſteemed by all Writers to be ſole King *of all* Wales, *and in what Right. His Laws,* Id. p. 279.

The ſeveral Ordinances he made about paying the Ancient Tribute to the King of London, *and acknowledging his Sovereignty; as alſo about who ſhould decide the differences that might ariſe between any of his Children,* Id. p. 279. l. 6. p. 3.

Roſcaeſter, *or* Hroſceſter, *now* Rocheſter, l. 4. p. 159. l. 5. p. 259.

St. Andrew's *Church there built by* Ethelbert *King of* Kent, l. 4. p. 160.

Tobias *the Biſhop there dies,* Id. p. 219.

Dun *conſecrated Biſhop here after the Death of* Eadulph, Id. p. 224.

Rollo, *the* Dane *or* Norman, *waſtes* Neuſtria (*afterwards called* Normandy) *and not long after made an entire Conqueſt of it, reigning there fifty years. His Dream,* l. 5. p. 278.

Roman Affairs, *when they became deſperate in* Britain, l. 2. p. 105, 106.

Empire, *what fell with it in* Britain, l. 3. p. 113.

Language, Garb, *and* Gown, *came to be in faſhion among the* Britains *in* Agricola's *time,* l. 2. p. 57.

Romans *left the* Britains *at their departure Paterns of the Arms and Weapons they would have them make to defend themſelves,* l. 2. p. 100.

Though they ſubdued Britain *to their Empire, yet they uſed their Victory with* Moderation, l. 5. p. 246.

Romanus, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *drowned in going on a Meſſage to* Rome, l. 4. p. 176.

Rome, *taken by* Alaric *King of the* Goths, l. 2. p. 104.

Romeſcot, *ſaid to be firſt given to the Pope by King* Ina, *but much doubted,* l. 4. p. 219.

Then by King Offa, *ſuppoſed to be confirm'd by the great Council's conſent,* Id. p. 239.

Æthelwulf *by his Laſt Will orders to be ſent every year to* Rome *Three hundred* Mancuſes, l. 5. p. 264, 265.

Vid. Peter-pence.

Rowena, Hengeſt's *Daughter, her Arrival into* Britain, &c. l. 3. p. 125.

Rufina (Claudia) *Wife of* Pudens *a Senator, famous for her Beauty, in the Elegant Epigram of* Martial: *Some aſſert ſhe was the ſame St.* Paul *makes mention of in his ſecond Epiſtle to* Timothy, l. 2. p. 66.

Run, *or* Reyn, *the pretended Son of* Meredyth ap Owen, *a vile* Scotch *Impoſtor, that ſets up for Prince of* South-Wales, *but he is ſoon routed and all his Party,* l. 6. p. 52.

Runick Characters *found upon a few Stones in* England, l. 3. p. 113.

Runkhorne *in* Cheſhire, *anciently called* Runcaſan, l. 5. p. 316.

Ruſticus Decimius, *from Maſter of his Offices, is advanced by* Conſtans *to be* Præfect, l. 2. p. 103.

Ryal *in* Rutlandſhire, *anciently called* Rehala, *where St.* Tibba's *Body lay entomb'd,* l. 6. p. 5.

S

SAcriledge, *what Puniſhments to be inflicted on thoſe who commit it,* l. 4. p. 156, 163.

Salaries, *uſually allowed to thoſe that had been* Proconſuls, l. 2. p. 64.

Sale of Goods, *&c. Vid.* Traffick.

Sampſon, *Scholar to* Iltutus, *and afterwards* of St Dav and *Archbiſhop of* Dole *in* Britain, l. 3. p. 149.

Sanctuaries, *very ancient in* England, l. 4. p. 208, 209. l. 5. p. 296, 297.

Their Deſign primitively *very good, only to ſtay there for a time, till the Offender could agree with his Adverſary,* l. 5. p. 297.

The Puniſhment of him who aſſaults any one that flies to a Church. The King's Houſe no ſhelter to him that ſheds blood, l. 5. p. 347.

Granted to Weſtminſter *by* Edward *the* Confeſſor's *Charter, and confirmed by the Great Council,* l. 6. p. 94.

The Laws concerning them confirmed, Id. p. 99.

Sandwich, *anciently called* Rutipæ, l. 2. p. 90. *and* Sandwic, l. 5. p. 261.

The Port given by King Cnute *to* Chriſt-Church *in* Canterbury, *with all the Iſſues,* &c. l. 6. p. 54.

Saragoſa, *in* Spain, *anciently called* Cæſar Auguſta (*a corrupted Compound of theſe two words*), *deſtroyed by* Charles *King of the* Franks, l. 4. p. 231.

Sardica, *the Council there, when called; the Biſhops of* Britain *aſſiſted at it,* l. 2. p. 89.

Sarum (Old) *called in the* Britiſh *times* Searebyrig, l. 3. p. 142.

Or Syrbyrig, *is burnt by King* Sweyn, l. 6. p. 30.

Saturninus (Seius) *in* Antoninus Pius *his time, had the Charge of the* Roman *Navy on the* Britiſh *ſhore,* l. 2. p. 68.

Saxon Annals, *firſt collected and written in divers Monaſteries of* England, l. 4. p. 151.

Saxons (Engliſh) *at firſt ſo very illiterate, that it is much doubted whether they had the uſe of Letters and Writing, among them, or not,* l. 3. p. 113.

Were ſent for to repel the Scots *and* Picts, Id. p. 117.

Had the Iſle of Thanet *given them for their Habitation,* Id. p. 118.

Came from three valiant Nations of Germany, Id. p. 118, 119, 120, 121.

What Countrey Old Saxony *was,* Id. p. 118, 119.

Great Diſputes about the Name of Saxons, Id. p. 121, 123, 124.

Their Religion, and Victory over the Picts, Id. p. 124, 125.

Break League with the Britains, *their Confederates, and over-run almoſt the whole Iſland,* Id. p. 126.

By Vortimer *are forced to return into* Germany, *and never durſt return hither till after his death,* Id. p. 128.

Obtain a great Victory over Nazaleod, *who was ſlain in the Battel, and they remained undiſturbed a long time after,* l. 3. p. 134.

Are beaten by the Britains *at* Wodenſburg *in* Wiltſhire, Id. p. 148.

Were ſtrict Obſervers of the Lord's-Day, l. 4. p. 209.

A great Battel between them and the Britains, *where the King of* North-Wales *was ſlain,* Id. p. 241.

The Engliſh-Saxons *ſuffer'd no Nation to out-go them in Deceit, and all manner of Wickedneſs; and therefore they at laſt met with the Judgments of God in the Wrath of men,* l. 5. p. 247.

Commanded to be called Engliſh-men, *by a Law of King* Egbert, Id. p. 255.

A great Sea-fight among the Ancient Saxons *of* Germany, *ſuppoſed with the* Danes; *the former getting the Victory twice,* Id. p. 287.

Are driven out of Wales *by the* Northern Britains *into* Mercia, Id. p. 317.

Utterly rout and put to flight the Scots, Iriſh, *and* Danes, Id. p. 334.

Saxony (Old) *called* Northalbingia, *its Extent and Bounds,* l. 3. p. 118.

Saxulph, *or* Sexwulf, *a Monk; to his care is committed the finiſhing of the Abbey of* Medeſhamſted, *though* Peadda *and* Oſwy *had laid the Foundation, and gone a good way through it,* l. 4. p. 186, 187.

Is ordained by Archbiſhop Theodore, *Biſhop of the* Mercians, *in the room of* Winfrid, *who was* depoſed, Id. p. 194.

Parted with the Church of Hereford *to* Putta, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *who is ſaid to be* expelled *from thence,* Id. p. 196.

Scapula. *Vid.* Oſtorius.

Sceapige (*now the Iſle of* Sheppy) *in* Kent, *waſted by the Heathens or Pagans,* l. 5. p. 255.

The Danes *take up their Winter-quarters there,* Id. p. 262.

Sceorſtan, (*perhaps* Shire-ſtone, *for*) *the place is ſuppoſed to be a Stone that parts now the Four Counties of* Oxfordſhire, Glouceſterſhire, Worceſterſhire, *and* Warwickſhire, l. 6. p. 45.

Sceva, *a* Roman *Soldier, his incredible Valour,* l. 2. p. 29.

School, *erected for the Inſtruction of Youth, by King* Sigebert, l. 4. p. 179.

Suppoſed to give Being to the Univerſity of Cambridge, *but without ground,* Id. Ib.

Or Colledge *of the* Engliſh *Nation* (*at* Rome) *burnt,* l. 5. p. 251.

Whom it were that Alfred *obliged to keep their Sons at School until fifteen years of Age,* Id. p. 297.

Scotch Hiſtorians, *extend the Limits of King* Kened's *conquering the* Picts, *too far,* l. 5. p. 259.

Scotland, *anciently called* Albania, North-Weſt *to the Mountains of* Braid-Albain, *and its Extent,* l. 2. p. 83, 98.

Said to be conquered by the Forces of King Edward *the* Confeſſor, l. 6. p. 86.

The Low-lands *long in the poſſeſſion of the Kings of* England, l. 5. p. 260.

Scots, *came into this Nation out of* Ireland, l. 1. p. 4, 5.

Came into Ireland *in the Fourth Age of the World,* Id. p. 7.

Scoti, *ſometimes called* Hiberni, *becauſe they firſt came out of* Ireland, l. 2. p. 84.

They with the Picts *make cruel Incurſions, and lay waſte all places near the Borders of* Britain, Id. p. 90.

The firſt Roman *Author that mentions them, is ſaid to be* Ammianus Marcellinus; *but St.* Jerome *has given a much more Ancient Paſſage of them, which he tranſlated out of* Porphyry *the* Greek *Philoſopher, who wrote an Age before,* Id. p. 91.

Are owned by ſome Antiquaries to be planted in Ireland *in the time of* Claudian, Id. p. 94, 95.

And Picts *continually waſted the* Roman *Territories,* Id. p. 95.

Their Incurſions in the beginning of Honorius *his Reign,* Id. p. 97, 98.

They miſerably haraſs'd the Britains, *till ſpeedy Supplies were ſent them by the* Romans, Id. p. 106.

The Scots *Converſion to Chriſtianity,* Id p. 109, 110.

Were ſometimes uſed for Iriſh-men, *ſometimes for Native* Scots, Id. p. 110.

And Picts *landing in* Britain *in ſhoals, on the* Romans *deſerting it,* l. 3. p. 114.

Ever acknowledged Biſhops *neceſſary for ordaining others in the Miniſtry,* l. 3. p. 144.
Per Univerſam Scotiam, *that is,* throughout all Ireland, l. 4. p. 166, 189.
The Scots *in* Britain *regain their Liberty, and enjoy it for Six and forty years after,* Id. p. 202.
Who Inhabited Britain, *practiſed no* Treachery *againſt the* Engliſh *Nation, when* Bede *finiſhed his Hiſtory,* Id. p. 221.
Three Scots *come from* Ireland *to King* Alfred, *reſolving to lead the Life of* Pilgrims, l. 5. p. 298.
The firſt time any of their Kings made Submiſſion to the Engliſh *was in King* Edward *the* Elder's *Reign,* l. 5. p. 323, 324.
Are miſerably routed, with their King Conſtantine, *by* Athelſtan *and his Army,* Id. p. 334, 335, 336.
Submit themſelves to King Edred, *and their King Swears* Fidelity *to him,* Id. p. 349.
Are overcome by Uthred, *the Valiant Son of* Waltheof *Earl of the* Northumbers, *and the Reward he received of King* Ethelred *for his Bravery,* l. 6. p. 27.
Scriptures, *the Reading of them Decreed in the Second Council at* Cloveſhoe *to be more conſtantly uſed in Monaſteries; and the* Creed *and* Lord's Prayer *to be learn'd in* Engliſh, l. 4. p. 225.
Sea, *Thoſe that have the Command there, may force a King of* England *to what terms they pleaſe,* l. 6. p. 81.
Seals, Edward *the* Confeſſor, *was the firſt* Engliſh *King we meet with that affixed any to his Charters,* l. 6. p. 98.
The Iſland of Seals, *Vid.* Seoleſeu.
Sebba, *Vid.* Siger.
Sebbi, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *becomes a Monk, and ſoon after dies,* l. 4. p. 210.
Sebert, *the Son of* Richala, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *receives Baptiſm, and cauſes* St. Paul's *to be Built at* London, l. 4. p. 159.
Founds the Church and Abbey of Weſtminſter, Id. p. 166.
His Death, Id. p. 168.
A moſt Learned and Chriſtian *Prince,* Id. p. 175.
Secington, (*anciently* Seccandune) *in* Warwickſhire, l. 4. p. 227.
Security *to be given by all Servants for their good Abearing; and all others of ill Fame to have it given for them,* l. 5. p. 346.
Every one of Twelve Years of Age to give it by Oath, *and for what,* l. 6. p. 58.
Selred, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, l. 4. p. 214.
Sirnamed the Good, *Reigned Thirty eight year, and then ſlain, but is unknown how, or by whom,* Id. p. 225.
Sempingham *in* Lincolnſhire, *anciently called* Sempigaham, l. 5. p. 261.
Seneca (*only in his Books a* Philoſopher) *his* Extortion *on the* Britains, l. 2. p. 47.
Seoleſeu, *that is,* The Iſland of Seals, *afterwards called* Selſey, *where* Wilfrid *Founded a ſmall Monaſtery,* l. 4. p. 198.
Sermon, *the firſt that is to be found at any King's* Coronation, *by whom, and to whom made,* l. 6. p. 70.
Serpents, *ſtrange ones ſeen in the Province of the* South-Saxons, l. 4. p. 230.
Servants, *none to receive another Man's Man into his Family, without leave firſt had of his Maſter; the Penalty of doing the contrary,* l. 5. p. 341.
To give Security for their good Abearing, Id. p. 346.
Who Deſert their Lord in Battel, what they Forfeit, and to whom, l. 6. p. 60.
Seſter (*that is, a* Horſe-Load) *of Wheat, Sold in* Hardecnute's *time for Fifty five Pence and more,* l. 6. p. 66, 72.
Severn, *the River, from whence it came to be ſo called,* l. 1. p. 10.
Severus *the Emperor, makes War againſt* Peſcenius Niger, *and ſlays him; then ſends Meſſengers to diſpatch* Albinus, *and the effect thereof,* l. 2. p. 72, 73.
Puts Lætus Severus *to Death for his Treachery,* Id. Ib.
Makes an Expedition into Britain, *and the iſſue of it,* Id. p. 74, 75.
How he Treats his Son Baſſianus *that twice attempted to kill him,* Id. p. 75, 76.
Makes a Wall *croſs the Iſland from Sea to Sea, One hundred thirty two Miles in length, and from thence he receiv'd the Stile of* Britannicus, Id. p. 76.
This Wall *was built in the ſame place where* Adrian's *was before,* Id. p. 100.
His Death, and Funeral Pile, and Character, Id. p. 77, 78.
Severus (Alexander) *ſucceeds* Heliogabolus, *having been before declared* Cæſar *by the* Senate; *his Actions in this Iſland,* l. 2. p. 80.
Is ſlain by ſome of his own Army, Id. Ib.
Severus (Germanus *his Scholar*) *being Ordained Biſhop of* Triers, *preaches the* Goſpel *to the* Germans, l. 3. p. 117.
Seward, *Abbot of* Croyland, *conceals* Withlaf *King of* Mercia, *from the Diſpleaſure of King* Egbert, *in the Cell of the Holy Virgin* Etheldrith, *Daughter of King* Offa, *till a perfect Reconciliation was made,* l. 5. p. 254.
Sexburga, *Governs the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons *for a year, as being left to her by King* Cenwalch *her Husband. Her Character,* l. 4. p. 192.

Shaftſbury, *firſt called* Paladur, *afterwards* Septonia, *by whom Built*, l. 1. p. 10.
New built by King Alfred, l. 5. p. 285, 298, 307.
Called in Saxon, Scæftesbyrig, l. 6. p. 20.
Shaving of Crowns, *and about the manner of it*, l. 4. p. 216.
Sheoveſham, *or* Secveſham *Abby*, *Vid.* Abingdon.
Shepholme, *a little Iſland in the Mouth of* Severne, *anciently called* Bradanrelic; Florence *calls it* Reoric, l. 5. p. 319.
Sheriffs, *their Antiquity and Appointment by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 291.
Sherwood-Foreſt, *anciently called* Walewode, l. 5. p. 321.
Ships, *a great Tax raiſed by* Harold, *for ſetting out Sixteen Sail, which highly incenſed the minds of the* Engliſh, l. 6. p. 65.
Sixty two Sail had another Tax of Eight Marks to be paid the Rowers, Id. p. 66.
Shireburne, *anciently called* Weſtwude, l. 4. p. 214.
Shiremotes, *to be held* Twice *every Year, and who to be preſent thereat*, l. 6. p. 13.
Shropſhire, *anciently called* Scrobbesbyrigſcire, l. 6. p. 32.
Sicga, *dies, who killed the good King* Oſwald, *or* Alfwold, *(as one Hiſtorian ſays) by his own hands*, l. 4. p. 236, 238.
Sigebert, *ſucceeds his Brother* Eorpenwald *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles, *he was Baptized in* France, *whither he had been Baniſhed; and by Biſhop* Fœlix *his aſſiſtance erects a School to Inſtruct Youth, and two Years after* Reſigns *his Kingdom to his Couſin* Egric, *and became a Monk*, l. 4. p. 179.
Is forced out of his Monaſtery by the Eaſt-Angles, *to encourage the Soldiers againſt* Penda *King of the* Mercians, *where he is killed*, Id. p. 181.
Is made a Chriſtian *at the perſuaſion of King* Oſwy, Id. p. 184.
And at laſt wickedly Murthered, by whom, and upon what occaſion, Id. p. 188, 189.
Sigebert, *Couſin to* Cuthred, *ſucceeds him in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons; *is* Depoſed *by* Cynwulf, *and the Great Council, for his Cruelty and Injuſtice, and at laſt a certain* Hog-herd *ran him through, and killed him*, l. 4. p. 226.
Sigeferth, *a petty King of ſome Province, makes himſelf away, and is Buried at* Wilton, l. 6. p. 4.
Another of the ſame Name (a Daniſh Thane *) Treacherouſly ſlain, and his Goods ſeized on, and his Beautiful Widow ſecured by King* Ethelred, Id. p. 40.
Siger *and* Sebba, *who ſucceed* Swidhelm *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *their relapſe from the* Chriſtian Faith *into* Idolatry, *but ſoon again they renounced their* Apoſtacy, l. 4. p. 190.
Sigeric, *Vid.* Syric.
Sihtric, *a* Daniſh *King of* Northumberland, *is Married to* Edgitha, *the Siſter of King* Athelſtan; *his profeſſing himſelf a* Chriſtian, *though he relapſed ſoon after, and Died the next year*, l. 5. p. 330.
Another of this Name King of Ireland *and the Iſles adjacent*, Id. p. 334.
Silures, *their Complexion Swarthy, and they had Curled Hair like the* Spaniards, l. 1. p. 4.
The Inhabitants of the now South-Wales, l. 2. p. 42.
Their Name ought wholly to be extinguiſhed, and why, Id. p. 45.
Are waſted by many ſmall Incurſions, Id. p. 46.
Simony, *the firſt Example of it in the* Engliſh *Church*, l. 4. p. 191. *Vid.* Wini.
Singin, *a Captain over the* Worceſterſhire-men, *kills* Conſtantine *King of the* Scots, l. 5. p. 335, 336.
Sithicundmon, *eſteemed equal to a* Thane, *by the Valuation of his Head*, l. 5. p. 342.
Slaves, *The Common People of* England *were not ſuch* Slaves *in* Alfred*'s time, as ſome* late Writers *would fain make them*, l. 5. p. 294, 295.
Snottingaham, *the Town taken, and Commanded to be Repaired and Garriſon'd by King* Edward *the* Elder, l. 5. p. 324.
Soldier, *the Diſcovery made by* One, *and yet his* Fidelity *at the ſame time to a Prince to whom he had formerly taken a Military Oath*, l. 5. p. 335.
He that deſerts his Lord, or fellow Soldier, what he Forfeits and to whom, l. 6. p. 60.
Somerton, *taken by* Ethelbald *from the* Weſt-Saxons, l. 4. p. 221.
Was anciently a great Town and Caſtle, that gave Name to that Countrey which is now called Somerſetſhire, Id. p. 222.
Southampton, *was anciently called* Hamtun, l. 5. p. 258.
Deſtroyed by Daniſh Pyrates, *when*, l. 6. p. 20.
South-Saxons, *when this Kingdom began*, l. 3. p. 132.
Are Converted by the Preaching of Wilfrid, l. 4. p. 198.
Their Province, which had belonged to the Dioceſs of Wincheſter, *is made an* Epiſcopal *See*, Id. p. 214.
South-Shoebury *in* Eſſex, *anciently called* Sceobyrig, *where the* Danes *built a Caſtle*, l. 5. p. 300.
Southumbers, *that is, the* Mercians, l. 4. p. 210, 212.

Siward Earl of Northumberland restores Malcolm King of Scots to the throne

South-Wales, *the Seat of War a long while for the Supremacy between* Jevaf *and* Jago, *the Sons of* Edwal Voel, *and the Sons of* Howel Dha, *and the* Danes, l. 5. p. 349, 350. l. 6. p. 6, 7, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 53, 64.
 The Iriſh-Scots *invade it by the means of* Howel *and* Meredyth, l. 6. p. 56.
 Is moleſted by Conan *the Son of* Jago, *who had fled into* Ireland *for the ſafety of his life*, Id. p. 70.
 So infeſted by the Daniſh *Pyrates, that the Sea-Coaſts were almoſt deſerted*, Id. p. 74.
Sparhafock, *a Monk of St.* Edmundsbury, *made Abbot of* Abandune; *and afterwards Biſhop of* London, *upon the Tranſlation of* Robbyrd *to the See of* Canterbury, l. 6. p. 74, 75.
 But the Archbiſhop refuſed to conſecrate him (tho he came to him with the King's Letters and Seal), becauſe the Pope had forbad him. However, he held his Biſhoprick, Id. p. 76.
 Sometime after is depoſed *from it*, Id. p. 78.
Spot Wulfric, *a Courtier, builds the Monaſtery of* Burton *in* Staffordſhire, *with his own Paternal Inheritance, and gets King* Ethelred *to confirm it*, l. 6. p. 31.
Stamford, *a Caſtle, commanded by King* Edward *the* Elder *to be built on the* South-ſide *of the River* Weland, l. 5. p. 323.
Standing-Army, *no War poſſibly to be maintained long either at home or abroad, without one*, l. 6. p. 33.
Stanmore *Battel in* Weſtmorland, *between* Marius *the* Britiſh *King, and the* Caledonians, l. 2. p. 66.
Stealing. *Vid.* Theft.
Stephanus, *the Pope, ſucceeds* Leo, *and the next year dies*, l. 5. p. 251.
 Another of this name, Abbot of Mountcaſſin, *is conſecrated Pope in the room of* Victor, l. 6. p. 87.
 Deceaſes the next year, and who ſucceeds him, Id. p. 88.
Stigand, Cnute's *Chaplain, had the care of the Church of* Aſhdown *(which the King cauſed to be built there) committed to him*, l. 6. p. 51.
 Is conſecrated Biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles *(i. e.* Helmham), Id. p. 71, 73.
 Receives again his Biſhoprick, from which it ſeems by the Simoniacal *Practices of Biſhop* Grymkitel *he had been before* deprived, Id. p. 72.
 And upon the death of Alfwin, *is promoted to the See of* Wincheſter, Id. p. 73.
 At laſt is made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Id. p. 81.
 Had the Pall ſent him by Pope Benedict. William *of* Malmesbury *his Character of him. He conſecrates* Ægelric *a Monk of* Chriſt-Church, *Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *and* Syward *the Abbot, Biſhop of* Rocheſter, Id. p. 88.
Stilico, *Governor to the Emperor* Honorius, *during his Minority; his Character*, l. 2. p. 97.
 By a Legion ſufficiently furniſhed with Arms, diſpatched to Britain, *delivered the Inhabitants both from ſpoil and inevitable Captivity*, Id. p. 99, 104, 105.
 Is killed by the Army, when Baſſus *and* Philippus *were Conſuls*, Id. p. 104.
Stone *in* Staffordſhire, *whence it had its name*, l. 4. p. 195.
Stonehenge, *here* Aurelius Ambroſius *was crowned, and not long after buried*, l. 3. p. 131.
 Is called Mons Ambroſij, *ſaid to be the Monument of* Ambroſius, *and thought by the latter Antiquaries to be founded by him*, Ibid.
Strætcluyd, *the Colony erected by the* Britains, l. 5. p. 344.
Strangers, *as ſoon as they landed, the Merchants are to declare their number, and bring them before the King's Officers in* Folcmote, l. 5. p. 294.
 The Law againſt buying and receiving Strangers Cattle, Id. p. 346.
 A Law to harbour them for two nights, as Gueſts, but no longer ſo, l. 6. p. 103.
Strathern, *the* Scotiſh *Writers will needs have this Province underſtood by the word*, Jerne, l. 2. p. 98.
Streanſhale *Monaſtery, founded by* Hilda, l. 4. p. 188.
 Is now Whitby *in* Yorkſhire, Id. p. 189.
Strikers in open Court, *before the King's Ealdormen, their Puniſhment*, l. 5. p. 295.
Stufe *and* Withgar *(Nephews to King* Cerdic *) fight againſt the* Britains, *and put them to flight*, l. 3. p. 135.
Succeſſion to the Crown, *how ſettled between the* Picts *and* Scots, l. 1. p. 4, 5.
 The Britains *had no Notion of any Right the* Eldeſt Brother *had to command all the reſt, not even after they became Chriſtians*, Id. p. 17.
Suetonius (Paulinus) *in his time the* Romans *received a great Blow in* Britain, *and the Account of it*, l. 2. p. 46, 47, 48.
 Afterwards he gained a mighty Victory over Boadicia, *and them*, Id. p. 49, 50.
 Carries it too haughtily towards thoſe that ſubmit, Id. p. 50, 51.
 Is ſucceeded by Petronius Turpilianus, Id. p. 51.
Sunday. *Vid.* Lord's-Day.
Suppoſititious Birth, *ſaid to be put upon King* Cnute (viz. *the Son of a Shoemaker then newly*

newly born) by Ælgiva, *one of his Wives*, l. 6. p. 61.

Suretyſhip, *concerning the Breach of the King's and Archbiſhops*, &c. *what Fine was to be paid upon it by* Alfred'*s Law*, l. 5. p. 295.
Every one to find Sureties for his good Behaviour, l. 6. p. 14.
Every Lord to be Surety for the appearance of every perſon in his Family, Id. p. 42.
Whoſoever refuſes to give it, to be put to death, Id. p. 42, 43.
For the Danes *that ſtay in* England, *to enjoy in all things perfect Peace*, Id. p. 101.

Sutbury *in* Suffolk, *anciently called* Southburg, *where Biſhop* Alfwin *deceaſed*, l. 4. p. 242.

Swale, *a River; but where, is not mentioned*, l. 4. p. 174.

Swanawic, *now* Swanwick *in* Hampſhire, *near the place where the* Danes *loſt* 120 *of their Ships in a violent Storm, as they were going towards* Exmouth, l. 5. p. 278.

Swebryht, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *his Death*, l. 4. p. 223.

Sweden, *anciently called* Scandinovia, l. 1. p. 4.
And Gothia, Id. p. 5.

Swedes *and* Danes, *called* Normans *by the* French *Hiſtorians; an Account of their Religion, and the Deities they worſhipped*, l. 5. p. 256.

Sweyn, *the Son of* Harold *the* Dane, *ſlays* Edwal ap Meyric *in Battel, and deſtroys the Iſle of* Man: *He and* Anlaff *beſieges* London, *endeavouring to burn it, but are forced to march off; the Ravage and Murthers they committed in* Eſſex, Kent, *and* Suſſex, &c. l. 6. p. 25.
Ouſted *his Father both of his Kingdom and Life; was afterwards* expelled *himſelf, and wander'd up and down without relief, but plagues* England *after this all he could, for refuſing to receive him*, Id. p. 26.

Sweyn, *King of* Denmark, *receiving news of the Maſſacre of his Countreymen in* England, *by the Advice of his Great Council comes with Three hundred Sail of great Ships, and revenges this barbarous piece of Treachery*, l. 6. p. 30, 31.
His frequent Returns home, and Incurſions and Ravages here, Id. p. 32, 37, 38.
His Return into England, *and upon what occaſion*, Id. p. 37.
His Deceaſe, and the Monk's Relation of the Suddenneſs of it, Id. p. 38, 39, 40.

Sweyn, *Eldeſt Son of King* Cnute, *he appoints before his death, to be King of* Norway, l. 6. p. 56.
Is driven out of his Kingdom by Harold, *ſirnamed* Hairfax, *but he recovered it again*, Id. p. 74.

Sweyn *(Earl) Son of* Godwin, *goes over to* Baldwin *Earl of* Flanders, *and ſtays there all Winter, being in diſgrace at Court for deflowring an Abbeſs*, l. 6. p. 73, 74.
Makes a League with Edward *the* Confeſſor, *and the King's Promiſes to him. How he decoys his Couſin* Beorne *on Shipboard, and cauſes him afterwards to be made away*, Id. p. 75.
Is declared outlaw'd, *in a Great Council held at* London, Id. p. 77.
Going from Flanders *to* Jeruſalem *barefoot, in Pennance for the Murther of* Beorne, *in his Return home he dies*, Id. p. 82.

Swidhelme, *the Son of* Sexbald, *ſucceeds* Sigebert, *and is made a Chriſtian by* Cedda, l. 4. p. 189.

Switheard, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *dies, and* Elfwold *ſucceeds him*, l. 4. p. 225, 228.

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St. Swithune, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *his Conſecration and Deceaſe; and excellent Character*, l. 5. p. 266, 267.

Sydeman, *Biſhop of* Devonſhire, *(that is,* Wells *) his Death, and Burial*, l. 6. p. 16.

Synod, *of* Auguſtine, *at* Auguſtine's-Ake, *on the Confines of the* Wecti, *now the Dioceſs of* Worceſter, l. 4. p. 160.
Of Streanſhale, Id. p. 189.
At Hertford, *which appointed when* Eaſter *ſhould be kept*, Id. p. 193.
To be aſſembled once a year at a place called Cloveſhoe, Id. Ib.
At Hatfield, *where the* Five firſt General Councils *were received and confirm'd*, Id. p. 199.
Of all the Biſhops of Britain, *about Biſhop* Wilfred, *where held, and what done*, Id. p. 206, 207, 213.
Decree the Province of the South-Saxons *to be an Epiſcopal See, but it did not long continue ſo*, Id. p. 213, 214.
Of Cloveſhoe, *its Decrees chiefly made in Confirmation of the Charter of King* Withred, *concerning free Elections to Monaſteries in* Kent. *A ſecond Synod held there, and what was done in it*, Id. p. 224, 225.
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Called by Ethelheard, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, at the command of Pope Leo, and what was confirmed therein. This was the Great Council of Becanceld, Id. p. 241.
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T

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Theodoric, *the Son of* Ida, *reigns in* Bernicia, l. 3. p. 146.
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Is received by the Emperor with great Commendations, on his being recalled to Rome, *after he had left* Britain *in Peace,* Id. p. 94.
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Theomantius, *or* Tenantius, *ſucceeds* Caſſibelan, *by the general applauſe of the people,* l. 2. p. 36.
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Toſtige, *Son of Earl* Godwin, *to whom* Edward *the* Confeſſor *gave the Earldom of* Northumberland, l. 6. p. 86.
His Earldom depopulated by Malcolme, *King of* Scots, Id. p. 89.
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Trajan, the Emperor, ſoon reduces the Britains that Revolted againſt him, l. 2. p. 66.
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Tranſportation, a Law for it as to ſuch and ſuch Criminals, though the King ſhould Pardon them as to Life and Member, l. 6. p. 102.
Traytor, Elfgar was ſo to the King and the whole Nation, l. 6. p. 86.
Treaſure-Trove, all to be the King's, unleſs found in a Church, and then too it was the King's if it were Gold; but if Silver, then he to have one half, and the Church the other, l. 6. p. 101.
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  It ceaſes during the Reſidence of Kynobelin at Rome, Id. p. 36.
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  Another of Twenty four thouſand pound paid them, and proviſion likewiſe, Id. p. 29.
  Another of Thirty thouſand pounds paid them, and to find them Proviſions during their ſtay, Id. p. 32.
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Tudric, King of Glamorgan, ſaid to have exchanged his Crown for a Hermitage, but afterwards going out of it againſt the Saxons, in the defence of his Son Mouric, he received a mortal Wound, l. 3. p. 148, 149.
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V

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  Gets himſelf made ſole King, and governs with that Glory, that it is ſaid the Kings deſcending from him were called Uffings. *How long he reigned, uncertain,* Id. Ib.

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Victor, elected *Pope in the room of* Leo, *that holy Biſhop of* Rome, l. 6. p. 85.
His Deceaſe, and who ſucceeded him, Id. p. 87.
Victorinus, *a* Roman *Governor in* Britain, l. 2. p. 104.
Vienne, *a City in* Dauphine, *where* Conſtans *was ſlain*, l. 2. p. 103.
Villain, *if he wrought on Holidays, he was to ſatisfy it with his skin, (that is, by whipping,) or pay his Head-gild*, &c. l. 5. p. 285.
Villains; *great and proſperous ones often meet with the Puniſhment they deſerve, as well the Actors as Contrivers*, l. 2. p. 96.
Virgilius, *the* Scottiſh *Abbot, his Deceaſe*, l. 5. p. 312.
Virgins, Geoffrey *of* Monmouth's *Story of* Urſula's *being ſent over to* Britain, *and Eleven thouſand Noble Virgins to attend her, beſides ſixty thouſand of meaner condition; ſhe to be beſtowed on* Conan, *and the reſt on the other* Britains, *and their End*, l. 2. p. 96, 97.
Vitalian, *the Pope, confirms by his Bull King* Wulfher's *Charter to the Abbey of* Medeſhamſted, l. 4. p. 187.
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Univerſity, *of* Paris, *by whoſe means erected*; Alcuinus *an* Engliſhman *reading there Logick, Rhetorick, and Aſtronomy*, l. 4. p. 244.
Of Oxford *and* Cambridge. *Vid. their particular Heads.*
Unuſt, *King of the* Picts. *Vid.* Eadbert, *King of* Northumberland.
Vortigern, *is choſen King by the* Britains, l. 3. p. 116.
By the Advice of his Council he ſent for the Heathen Saxons *to repel the* Scots *and* Picts, Id. p. 117.
Falls paſſionately in Love with Rowena, Hengeſt's *daughter*, Id. p. 125.
Marries her, and is divorced from his former Wife, Id. p. 126.
The ſtory of his taking his own Daughter to Wife, and having a Son by her, is all unlikely, Id. p. 127, 128.
Is depoſed, *and* Vortimer *his Son is* choſen *King by the* Britiſh *Nobles*, Id. p. 128.
Is reſtored; wages War with the Saxons, *but by the Treachery of* Hengeſt *is taken Priſoner, and for his Ranſom gives up* Eaſt-Sex, Middleſex, *and* Suſſex, Id. p. 129.
Uncertain what at laſt became of him, but was again depoſed, *and thought to be burnt in his Caſtle by his Succeſſor* Aurelius Ambroſius, Id. p. 131.
Vortimer, *obtains a great Victory over the* Saxons, l. 3. p. 128.
Drives them into Germany *for all his lifetime*, Id. Ib.
Dies, ſuppoſed by Poyſon of his Mother-in-Law Rowena's *Procurement*, Id. p. 129.
Vortipore, *King of that part of* South-Wales *called* Demetia, l. 3. p. 139.
Urbgen, *or* Urien, *King of* Cumberland, *and his Sons, fight with* Theodoric *and his Sons, and where*, l. 3. p. 146.
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Uſcfrea, *a Son of King* Edwin's, l. 4. p. 176.
Uſurers, *not to continue in the Kingdom, but if any were convicted, to forfeit their Goods, and be look'd on as* outlaw'd, l. 6. p. 102.
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Uthred, *his Bravery againſt the* Scots, *and the Reward he met with for it from King* Ethelred; *caſts off his Wife (but gives her back her Fortune), and marries another, one* Siga, l. 6. p. 27.
Submits, with all his Northumbrian *Kingdom, to King* Sweyn, *the* Dane; *and the miſchiefs he, his Son, and their Army, did both there and where ever they went*, Id. p. 37, 38.
He with Edmund Etheling *plunders all places where ever they come*, Id. p. 41.
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W

Wada, *a Rebel in chief in* Northumberland, *that leads out the Conſpirators to Battel againſt King* Eardwulf *at* Billingahoth, *near* Whalie *in* Lancaſhire, l. 4. p. 241.

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Wales, *anciently called* Cambria, *by ſome ſuppoſed to come from King* Ina*'s marrying* Gualla, *the Daughter of* Cadwallader, *King of the* Britains; *but it is certainly a notorious Falſhood,* l. 4. p. 220.

Their Chief Lords of any Countrey there, called Kings, Id. p. 241.

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The ſeveral Princes of Wales *were perpetually weakning each other with Civil Wars; which the* Engliſh *obſerving, at laſt reduced them all under their Dominion,* l. 5. p. 279, 280.

Great Commotions there between Jevaf *and* Jago, *and their Children after them, ſeveral Countries being thereby ſpoiled,* l. 6. p. 16, 20, 21, 22.

Laws concerning the Inabitants of the Mountains of this Countrey, Id. p. 44.

A great Revolution happen'd there from the fickleneſs of the Nation, Id. p. 64.

The laſt Civil War or Rebellion there that happen'd in Edward *the* Confeſſor*'s Reign,* Id. p. 85.

Is called Brytland, *and ſubdued by E.* Harold *and E.* Toſtige, Id. p. 89.

Wall; *That which* Severus *built from Sea to Sea,* 132 *miles in length, which procured him the ſtile of* Britannicus, l. 2. p. 76.

Is repaired, and fortified with Caſtles, &c. by Carauſius, Id. p. 84.

Built croſs the Iſland between the two Seas, or Streights, called then Glotta *and* Bodotria, (*now the Friths of* Edinburgh *and* Dunbritton) *with Turf inſtead of Stone,* Id. p. 99, 100.

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Wall-Town, *near the* Picts-Wall, *anciently called* Admurum, l. 4. p. 184.

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Warham *in* Dorſetſhire, *formerly* Werham, *a ſtrong Caſtle of the* Weſt-Saxons, *is taken and deſtroyed by the* Danes, *together with the Nunnery there,* l. 5. p. 278.

Warwick, *anciently called* Caer-Gaurvie, *ſuppoſed to be built by* Gurgwint, l. 1. p. 13.

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Are forced to quit all the plain Countrey between Severne *and* Wye, *and to retire to the Mountains,* l. 4. p. 231.

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The Welſh *beaten by* Igmond *the* Dane, Id. p. 303.

Are forbid to come into England, *or the* Engliſh *to enter* Wales, l. 6. p. 44.

Raiſe ſome Inſurrections in Harold*'s time, and upon what account,* Id. p. 65.

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Werfriht, *Biſhop of* Worceſter (*one very well skill'd in the Holy Scriptures*), *ſent to King* Alfred *out of* Mercia, l. 5. p. 305, 306.

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Weſtminſter Church and Abbey, *founded by King* Sebert, Mellitus *the Biſhop dedicating it to St.* Peter, l. 4. p. 166.

But being deſtroyed by the Danes, *it had ever ſince lain in Ruins, till* Edward *the* Confeſſor *built it anew, and had it re-conſecrated,* l. 6. p. 93, 94, 95.

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Charter of Endowment, and Privileges of this Church, confirmed by the Great Council.

The Greateſt and Nobleſt of any Foundation *in* England, Id. p. 94.

Weſt-Saxons, *when this Kingdom firſt began,* l. 3. p. 133.

Were conquered by Cerdic *and his Sons,* Id. Ib.

Who firſt took upon them the Title of the Kings of the Weſt-Saxons, *and at laſt they overcome all the other ſix Kingdoms,* Id. p. 136.

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Submit to King Cnute, *and give him Hoſtages, and likewiſe provide Horſes for his Army,* Id. p. 41.

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Whalie, *in* Lancaſhire, *anciently called* Wealæge, *where a bloody Battel was fought, and with whom,* l. 4. p. 241.

Wheat, *at what rate ſold in* Hardecnute*'s time. Vid.* Seſter.

Whipping, *a Puniſhment to be inflicted only on Villains,* l. 5. p. 285.

Whitby, *in* Yorkſhire, *anciently called* Streanſhale, l. 4. p. 189.

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Whitſand, *an ancient Port, Five hundred years before* Cæſar*'s time,* l. 2. p. 31.

About the Fourteenth Century was made unſerviceable, being ſtopp'd up by the Sands, Id. Ib.

Wibbendon, *now* Wimbledon *in* Surrey, l. 3. p. 145.

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Widow, *to remain ſo a Twelvemonth by King* Cnute*'s Law; and if ſhe marry within that time, to loſe her Dower, and all that her Husband left her,* l. 6. p. 60.

Wigbryht, *Biſhop of the* Weſt-Saxons, *goes to* Rome *about the Affairs of the* Engliſh *Church,* l. 5. p. 251.

Wigheard, *the Presbyter, ſent to* Rome, *there to be made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *but died almoſt as ſoon as he arrived there,* l. 4. p. 195, 205.

Wight, *is brought under ſubjection by* Titus Veſpatian, l. 2. p. 41.

The Iſle, anciently called Vecta, l. 2. p. 84.

Is conquered by Cerdic *and* Cynric, *who beſtow it on* Stufe *and* Withgar, *Nephews to the former,* l. 3. p. 138.

Is taken by Wulſher, *King of* Mercia, l. 4. p. 188.

Received at laſt the Chriſtian Faith, though upon hard terms, l. 4. p. 203.

The Danes *quartering here, made it their old Sanctuary,* l. 6. p. 27, 31.

Wightred, *confirms all the Privileges of the Monks of the Church of* Canterbury *by a Charter under his Hand,* l. 4. p. 163.

Wigmore *in* Herefordſhire, *anciently called* Wigingamere, l. 5. p. 321.

Wilbrode, *an* Engliſh *Prieſt, converts ſeveral Nations in* Germany *to the Chriſtian Faith; is ordained by the Pope Archbiſhop of the* Friſons, l. 4. p. 211.

His Epiſcopal See was the famous Caſtle, anciently called Wiltaburg, *now* Utrecht, Id. p. 211, 212.

Wilfreda, *a Nun taken out of a Cloyſter at* Wilton, *by King* Edgar, *by whom he had a Beautiful Daughter, that was afterwards Abbeſs of the ſaid Monaſtery,* l. 6. p. 3, 12.

St. Wilfrid, *Biſhop of* York, *when he cauſed the Rule of St.* Benedict *to be obſerved in* England, l. 4. p. 167, 168.

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A great Contention between King Egfrid *and him, ſo that he was expell'd his Biſhoprick,* Id. p. 196.

He appeals to Rome, *and what the ſucceſs thereof,* Id. p. 197.

By his preaching converts the South-Saxons, Id. p. 198.

Receives of Ceadwallo *as much Land in the* Iſle of Wight, *as maintain'd 300 Families,* Id. p. 203.

Is recalled home by King Alfred, *and reſtored in a General Synod to his Sees of* York *and* Hagulſtad, Id. p. 204, 213.

Is a ſecond time expelled *by* Alfred, *and why,* Id. p. 205, 206.

Three times deprived, *the firſt time unjuſtly; but whether ſo the other two, is doubtful. His Deceaſe at* Undale, *and Burial at* Ripon *in* Yorkſhire, Id. p. 214, 215.

His Character. Is the firſt Biſhop in that Age that ever uſed Silver Plate, Id. p. 215.

An Account of his building the Monaſtery of Ripon, l. 5. p. 350.

The ſecond Biſhop of York *of that name, his Death,* l. 4. p. 224.

Wilfrid, *or* Wulfred, *conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *in the room of* Ethelward *deceaſed; and the next year received his Pall,* l. 5. p. 248.

Goes

Goes to Rome *about the Affairs of the* Britiſh *Church,* Id. p. 251.

His Death, and the different Account who ſucceeded him, Id. p. 255.

William, *the Son of* Robert *Duke of* Normandy, *by* Harlotte, *his Concubine,* (*afterwards King of* England); *to whom recommended, whilſt his Father made his Pilgrimage to* Jeruſalem, l. 6. p. 54.

When he began to reign in Normandy, Id. p. 56.

The great Battel at Valleſdune *in* Normandy *upon his account,* Id. p. 74.

His coming over into England, *and noble Reception here; with* Edward's *promiſing to make him his Succeſſor,* Id. p. 79.

Takes the City of Man, l. 6. p. 89.

Sets Harold *at liberty, who was detained by the Earl of* Ponthieu; *contracts Friendſhip with, and betroths his Daughter to him,* Id. p. 92.

Harold *promiſes (upon King* Edward's *death) to deliver up* Dover-*Caſtle to him, and procure his Succeſſion to the Throne,* Id. Ib.

Could have no pretence to the Crown of England *by Blood,* Id. p. 96, 97.

His great Preparations to invade England, *and the reaſons why; firſt acquainting the Pope with his Deſign, and receiving his Anſwer; with the account of his craving Aid of his People, and Neighbour Princes,* Id. p. 107, 108, 109.

His coming over, and landing at Pevenſey, *and Preparations for a Battel; but firſt ſends a Monk to* Harold *with Propoſals, which he by no means would hearken to,* Id. p. 110, 111.

The manner how he drew up his Army, in order to fight him, Id. p. 112.

By ſeeming to retreat, he gets the Victory; wherein Harold *is ſlain,* Id. p. 212, 213.

Having got Harold's *Standard, which was curiouſly embroider'd, he ſends it to the Pope,* Id. p. 113.

Sends Harold's *Body, as ſoon as it was found, to his Mother,* Id. p. 114.

Wills (Laſt) *Vid.* Teſtament.

Wilton, *near* Salisbury, *ſuppoſed anciently to be* Ellendune, *where a great Battel was fought between* Egbert *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *and* Beornwulf *King of the* Mercians, *the latter being beaten,* l. 5. p. 253.

Both Town and County take their names from the River Willie, Id. p. 276.

Wiltſhire-*men gain the Victory over the* Worceſterſhire-*men, or* Mercians, l. 5. p. 247.

Wina. *Vid.* Wini.

Winandermere, *anciently called* Wonwaldermere, *a Village by the great Pool in* Lancaſhire, l. 4. p. 236.

Winchelcomb, *a Monaſtery in* Glouceſterſhire *for Three hundred* Benedictine *Monks, founded by* Kenwulf *King of the* Mercians, *and its Conſecration,* l. 4. p. 242. l. 5. p. 251.

Kenelm, *his Son, martyr'd by his Siſter* Quendride; *after his Body was found, was brought* hither, *and buried in the Church of this Abbey,* l. 5. p. 252.

Wincheſter, *anciently called* Caer-Guent, *by whom it is firſt pretended to be built,* l. 1. p. 10.

The Old Church there commanded to be built by King Cenwall, l. 4. p. 181.

The Biſhoprick is reſigned by Daniel, *by reaſon of his Old Age, to* Hunferth, Id. p. 224.

Is taken from King Ethelbert *by the* Danes, l. 5. p. 266.

The Conſecration of the New Monaſtery here, l. 5. p. 312.

A Great Council held here, concerning the turning out of the Monks, l. 6. p. 16.

Wincheſter-Meaſure, *to be the Standard,* l. 6. p. 14.

Winfrid, *Biſhop of the* Mercians, depoſed *by Archbiſhop* Theodore, *and why,* l. 4. p. 194.

Wini, *or* Wina, *made Biſhop of the* Weſt-Saxons; *and the Province being divided into two Dioceſſes, he is ſettled in that of* Wincheſter, l. 4. p. 182, 188.

But being driven from his See by King Kenwalch, *goes and purchaſes the See of* London *of King* Wulfher. *The* Firſt *Example of* Simony *here,* Id. p. 191.

Wipha, *or* Wippa, *the Son of* Cryda, *ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of the* Mercians, l. 3. p. 148.

Wir, *a River in the Biſhoprick of* Durham, l. 4. p. 194.

Wiregild, *is a ſatisfaction made by a Murtherer to the Friends of the Party ſlain,* l. 4. p. 211.

The Valuation of a Man's Head, l. 5. p. 341.

Wiremouth, *a Monaſtery built by Abbot* Benedict, l. 4. p. 194, 205.

Witchcraft; *King* Athelſtan's *Law againſt it,* l. 5. p. 340.

Wite, *a Fine or Mulct to be paid by the* Engliſh *and* Danes, *upon the violating of their Laws,* l. 5. p. 284, 285.

Witena-Gemote, *their large Authority, not only in aſſenting to new Laws, but in their Judicial Power in giving Judgments upon all Suits or Complaints brought before them, as well in Appeals between Subject and Subject, as when the King himſelf was a Party,* l. 6. p. 83.

It outlaws *and convicts Earl* Ælfgar, *upon a Charge of being a* Traytor to the King and the whole Nation, Id. p. 86.

Witerne, *a Biſhopriek, called in* Latin, Candida Caſa, *belonging to the Kingdom of* Northumberland, l. 4. p. 201, 231.

St. Withburg, *her Body found at* Durham, *entire and uncorrupt, after ſhe had been Fifty five years buried,* l. 4. p. 242.

Withgar; *Nephew to King* Cerdick, *with* Stufe, *put the* Britains *to flight,* l. 3. p. 135.

His Death, and Burial at Withgarasbyrig, *ſuppoſed* Caresbrook-*Caſtle in the* Iſle of Wight, Id. p. 138.

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Withlaſt, *an Ealdorman of* Mercia, created *King by the Conſent of all the People*, l. 5. p. 253.

Reigns Thirteen Years as Tributary to King Egbert, Id. p. 254.

Is expelled, *and upon what account; where he lay concealed till he procured* Egbert'*s Reconciliation; upon which he was reſtored, paying a Yearly Tribute,* Ib. Ib.

The Privileges and Conceſſions of this King to the Monaſtery of Croyland, *confirmed in a General Council held at* London, *and who were preſent in it,* Id. p. 257.

His Deceaſe, and who ſucceeded him, Id. p. 259.

Withred, *by his Piety and Induſtry freed* Kent *from Foreign Invaſions,* l. 4. p. 205.

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Wittereden, *ſignifies a certain Fine or Forfeiture,* l. 5. p. 262.

Woden, *King of a City in* Aſia, *called* Aſgard, *dies in* Swedeland; *counted a great Magician, and after his Death is worſhipped as a God,* l. 3. p. 121.

Brought back the Goths *out of* Aſia *into* Europe, Ib. & p. 122.

Wodensbeorge, *now* Wodensburg, *a little Village in* Wiltſhire, l. 3. p. 148.

Wolves; *a Tribute of ſo many Wolves Heads to be paid to King* Edgar, *inſtead of that in Money, for his concluding a Peace with* North-Wales, l. 6. p. 4.

Woodſtock *in* Mercia, *where King* Ethelred *made ſeveral Excellent Laws with the Aſſiſtance of his Great Council,* l. 6. p. 42, 43.

Worceſter, *anciently was called* Vectij, l. 4. p. 160, 230.

Boſel, *being ordained Biſhop of the* Wicij, *had his See here,* Id. p. 199, 200.

The Firſt Biſhop hereof was Talfride, *a Learned Monk, but he died before Ordination,* Id. p. 200.

This Church was firſt founded by Athelred *King of the* Mercians, Id. Ib.

The City plunder'd and burnt, and the Countrey waſted by Hardecnute, *and why,* l. 6. p. 67.

The Shire, anciently called Wicon, l. 4. p. 242. l. 5. p. 247.

Wounds and Maims, *King* Alfred'*s Law concerning them,* l. 5. p. 296.

Wulfheard, *an Ealdorman, at* Southampton *fights* 33 Daniſh *Pyrates, and makes there a terrible ſlaughter of them,* Id. p 258.

Wulfhelme, *conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 5. p. 329.

His Deceaſe, and who ſucceeds him, Id. p. 333.

Wulfher, *ſucceeds his Brother* Peadda, *and greatly enriches the Abbey of* Medeſhamſted *with Lands and other Endowments*, l. 4. p. 186, 187.

Is proclaimed *King by the Ealdormen of* Mercia; *takes the* Iſle of Wight, *with the Countrey of the* Meanvari, Id. p. 188.

Fights with Æſcwin *at* Bedanheaſde, Id. p. 195.

Concerning his Baptiſm, and the ridiculous ſtory of his murthering his two Sons with his own hands, as alſo his Death, Id. Ib.

Wulfher, *Archbiſhop of* York, *is* expelled *by the* Northumbers, *but reſtored to it the next year after,* l. 5. p. 277.

His Deceaſe, Id. p. 299.

Wulfnoth, *Father of Earl* Godwin, *being impeached before King* Ethelred, *and eſcaping, and running away with ſome of his Ships, turns Pyrate, and does a world of miſchief, by burning the reſt of the Fleet that had eſcaped Shipwreck,* l. 6. p. 33.

Wulfric. *Vid*. Spot.

Wulſtan, *is wickedly ſlain by his Couſin* Berthferth, *Son of* Bertwulf *King of* Mercia, *and his Body buried at the Monaſtery of* Rependun *in* Derbyſhire, l. 5. p. 261.

Wulſtan, *Archbiſhop of* York, *is made a cloſe Priſoner at* Witharbyrig, *by King* Edred, *and for what; but becauſe of his Function he is afterwards pardoned, and reſtored,* l. 5. p. 350.

His Deceaſe, Id. p. 355.

Wulſtan, *Archbiſhop of* York, *conſecrates* Ethelnoth (*a Monk and Dean of* Canterbury) *Biſhop,* l. 6. p. 51.

His Deceaſe, and who ſucceeds him, Id. p. 53.

Yarrow,

Y

YArrow, *near the River* Tine, *anciently called* Girwy, l. 4. p. 194.

Year; *the* Engliſh-Saxon *Year began not at* Lady-day, *as ours does now, but at* New-Year's-*tide*, l. 6. p. 93, 94.

Year and Day *allow'd for diſcovery of Murther*, l. 6. p. 101.

York, *anciently called* Caer-brank, *by whom built*, l. 1. p. 10.
  And Eoferwick, l. 5. p. 324. l. 6. p. 41.
  Auguſtine *had Power from Pope* Gregory *to ordain whom he pleaſed Biſhop there, and he to ordain Twelve Biſhops more, and enjoy the Honour of a Metropolitan*, l. 4. p. 158.
  Paulinus, *the firſt Biſhop of* York, Id. p. 173.
  The City and Monaſtery of this place burnt, Id. p. 224.
  A Noble Library built there by Biſhop Egbert, *accounted one of the beſt in* Europe, Id. p. 229.
  Is taken by Reginald *the Daniſh King of* Northumberland, l. 5. p. 324.
  Stormed, plunder'd, and many of the Inhabitants ſlain by the King of Norway, l. 6. p. 109.

Yric, *appointed by King* Cnute *to be Earl of the* Northumbers, l. 6. p. 41, 59.

Yrling *the Dane, and* Lothen, *with Twenty five Ships land at* Sandwic, *and commit great havock*, l. 6. p. 74.

Ywrch (Edwal) *the Son of* Cadwallader, l. 3. p. 145.

Z

ZEal; *the Intemperate Zeal of ſome Churchmen, how not to be imitated*, l. 2. p. 96.
  The Founding of a Monaſtery accounted a ſufficient Atonement to God for whatſoever Injuſtices Princes committed; ſo great was the Superſtitious Zeal of Ancient Times, l. 4. p. 242.
  Upon Oſwy's *Repentance for his Treacherous Procurement of King* Oſwin's *Death, he builds a Monaſtery on the Place where the Murther was committed, to expiate the Crime, and to pray as well for his own Soul, as for the King's he had cauſed to be killed*, l. 4. p. 183.
  Vid. Egbert, Id. p. 192, 193.

The

The moſt conſiderable ERRATA. *The ſmaller the Reader may eaſily amend.*

Book 1. P*Age* 7. *line* 21. *for* his *r.* certain of his. *id. l.* 27 *for* tranſactions *r.* tranſlations. *p.* 13. *l.* 32. *dele* now. *p.* 14. *l.* 38. *after* longer *r.* able. *p.* 17. *l.* 13. *for* the *r.* any. *ib. for* originals *r.* words.

Book 2. *P.*21. *in marg. for* Lib. *r.* Diod. *p.*22. *l.*16. *for* then *r.* as. *p.*24. *l.*8. *for* at *r.* yet. *id. l* 48. *put the Semicolon after* it. *p.* 30. *l.* 20. *d.* of. *p.* 46. *in marg. after* Hiſtory *r.* Lib. 3. *id. in marg. after* Annal *d.* LXIII. *p.* 54 *l.* 9. *d.* partly. *p.* 56. *l.* 14. *for* and that *r.* at an. *p.* 60. *l.* 26. *after* Tributes *r.* they uſed. *p.* 63. *l.* 7. *for* ſome *r.* ſometimes. *p* 64. *l.* 49. *for* who wanted *r.* the wonted. *id. l.* 52. *for* bought *r.* ſought. *p.* 66. *l.* 13. *for* found *r.* famed. *p.* 70. *l.* 9. *r.* Choir. *p.* 72. *l.* 48. *for* charged *r.* changed. *p.* 75. *l.* 2. *after* all *r.* things. *ib. for* having *r.* leaving. *p.* 79. *l.* 21. *for* when he *r.* having. *id. l. penult. for* and *r.* he then. *ib. after* Army *make a* Full-Point. *id. l. ult. for* other *r.* (as many of his Succeſſo) *within a Parentheſis. p.* 83. *l.* 6. *r.* Vopiſcus. *p.* 86. *l.* 30. *for* wrote *r.* wrought. *p.* 87. *l.* 5. *r.* Conſtantius. *id. l.* 13. *d.* Auguſtus. *id. l.* 14. *after* declared *r.* Auguſtus. *id. l.* 26. *after* out *r.* of. *p.* 88. *l* 1. *for* Mercurius *r.* Maxentius. *id. l.* 32. *for* 114. *r.* 314. *p.* 89. *l.* 34. *d.* and. *id. l.* 50. *r.* Ariminum. *p.* 93. *l.* 33. *r.* Dulcitius. *p.* 95. *l.* 4. *after* former *r.* of that name. *p.* 96. *l.* 14. *r.* Priſcillian. *p.* 97. *l.* 30. *r.* Honorius. *p.* 98. *l.* 37. *r.* Veremundus. *p.* 100. *l.* 15. *for* long ſo *r.* ſo long *p.* 104. *l.* 22. *after* for *r.* as. *ib. for* proved for *r.* obſerved. *p* 106. *l.* 33. *r.* 435.

Book 3. *P.*115. *l.*45 *for* by *r.* the. *p.*118. *l.*15. *for* 149. *r.* 449. *id. l.*45. *for* Elles *r.* Albis. *p.*119. *l.*20. *r.* Krantzius. *p.* 122. *l.* 44. *for* Ranulphus *r.* Angrimus Jonas. *p.* 123. *l.* 20. *for* names other *r.* other names. *p.* 124. *l.* 33. *for* latter *r.* former. *p.* 128. *l.* 19. *for* him *r.* them. *p.* 133. *l.* 45. *for* 500 *r.* 504. *p.* 137. *l.* 27. *for* Thom. Radburne *r.* and others. *p.* 138. *l.* 41. *r.* Camalan. *p.* 141. *l.* 6. *put a Semicolon after* one. *id. in marg for* Anno DLXIV. *r.* DXLIV. *p.* 142. *in marg. for* DLXVII. *r.* DXLVII *p.* 152. *l.* 30. *for* England *r.* Britain.

Book 4. *P.*158 *l.*13. *for* ſixty *r.* ſix hundred and one. *p.*159 *l.*48 *after* Sebert, *d.* alſo baptized Ethelbert. *p.*161 *l.*13. *d.* as they relate. *id. l.* 38. *for* but *r.* then. *p.* 163. *l.* 28. *for* Seal *r.* Hand. *p.* 167. *l.* 26. *for* denied *r.* much queſtion'd. *p.* 169. *l.* 3. *for* them *r.* him *p.* 180. *l.* 37. *for* one *r.* this. *p.* 191. *l.* 7. *for* Monaſtery *r.* Mortality. *p.* 193. *l.* 27. *for* January *r.* March. *p.* 199. *l.* 15. *for* Seat *r.* See at. *p.* 204. *l. penult. r.* Cadwallo. *p.* 205 *l* 41. *for* he again *r.* Benedict. *p.* 211. *l.* 50. *r.* 696. *p.* 219. *l.* 17. *d.* by. *p.* 220. *in Marg. after* cap. *r* 35. f. 148. *p.* 223. *l.* 23. *for* 31. *r.* 21. *id. l.* 36. *for* Leyceſter *r.* Cheſter. *p* 229. *l.* 6. *for* Death *r.* Reſignation. *p.* 231. *l.* 37. *for* flight *r.* fight. *p.* 240. *l.* 36. *after* Northumbers *r.* had the year before. *id. l.* 39. *r.* Cobre. *p.* 241. *l.* 4. *for* Biſhop *r.* Dr. *p.* 242. *l.* 29. *for* Rog. Hoveden *r.* Simeon of Durham. *ib. r.* Osbald.

Book 5. *P.*250. *l.*22 *for* 40 *r.* 4. *p.*255 *l.*49. *for* thouſand *r.* hundred. *p.*258 *l.*8. *for* was not Son but Brother to, *r.* was Son, not Brother to. *p.* 265. *l.* 43. *for* Ethelred *r.* Ethelbert, *in Capital Letters.* p. 266. *l.* 45. *d.* all. *p.* 272. *l.*21. *for* Britains *r.* Danes. *p.* 277. *l.* 19. *for* Bertulph *r.* Burhed. *p.* 278. *l.* 21. *for* him *r.* them. *p.* 279. *l.* 26. *after* his *r.* third. *p.* 281. *l.* 47. *for* Hubbleſtones *r.* Hubbeſtow. *p.* 286. *l.* 21. *d.* and ſays for. *p.* 289. *l* 29. *d.* though. *p.* 298. *l.* 7. *for* Menia *r.* Mercia. *p.* 300. *l.* 4. *for* then *r.* though. *id. l.* 5. *for* ſallied *r.* went. *ib. d.* of their Camp *p.* 305. *l.* 46. *d.* not only. *p.* 306. *l.* 2. *after* Aſſer *d. the Parenth. r.* himſelf. *id. l.* 44. *r.* Brocmail. *p.* 312. *l.* 27. *for* ſome *r.* new. *p.* 324. *l.* 25. *for* that *r.* Derby. *id. l.* 26. *for* Derby *r.* that ſhire. *p.* 343. *l.* 11. *for* them *r.* him. *p.* 344. *l.* 7. *d.* for this, *r.* the next.

Book 6. *This Book being printed at another Preſs, the Title was forgot to be alter'd like the reſt; therefore in Page* 1. *in the Title, d.* Britain now called *r.* England; *and ſo alſo in the Titles of all the reſt of the Pages.* P. 3. *l.* 15. *for* who *r.* for he. *p.* 4. *l.* 7. *d.* for that Tribute, *r.* in lieu thereof. *p.* 24. *l.* 50. *after* Normandy *r.* and King Ethelred. *p.* 26. *l.* 22. *for* whither *r.* either. *p.* 29. *l.* 29. *for* to manage *r.* who managed. *p.* 39. *l.* 36. *for* then *r.* there. *p.* 56. *l.* 16. *d.* after. *p.* 72. *l.* 15. *for* conſecrated *r.* deſign'd. *p.* 89. *l.* 10. *for* chief Standard-bearer *r.* Mareſchal. *p.* 96. *l. penult. for* ſome years *r.* the year. *p* 97. *l.* 9. *for* ſuſpicious *r.* certain. *p.* 110. *l.* 30. *for* Kings *r.* Dukes. *p.* 113. *l.* 26. *d.* them. *ib. for* not to ſhoot *r.* not to be ſhot. *p.* 116. *l.* 20. *for* Ages *r.* Years.

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Appendix *to the former* Addenda.

SOme things of moment having been caſually omitted, or miſtaken, I thought good to inſert them here.

The Years of our Lord left out in the Margin by the Overſight of the Printers, and not perceived till the Work was finiſh'd. P. 132. *l.* 32. *in margin add* Anno Dom. CCCCLXXXVIII. *p.* 174. *l.* 15. *in marg. add* Anno Dom. DCXXVIII.

P. 80. *l.* 16. *after* Macrinus, *add within a Parentheſis* (being ſlain by the Army, as was alſo his Predeceſſor.) *p.* 110. *l.* 28. *after Notes, r.* of the Learned Dr. *Gale. p.* 138. *l.* 42. *after* abſence, *add* but was here alſo ſlain: And yet another Ancient *Welſh* Chronicle makes King *Arthur* to have died at *Glaſtenbury* of the Wounds he received in that Battel. *p.* 179. *l.* 39. *after* Epiſcopal See, *add,* whom Pope *Honorius* ſent into *England*, to preach the Goſpel to the *Eaſt-Angles. p.* 181 *l.* 4. *after* Victory, *add,* But he was ſome years after eſteemed a Saint and Martyr for the Chriſtian Religion. *Oſwin* his Brother ſucceeded him, and according to the *Saxon* Annals reigned 30 years. *p.* 185. *l.* 45. *after* Winved, *add, Anna* was avenged. *p.* 193. *l.* 26. *after* Eaſter *add* [day], *and after* fourteenth *add* [day of the]: *Theſe words not being* Bede'*s, are to be added to explain his meaning. p.* 195. *l.* 22. *The Account of* St. Erkenwald *being repeated in the next Page, may be here ſtruck out. And p.* 196. *l.* 16. *after* according to, *d.* Bede, *and read it thus,* According to *Mat. Weſtminſter* (for *Bede* does not give us the time) Archbiſhop *Theodore, &c.* conſecrated *Erkenwald* (younger Son to *Anna* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*) Biſhop, *&c. p.* 225. *l.* 45. *over-againſt theſe words,* the City of *Beban, add in the margin,* now called *Bamburgh*-Caſtle in *Northumberland. p.* 232 *l.* 12. *over-againſt* Soccabyrig, *add in the margin,* now called *Secburne,* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham. p.* 241. *l* 9. *after* buried *r. thus,* and another *Eanbald* was conſecrated in his ſtead. Alſo the ſame year Biſhop *Ceolwulf* died. *And then d. the ſame words in that line. p.* 262. *l.* 28. *after* Dignity, *add,* Though I conceive the truth of the ſtory was, That this anointing amounted to no more than the *Chriſm* adminiſtred by the Pope at this young Prince's Confirmation; which by the *Monkiſh* Writers of thoſe times is magnified into a Royal Unction. *p.* 311. *l.* 2 *after* Eadred, *add,* Vice-King or Alderman of, *&c. p.* 315. *l.* 24. *after* St. *Oſwald, add within a Parentheſis,* (once King of *Northumberland.*) *p.* 317. *l.* 44. *after* Northumberland, *add,* Yet that the *Britains* of *Cumberland* were, notwithſtanding this Relation, many years after ſtill remaining in that Countrey; as you may find in the next Book, under *Anno Dom* 945.

Book VI. *p.* 12. *l.* 9. *after* Charter, *add,* commonly called *Oſwald*'s Law, from St. *Oſwald* the Biſhop, who is ſuppoſed to have procured it. *ib. in the margin, over-againſt the word* Charter, *add,* Vid. Sir *H. Spelman*'s Councils, Vol. 1. *Anno Dom.* 964. It is alſo found to be enrolled (by *Inſpeximus*) in the *Tower*. Vid. Chart. 9. *Edw.* 3. n. 49. Chart. 4. *Edw.* 4. n. 4. *p.* 14 *l.* 31. *after* to paſs, *add,* This King is alſo mentioned by *William* of *Malmesbury* to have made a Law for reſtraining exceſſive drinking, by which it was ordained, That no man, under a great Penalty, ſhould drink at one draught below certain Pins which were order'd to be fix'd on purpoſe on the inſide of the Cups or Goblets. *p.* 25. *l* 48. *after* Countrey, *add, Norway,* of which (as *John* of *Wallingford* informs us) he was then King. *p.* 45. *l.* 40. *after* Almer *d.* joined, *r.* both which had then privately combined with, and aſſiſted the *Danes* underhand.

Advertiſement to the Reader, concerning the Account of the Year of our Lord, *which is obſerved in the enſuing Volume.*

AS I have in my former Volume followed *Bede* and the reſt of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Chronologers, who begin the new Year with *Chriſtmaſs-day*, or the 25th of *December*; ſo I have perſued the ſame method in this; ſince almoſt all the Authors here made uſe of, follow the ſame Account with thoſe who wrote before the entrance of the *Normans*: ſo that I could not well depart from it, without altering the Chronological Calculation of thoſe Writers from whom this Volume is chiefly collected.

Not that I am inſenſible that even during this Period, which I have here given you, there were ſome other Accounts of Time made uſe of by ſome Authors, tho of no great Note: For *Gervaſe* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who lived and wrote in King *John*'s Reign, at the * beginning of his Introduction to his Chronicle, expreſly mentions divers “different Accounts of the Year of our Lord, which were then obſerved, and which he ſays bred a great deal of Confuſion in the Church, whilſt ſome begin the Year of our Lord from the † *Annunciation*, ſome from the Nativity, and others from the Paſſion of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*. Now which of theſe ſhall we take? The Solar Year, according to the *Roman* Tradition, and the antient cuſtom of God's Church, begins at the Kalends of *January*, or on the day of our Lord's Nativity, that is, at the end of *December*; how then can both theſe Accounts be true? When the one begins the Year of the *Incarnation* from the beginning, and the other from the end of the Solar Year, and yet both Parties call their Years by the ſame Title, ſince they both reckon from ſuch or ſuch a Year of our Lord's *Incarnation.*

* Col. 1336.

† i. e. *Lady-day.*

Then in the two next Columns he thus concludes; “Yet I call all theſe ſeveral ſorts of Years above-mention'd, *Years of Grace,* for that we find Grace and Truth in all the Works of Chriſt: Yet becauſe that the Grace of our Lord and Saviour, which from the Incarnation lay hid in the Womb of the Virgin, now manifeſtly appeared at his Nativity, and at which ſacred Solemnity, *Glory to God, and good Will towards Men* was proclaimed by the Angels; therefore I here put an end to the old Year, and begin the New from that Feſtival: for which, as alſo for another Reaſon there given (needleſs here to be inſerted) he farther tells us, “That ſince all thoſe who have written Chronicles before him, have begun their Years from the Nativity of Chriſt, he likewiſe is reſolved to follow his Predeceſſors in the ſame Calculation. I thought fit to give you this Paſſage from ſo exact a Writer, that you may ſee how generally the old *Engliſh* way of beginning the Year at *Chriſtmaſs-day* obtain'd in that Age: In which he was alſo ſucceeded by all the Hiſtorians who wrote during King *John*'s Reign, or that of his Son *Henry* the *Third*; but eſpecially by *Rog.* of *Wendover*, and *Matthew Paris*, who tranſcribed and added to that Work which

Wendover had begun. And the ſame method we find perſued by *Matth. Weſtminſter*, who wrote during the Reign of *Edward* the *Third*: Yet I cannot but obſerve that tho *Will. Riſhanger* (*M. Paris*'s Continuator) takes upon him to follow the ſame Account; yet towards the later end of his Work he forgets himſelf, and without giving the Reader any notice of the Change, often begins the Year at our *Lady-day*; by which means he ſometimes puts things done at the beginning of the Year, in the latter end of it; and has thereby led divers of our Modern Hiſtorians that make uſe of his Account of Time, into groſs Miſtakes, which I have in great part obſerved in the enſuing Hiſtory. Yet I muſt own, that there are ſome few Hiſtorians that wrote in the Reigns of King *Edward* the *Second* and *Third*, who in their *Chronicles* begin the Year at our *Lady-day*, according to our preſent Account, ſuch as are *Thomas Wikes* and *Walter Hemingford*; to whom I could likewiſe add ſome others of leſs note, which ſince they are not many, either in Number or Authority, in compariſon of thoſe who follow the old Account from *Chriſtmaſs-day*, I would not for their ſakes deviate from the Method I had at firſt reſolv'd to perſue throughout this Volume; from which if I vary in the next (if I ſhall put out another) it ſhall be upon very good Reaſons and Conſiderations, which ſhall likewiſe be communicated to the Reader.

THE
General Hiſtory
OF
ENGLAND
BOTH
Eccleſiaſtical and Civil.

VOL. II. BOOK VII.

Containing the Reign of King *John*.

Anno. Dom. MCXCIX.

KING *Richard* being thus ſuddenly taken off almoſt in the very Prime of his Years,[1] his only ſurviving Brother and Succeſſor, *John* Earl of *Mortaign*, preſently ſent over *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William le Mareſchal*, Earl of *Stiguil*, (or *Chepſtow*,) into *England*, that they, together with *Geoffrie Fitz-Peter*, the Juſticiary under the late King, might keep the Nation in Peace, till he could come over, and ſettle Things himſelf; then he went to *Chinon* in *Tourain*, to make ſure of his Brother's Treaſure, which was at that time in the keeping of *Robert de Turnham*, who immediately upon his arrival delivered it up to him, as alſo the ſtrong Caſtles of *Chinon* and *Saumur*, of both which this *Robert* was then Governor.

[1] (a) R.H. P.450.

Earl *John* ſucceeds his Brother K. *Rich.* and ſends over *Hubert* the Archbiſh. and *William le Mareſchal* to keep the Kingdom in Peace.

In the mean time the Earl poſſeſſes himſelf of his Brother's Treaſure and Caſtles.

But things did not go ſo well for Earl *John*'s Intereſt in other Parts, [2]. for the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Tourain*, and *Main*, in a General Aſſembly of the Chief Men, or Eſtates of thoſe Countreys, firmly adhered to his Nephew *Arthur*, Earl, or Duke of *Bretaign*, as their Liege-Lord, declaring it to be the Right and Cuſtom of thoſe Territories, for the Son of the Elder Brother deceaſed, to ſucceed in the Patrimony or Inheritance before the Younger.

[2.] *Id. ib.*

The Nobility of *Anjou*, &c. declare for E. *Arthur* his Nephew.

In compliance with which Determination, *Thomas de Furnes*, Nephew to *Robert de Turnham*, taking the contrary Party to his Uncle, delivered up the Caſtle of *Angiers* to *Arthur*, as the other Noblemen

The Caſtle of *Angiers* delivered up to Earl *Arthur*.

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Ann. Dom. MCXCIX.

Who is delivered by his Mother to the K. of *France*, who ſeizes on all the ſtrong Places that belonged to him.

did all the reſt of the Provinces above-mentioned, excepting thoſe Caſtles which Earl *John* had already poſſeſſed himſelf of; whereupon *Conſtance*, Counteſs of *Bretaign*, and Mother to Earl *Arthur*, brought him along with her to the City of *Tours*, and there delivered him (being then about Thirteen years of Age) to the Cuſtody of *Philip* King of *France*, who ſent him to *Paris* to be there Educated with Prince *Lewis* his Son; and at the ſame time poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Cities, Caſtles, and ſtrong Places which belonged to Earl *Arthur*, putting into them *Caſtellans*, or *Governors* of his own, reſolving to make this Alteration wholly ſubſervient to his particular Intereſt, as you will by and by perceive.

[3] *Id. ib.* Earl *John* takes the City of *Mans*, and pulls down the Walls.

[3] So ſoon as Earl *John* heard this Unwelcome News, he thought it high time to put a ſtop to theſe Succeſſes of the *French* King. Wherefore, marching forthwith into the Province of *Main* with a ſtrong Force, he ſoon took the City of *Mans*, and in revenge for their owning *Arthur*, and to be a Terror to other Places, he demoliſhed the Walls of the City, together with the Caſtle, and all the Stone Houſes, carrying away the Citizens Priſoners, becauſe that contrary to their Fealty ſworn to him, they had received *Arthur* for their Lord, which was a Preſage of this Prince's Cruel and Impolitick Reign; for what could a Foreign Enemy have done more than Spoil and Diſmantle One of the beſt fenced Cities in his Dominions, which might have been much better ſecur'd by a ſtrong Gariſon, as his Father and Brother had done before in ſuch like Caſes?

[4] *Id. ib.* Earl *John* is inveſted with the Dutchy of *Normandy*, by the Archbiſhop of *Rouen*. When he alſo took an Oath almoſt the ſame with the *Engliſh* Coronation-Oath.

When [4] Earl *John* had thus diſpatched his Affairs in thoſe Parts, and kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, he went from thence into *Normandy*, and coming to *Rouen*, was on the 25th of *April* (being St. *Mark*'s Day) in the Cathedral Church, girt with the Sword of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, having alſo a Coronet (adorned with Golden Roſes round about) put upon his Head by *Walter* Archbiſhop of that City; and then he took an Oath upon the Holy Goſpels and Reliques of the Saints, in the Preſence both of the Clergy and Laiety, *That he would Preſerve Holy Church, with her Dignities (or Privileges) and Adminiſter true Juſtice, Abrogate Evil Laws, and ordain Good ones*; which Oath is almoſt Word for Word with our antient Engliſh Coronation-Oath.

[5] *Id. ib.* The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl Mareſchal, make all the Freemen of *England* to ſwear Allegiance to *John* Duke of *Normandy*. Nevertheleſs all the Biſhops and Great Men fortify their Caſtles, & ſtand upon their Guard. Archbiſhop *Hubert* and the other Juſtices of *England*, meet the Nobility at *Northampton*, where they promiſe them, that Duke *John* would maintain them in their Rights.

Whilſt [5] theſe Affairs were tranſacting beyond Sea, *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William* the Earl Mareſchal, cauſed all the Freemen of the Kingdom, both of Cities and Boroughs, as alſo the Earls, Barons, and Free Tenants, to ſwear Fealty to *John* Duke of *Normandy*, Son of King *Henry Fitz-Empreſs* againſt all Men; Nevertheleſs all the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons, who had Caſtles, Fortified, and ſtored them with Victuals and Ammunition; which ſhews, that they were either not ſatisfied with King *John*'s Right by Inheritance, or elſe ſuſpecting his Fickle and Imperious Humour, they reſolved in time to provide as well as they could againſt it. But whatever might be the Reaſon of this Proceeding, when Archbiſhop *Hubert*, and the Earl Mareſchal, with *Geoffry Fitz-Peter* Juſticiary of *England*, knew it, they met at *Northampton*, and there ſummoned before them thoſe of the Nobility, whom they ſuſpected moſt

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likely to raiſe any Diſturbance, ſuch as were Earl *David*, Brother to the King of *Scots*, *Richard* Earl of *Clare*, *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *William* Earl of *Tutesbury* (or *Darby*,) *Waleran* Earl of *Warwick*, *Roger* Conſtable of *Cheſter*, and *William de Mowbray*, with ſeveral other Earls and Barons, whom they aſſured that Duke *John* would render to every one his Right, upon which Condition or Agreement the above-mentioned Earls and Barons renewed their Oaths of Fealty to Duke *John*, and engaged to ſerve him faithfully againſt all Men.

[1] *Id. p* 451. (a) The King of *Scots* ſends Envoys to demand *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*.

Then [1] *William* King of *Scots*, taking advantage of this ſudden Change, and the Unſettledneſs of Duke *John*'s Affairs, ſent his Envoys into *England*, to demand *Northumberland* and *Cumberland* with their Dependancies, (which they called their Maſter's Patrimony) and which, if reſtored, they promiſed on his behalf that he ſhould then ſwear Fealty and Faithful Service to Duke *John* againſt all Men; but the Archbiſhop, and *William* the Earl Mareſchal, with *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, wiſely conſidering the great Conſequence of their Demands, and the Danger of giving them a poſitive Denial in ſo ticklish a Time, would not permit them to go over into *Normandy*, but warily diſmiſs'd them home, ſending with them Earl *David* his Brother, with this Meſſage, That he ſhould patiently wait for an Anſwer, till Duke *John* came into *England*, who alſo ſent him the like Meſſage by *Euſtace de Veſcie*, King *William*'s Son in Law, promiſing, That upon his own arrival here, he would in all things comply with his Deſires, if in the mean time he well obſerved and maintained the Peace he had formerly agreed to in his Brother's Reign.

The Archbiſhop, &c. returns a Wiſe, but Dilatory Anſwer to their Meſſage

[2] *Id. ib.*

Affairs [2] being as well ſettled in *Normandy* and the other Countreys beyond the Seas, as the ſhortneſs of the Time would permit, Duke *John* reſolved to go over, and take poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, and on the 25th of *May* landing at *Shoreham* in *Suſſex*, the next Day he went to *London*, in order to be Crown'd the day following; where met him the Archbiſhops of *Dublin*, and *Raguſa*, (who it ſeems was then in *England* about ſome Affairs not mentioned by our Author) there alſo appeared the New Biſhop of *London*, with moſt of the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons of *England*, who all attending the Duke to the Abby-Church at *Weſtminſter* in Solemn Proceſſion, *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſtanding in the midſt of them (as *Matt. Paris* relates) ſpoke to this Effect. “All here preſent hearken to me, your Wiſdoms may underſtand, that no Man “ought to ſucceed to the Kingdom upon any previous Conſiderations, unleſs he be firſt Unanimouſly *ELECTED* for the Excellency of his Manners, (the Grace of the Holy Spirit being “firſt implor'd) by the * *General Body* of the Kingdom, and Anointed King after the Example of *Saul*, whom God ſet over his “People, tho' he was neither a King's Son, nor deſcended of Royal “Blood; ſo in like manner after him *David* the Son of *Jeſſe*, the “One, becauſe he was Valiant, and fit for the Royal Dignity; the “Other becauſe he was Pious and Humble; that ſo he who ſurpaſs'd others in Virtue, might alſo excell them in Dignity and “Power; therefore if any One of the Family of the Deceaſed King, “do excell the reſt, we ought indeed moſt readily and willingly to “conſent to his *Election*; and we have ſaid this, in reſpect to the

Duke *John* arrives in *England*, and is met by the Biſhops and Nobility

The Archbiſhop's Speech at the Coronation of Duke *John*.

* *Univerſitate Regni.*

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“ Noble Duke *John* here preſent, the Brother of our Illuſtrious King “ *Richard*, who deceaſed without any Heir of his Body; This Duke “ being Prudent and Valiant, We all, as well in reſpect of his “ Deſerts, as of his Royal Blood, (with the Invocation of the Holy “ Spirit) do unanimouſly *Elect* King: Which Propoſition was agreed to by all there preſent.

Our Author's Character of this Archbiſhop.

Upon whoſe Speech the Duke is Elected King.

Now you muſt obſerve, (ſays my Author) That the Archbiſhop was a Man of a deep Foreſight, and was ſuch a ſteady Pillar of Conſtancy and Wiſdom, that none durſt diſpute what he ſaid, knowing that he had not without good Cauſe thus determin'd this Matter; with which Speech Duke *John* and all there preſent readily acquieſced, and ſo Unanimouſly *Electing* and Receiving him for their King, Cryed out, *Long may the King Live!* But the Archbiſhop being afterwards queſtion'd, why he had thus ſpoken? He anſwered,

The Archbiſhop's Reaſon for his making this Speech.

“ That he clearly foreſaw, being aſſured by certain **Prophecies* or “ Preſages, that King *John* would ſometime ſpoil the Kingdom and “ Crown of *England*, and bring it into great Confuſion; therefore “ leſt he might take an unbridled Licenſe of doing what he would, “ he had affirm'd, That he ought to be *Elected*, and not to ſucceed “ by Hereditary Succeſſion.

* *Oraculis.*

Whether the Archbiſhop ſpoke this purely out of Policy or Conſcience, I will not determine; but this much is certain, that either he did not believe any Hereditary Succeſſion to the Crown, or if he did, it was ſuch a One as our Law does not acknowledge at this Day. But ſince I intend to ſpeak more amply on this Subject in my Introduction to this Volume, I ſhall ſay no more of it in this Place: Only that the Clergy and People of *England* are not ſo much to be blamed for thus preferring Earl *John* to his Nephew *Arthur*, ſince this was according to the antient *Engliſh Saxon* Cuſtom, whereby the Uncle did always ſucceed before the Nephew; beſides this, Earl *John* was a Man of ripe Age, and a Native of this Kingdom, whereas the Latter was but a Minor of 12 or 13 Years of Age, and a Foreigner, born in *Bretaigne*. But I will not take upon me to Excuſe the Partiality of the Queen-Dowager *Eleanor*, who contrary to the Cuſtom of moſt Grandmothers, was fonder of her Son *John*, than Grandſon *Arthur*; which whether it proceeded from the little Knowledge ſhe had of him, who had been always bred up with his Mother, the Counteſs of *Bretaigne*, or out of pure Emulation to her, whom the Queen found would govern all Affairs during the Young Prince's Minority, I will not take upon me to determine, after ſo many Ages.

The Reaſons why the Clergy and People of *England* preferr'd *John* before his Nephew *Arthur*.

[3.] *R. H.*

After the Election, the New King is Crown'd.

[4.] *M P* p.199

The ſubſtance of the Coronation-Oath.

But to proceed to this King's Coronation, (from which our Author has made a Digreſſion) [3] after this *Election* was over, the Archbiſhop placed the Crown upon the King's Head with the uſual Ceremonies, notwithſtanding *Philip* Biſhop of *Durham* appeal'd againſt it, [4.] becauſe of the Abſence of the Archbiſhop of *York*; Then the Coronation-Oath was Adminiſtred, conſiſting of theſe Three Heads, (being the ſame with that taken by his Brother) *viz. That he would cheriſh Holy Church, and all the Clergy, and would Preſerve her ſafe from the Violence of her Enemies; That all Evil Laws being abrogated, he would eſtabliſh Good Ones, and would exerciſe true Juſtice, throughout the Kingdom of* England; and he was farther adjured by the Archbiſhop, that he ſhould not preſume to undertake this Dignity, unleſs he reſolved to fulfill what he had now ſworn, to which he anſwered, That he would by the help of God obſerve in good Faith, all thoſe things he had promiſed, and on the next Day (having received the Homages and Fealties of his Nobility) he went to pay his Devotion at St. *Alban*'s Shrine.

It is alſo worth our obſerving [5.] (what *R. Hoveden* farther relates) that on the Day of his Coronation he girt *William* the Earl Mareſchal with the Sword of the Earldom of *Striguil*, and *Geoffry Fitz-Peter* with that of the Earldom of *Eſſex*; for tho' they were before called Earls, and had the Adminiſtration of their Counties or Earldoms, yet were not ſolemnly Inveſted with them; from whence we may obſerve, that the antient Cuſtom of creating Earls by Inveſting them with the Sword of the County they were to govern, was ſtill in uſe.

[5.] *P.* 451. *William* Earl Mareſchal, and *Geoffry Fitz Peter* inveſted with the Earldoms of *Striguil*, and *Eſſex*.

The [1.] ſame day he alſo made *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Chancellor, which was then looked upon as a Diſparagement to his Archiepiſcopal Dignity, for when he ſeemed to glory of his New Office, and his great Favour with the King, *Hugh Bardulf* a bold Baron, thus anſwered him, *My Lord, with your good leave, if you would well conſider the Great Power and Dignity of your Spiritual Function, you would not undertake this Yoke of Lay-Servitude:* With which Reproof the Archbiſhop being corrected, remain'd ſilent.

[1.] *Id ib.* *Hubert* the Archbiſhop is made the King's Chancellor.

In the mean time, the King of *Scots* by three Priors of his own Nation, renewed his Demand of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, and made the ſame Promiſes as before; King *John* anſwered them prudently, that when their Lord the King of *Scots*, his Dear Couſin, came to him, he would do what was Juſt concerning that, and all his other Demands, and ſo ſent *Philip* Biſhop of *Durham* to meet him, expecting his coming; having alſo ſent *Roger* Biſhop of *St. Andrews*, and *Hugh Maleville* before, to invite him; then the King went himſelf to *Nottingham*, where he arrived on *Whitſunday*, and ſtaid ſome time in thoſe Parts in expectation of him, but he came not at all; only he ſent back the Meſſengers with the ſame Demand of the two Counties, and to let the King know, That if he denied his Demands, he would endeavour to acquire them by Force, and expected his Anſwer within Forty days: In the mean time, King *John* committed *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, with their Caſtles, to the Keeping and Defence of *William Stutevil*, and ſo returned into the South of *England*.

[2.] *Id ib.* (*b*) The King of *Scots* by certain Priors renews his Demand of the above mentioned Counties; to which the King returns a prudent Anſwer.

The K. ſends *Philip* Biſhop of *Durham* to meet the *Scottiſh* King, who comes not at all.

The King being fruſtrated of his Expectations, returns into the South.

[3] Having thus diſpatched his Affairs in *England*, the King paſſed into *Normandy*, landed at *Diepe*, and arrived at *Rouen* on *Midſummer-day*, where came in to him great numbers of Soldiers both Horſe and Foot; but preſently there was a Truce made between him and the King of *France*, until the 16th of *Auguſt*; and here *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* did homage to King *John*, but it is not there ſaid for what. Then the King's Natural Brother *Geoffry* Archbiſhop of *York*, having diſpatched his Affairs at *Rome*, return'd to the King, and was Joyfully received by him.

[3.] *Id. ib.* And ſo paſſes over into *Normandy*, where great numbers of Men flock in to him; and a Truce is made between him and the King of *France* for a ſhort time.

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[4] *Id.* p.452. (*a*) The E. of *Namur* and his Brother, the Biſhop Elect of *Cambray*, taken Priſoners. The Biſhop of *Beauvais* ranſomed.

About [4.] the ſame time *Henry* Earl of *Namur*, Brother to *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, *Peter* of *Doway* a Famous Soldier, and his Brother the Biſhop Elect of *Cambray*, were taken by ſome of the *French* King's Soldiers, and delivered to him; whereupon Cardinal *Peter* of *Capua*, and the Pope's Legate Interdicted *France* for the Detention of the Elect of *Cambray*, as alſo *Normandy* for the Impriſonment of *Philip* Biſhop of *Beauvois*; but becauſe he was taken in Arms, he ſoon after gave King *John* 2000 Marks (*M. Paris* ſays 6000.) for his Ranſom, and ſo was ſet at Liberty, upon his taking an Oath never to bear Arms againſt Chriſtians.

[5] *Id. ib.* The King of *France* receives Homage of Earl *Arthur* for *Bretaigne*, *Normandy*, and the reſt. A Treaty is held between K. *Philip* and K. *John*, at which the former ſhews the latter no kindneſs.

Not [5] long after, *Philip* King of *France* Knighted *Arthur* Earl of *Bretaigne*, and received his Homage for that Province, as alſo for thoſe of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Tourain*, and *Bretaigne*: On the morrow after the Aſſumption of St. *Mary* or (*Auguſt* the 16.) the two Kings treated two days by their Commiſſioners, between *Butivant* and *Gaillon*, and the Third day they confer'd together by themſelves in Perſon; but the King of *France* would expreſs no kindneſs to King *John*, and being afterwards asked, why he had entertain'd ſuch an Averſion for him, his Anſwer was, *Becauſe he had poſſeſſed himſelf of* Normandy, *and the other Territories, without his Licence, whereas he ought firſt to have come to him and demanded them as his Right, and done him Homage for them*; ſo much did King *Philip* now take upon him, above what any of his Predeceſſors had done before; for whereas they thought it ſufficient to own for Duke of *Normandy*, whomſoever the Eſtates of that Country thought fit to Elect or Recognize, this King now took upon him to determine to whom of Right that Dutchy belonged, which had never been done before.

[1] *Id. ib.* The King of *France* his unreaſonable Demands.

At [1] this Treaty the King of *France* demanded all the *Norman Veuxin*, that is, all that lies between the Foreſt of *Lyons*, the *Seyne*, the Iſle of *Andeli*, and the River *Epte*, affirming, That *Geoffry* Earl of *Anjou*, the Father of the late King *Henry*, had given it to *Lewis* the *Groſs*, late King of *France*, for his Aſſiſtance in gaining *Normandy* from King *Stephen*; and further demanded, that *Poictou*, *Anjou*, *Tourain*, and *Main* might be render'd to *Arthur* Earl of *Bretaigne*, and made divers other unreaſonable Demands, which the King of *England* could not grant, and ſo they departed upon very ill Terms: Then the Earls and Barons of *France*, that had adhered to King *Richard*, became Feudataries of King *John*, and Swore to him, they would not make any Terms with the King of *France*, unleſs with his Conſent; and he in like manner Swore to them, he would not make Peace with him, unleſs they were comprehended in it.

They break off upon very ill Terms.

[2] *Id. id.* (*b*) The King of *France* ſeizes on the Caſtle of *Balun*, and demoliſhes it, which is highly reſented by the General of Earl *Arthur*'s Forces.

In [2] *October* the King of *France* ſeized the Caſtle of *Balun*, and Demoliſhed it; This was much reſented by *William de Rupibus* (or *de la Roche*) General of Earl *Arthur*'s Forces, who Expoſtulating with King *Lewis* about it, told him, That this was contrary to the Agreement between him and *Arthur* his Maſter; but the King replied, He ſhould not omit to do what he thought good, with what he had acquired, notwithſtanding his Lord *Arthur* might not like it; and then went and beſieged *Lavardin*: but hearing the King of *England* was coming with his Army to Relieve it, he left the Siege, and marched to *Mans*; King *John* followed him, and he alſo quitted that Place; in the mean while *William de la Roche* had cunningly gotten *Arthur* out of the Cuſtody of the King of *France*, and reconciled him to his Uncle King *John*, to whom he alſo delivered the City of *Mans*, of which he was Governor. But notwithſtanding, the very ſame day, it being told *Arthur*, and the Counteſs his Mother, (whether on true or falſe Intelligence, I will not determine) that King *John* intended to put him in Priſon; thereupon he and his Mother that Night made their Eſcape; but the true Reaſon of this ſeems rather to have been, becauſe the Viſcount of *Touarz*, (on whoſe advice the Counteſs and her Son then chiefly relied,) had been lately diſobliged by King *John*, out of whoſe hands he had taken the Command of the Caſtle of *Chinon*, and the Seneſchalſy of *Anjou*; the former of which the King beſtowed upon *Roger* Conſtable of *Cheſter*, till he could reſolve how better to diſpoſe of it; wherefore the Viſcount above-mentioned, incenſing the Earl and his Mother, againſt the King, preſently they fled away, together with many other Noblemen, to the City of *Angiers*, and from thence return'd again to the King of *France*.

William de la Rothe gets Earl *Arthur* out of the Cuſtody of the *French* King, and reconciles him to his Uncle King *John*, but it does not hold.

For with his Mother he preſently returned back to King *Philip*, with the Cauſe of it.

[3]Not long after their arrival, the Counteſs of *Conſtance* having now quite alienated her Affections from *Ranulph*, Earl of *Cheſter*, her Husband, was divorced from him, (tho' the Grounds of it are not ſet down) and then ſhe married *Guido*, Brother to the ſaid Viſcount of *Touarz*, which tended much to her Diſhonour.

[3] *Id. ib.* *Conſtance*, Counteſs of *Bretaigne*, is divorced from the E. of *Cheſter*, and Marries *Guido* Brother to the Viſcount of *Tours*.

In [4] the mean time, the Cardinal of *Capua*, the Pope's Legat, who had been formerly ſent to reconcile the Differences between the late King *Richard* and the King of *France*, and at whoſe inſtance a Five years Truce had been lately made, now laboured all he could that it might ſtill continue between the Two Kings; and ſo by his Mediation it was agreed between them, That the former Truce ſhould ſtill continue till the Feaſt of St. *Hillary* next enſuing; thus all things remain'd for a while in the ſame ſtate.

[4] *Id. ib.* The Popes Legat uſes his utmoſt Endeavours to continue the Truce between the two Kings.

About [5] this time alſo *Philip*, Natural Son to King *Richard*, and on whom he had beſtowed the Caſtle and Honour of *Cuinac*, killed the Viſcount of *Limoges* in revenge of his Father's Death; for it was he who held the Caſtle of *Chaluz* againſt King *Richard*, when he received his Death's wound. This I thought fit to mention, as being the only Action I can find worth the Noting, done by this *Philip*, who lived ever after in a private Condition.

[5] *Id. ib.* *Philip*, Natural Son to King *Richard*, Kills the Vicount of *Limoges*.

But to give you ſome farther account of Foreign Affairs: There had been a late Conteſt between *Otto*, Duke of *Saxony*, and *Philip* Duke of *Swevia*, for the *German* Empire, to which they both pretended; Pope *Innocent* and all the *Romans* diſclaiming the Latter, owned the Former, Emperor; who being thus confirm'd by the Pope; He alſo in his favour Excommunicated Duke *Philip*, and all his Adherents, unleſs he deſiſted from his Pretenſions; whereupon the Emperor *Otto* ſent Ambaſſadors to his Uncle King *John*, not only to give him notice of his good Succeſs, but alſo to adviſe him to defer making Peace with the King of *France*, for that he himſelf would ſhortly give him as powerful an Aſſiſtance as he could expect.

Id. p 452. (*a*) After a great Conteſt between *Otto* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Philip* Duke of *Swevia* for the Empire, the Pope and *Italians* diſclaim the latter, and own the former.

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[1] *Id. ib.* (*b*) *Geoffery* Archbiſhop of *York* refuſing to ſtand to the Award of the Biſhop of *Lincoln* & others, and giving his Chapter freſh diſturbances, the King is adviſed not to let him return into *England*.

As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, there happened this Year no Alterations in the Church, [1] only whilſt *Geoffrey* Archbiſhop of *York* ſtayed in *Normandy*, he referr'd all Differences between him and the Chanons of his Church, to *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln* and others; but the Archbiſhop not ſtanding to the Award they had made, and ſtill giving his Chapter further diſturbance, they made their Complaint to *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter*, the Juſticiary, who thereupon ſent to the King, adviſing him not to permit the Archbiſhop to return into *England*, becauſe if he came over, he would bring Diſcord and not Peace along with him.

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[2] *Id.* p. 454. (*b*) K. *John* has a Treaty with the King of *France*, at which a Peace is concluded, upon Terms very advantageous for the Latter.

King *John* being ſtill in *Normandy* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Buers*; not long after which, he and the King of *France* held a Treaty of Peace between *Andeli* and *Gallion*, at which they agree; That *Lewis* the *French* King's Son, ſhould Marry *Blanche*, Daughter to *Alfonſo* the Eighth, King of *Caſtile*, being King *John*'s Niece, with whom he promiſed to give the City and Earldom of *Eureux*, as alſo to quit his Claim to all the Caſtles and Strong Places which King *Philip* held in *Normandy* at the time of King *Richard*'s Death; and farther engaged to give with her 30000 Marks of Silver, and to Swear, that he would not give any Aſſiſtance to his Nephew *Otto* either in Men or Money, whereby he might obtain the *Roman* Empire; but the final Concluſion of theſe Points was delay'd until eight Days after *Midſummer* following.

This Treaty being thus ended, King *John* ſent his Mother Queen *Eleanor* to *Alfonſo* King of *Caſtile*, to perſuade him to agree to this Match for his Daughter, as alſo to bring her along with her.

[3] *Id. ib.* The King returns into *England*, and raiſes a great Tax, and then goes to *York* to meet the King of *Scots*, who comes not. *Rot. Pipæ* 1 *Johan. Civitat. London* and *Middleſex.*

[3] Not long after King *John* paſſed into *England*, and took of every Plough-Land throughout the Kingdom Three Shillings for an Aid; but whether the King raiſed this Tax by the conſent of the Common-Council of the whole Kingdom, I will not determine; ſince *Rad. de Coggeſhal* relates it as a Grievance, that not long after the King's arrival in *England*, he required an Aid for the Diſcharge of the 30000 Marks for his Niece's Portion, ſo that there iſſued out a Royal Edict throughout all *England*, * That every Plough-Land ſhould pay Three Shillings, which ſevere Exaction did extreamly impoveriſh the People, who had lately payed at his Coronation a *Scutage* of Two Marks upon every Knight's Fee.

In *Lent* he went to *York*, expecting the King of *Scots* would have met him there, but he came not; then he preſently after returned into *Normandy*, having firſt kept his *Eaſter* at *Worceſter*.

[4] *Id.* p. 456. (*a*) The Queen-Dowager brings Lady *Blanche* out of *Spain* as far as *Bourdeaux*. Upon the Arrival of this Princeſs, the two Kings meet again, and make a full Concluſion of the former Treaty.

[4] In the mean time, *Eleanor*, the Queen-Dowager, having brought her Grand-Daughter *Blanche* as far as *Burdeaux*, and being weary with her Journey, retired to the Nunnery of *Font-Everard* to refreſh her ſelf; but ſhe ſent the young Princeſs under the Conduct of the Archbiſhop of that City, to the King; and ſo ſoon as ſhe arrived, the two Kings met again at the ſame Place, and at the time before appointed, (being Eight Days after *Midſummer*) in order to make a full Concluſion of the former Treaty; at which Meeting the King of *France* ſurrender'd back to King *John* the City of *Eureux* with the Earldom, and all the Caſtles, Cities, and Lands he had poſſeſſed himſelf of in *Normandy*, and the other Dominions of the King of *England*; and King *John* preſently became his Liege Man, and did

him Homage, and forthwith gave back all thoſe Territories to Prince *Lewis* in Marriage with his Niece, as had been before agreed on, and the next day they were ſolemnly Married in *Normandy*, by the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, in the Preſence of ſeveral of the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons of *France*; for the Marriage could not be ſolemnized in that Kingdom, as being then under the Pope's Interdict, becauſe the King of *France* had ſometime before put away **Iſemburge*, Daughter to the King of *Denmark*, (for no other reaſon, but that he did not like her) and had taken to his Bed one *Agnes*, a *German* Princeſs, whom he called his Wife.

She is married to Prince *Lewis* in *Normandy*, and the Reaſon of it.

*She is called by our Authors *Botilda*.

[5] So ſoon as the Wedding was over, Prince *Lewis* carried his New Bride with him into *France*, and the ſame day the Two Kings met again at *Vernon* (a Town belonging to the *French* King) where where Duke *Arthur* did Homage to his Uncle King *John* by conſent of King *Philip* for *Bretaigne* and his other Countries, and was again delivered to the King of *France*, in Tutelage.

[5] *Id. ib.* (*b*) The young Prince carries his Lady into *France*.

D. *Arthur* does Homage to his Uncle K. *John* for *Bretaigne*.

And that this Peace might remain the more firm and ſtable, [1] all the Articles already recited, were ſome time after reduced into Writing under the Great Seal of both Kings, wherein it was among other things agreed, that divers of the Chief Earls, and Barons of each Kingdom, ſhould ſtand engaged for the punctual Obſervance of it, who were alſo on both ſides obliged by Oath, that whoſoever of them broke this Agreement, theſe Guarantees, together with all their Tenants, Eſtates, ſhould be freed from their Fealty, and have Liberty to quit their own Prince; and tho' the Particulars of this Peace are now of no great concernment to us, yet it ſhews, what Notions the Princes of that time had concerning the Fealty or Allegiance of their Subjects; which they did not think then ſo ſacred a Thing, but that it might be transferr'd from one Prince to another, in caſe that either of them broke thoſe Articles to which they had Sworn.

[1] *Id.* p. 463. (*a*) The Articles of this Peace are reduced into two Charters, ſeal'd by both Kings.

It is alſo obſerveable, That in conſideration of Thirty thouſand Marks, which the King of *France* then acknowledged to have received from the King of *England*, King *Philip* did thereupon releaſe and make over to him all his Right to the Fee or Superiority of *Bretaign*, ſo that Duke *Arthur* was for the future to hold *Bretaign* immediately of the King of *England*.

This Treaty conſiſting of two ſeveral Charters, or Inſtruments, that Part which was Seal'd by the King of *France* (as you may find in [2] *Roger Hoveden*) remain'd with the King of *England*; and that Part which the King of *England* executed, remain'd with the King of *France*, which is alſo to be found in the Firſt Volume of *Norman* Writers, put out by [3] *Du Cheſne*; as alſo in the Learned Monſieur *Leibnitz*'s *Codex Diplomaticus*, p. 23. to both which I refer the Curious Reader.

[2] *Id. ib.*

[3] *Ed. Paris.* F. 1055.

This Peace, ſo Diſadvantageous and Diſhonourable to King *John*, was the firſt demonſtration both of his want of Courage and Policy, for had he deferr'd making it, he might by the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor, his Nephew, and the Earl of *Flanders*, have regain'd thoſe Territories in *Normandy*, and other Countries, which he was now forced to part with for ever, and had alſo kept the Thirty thou-

This Peace proved very prejudicial to K. *John*.

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thouſand Marks which he gave to the King of *France* as a Portion with his Niece, whom he was no ways obliged to provide for, and thereby loſt the Friendſhip of the Emperor, for the feigned Careſſes of a Prince, who hated him mortally, and had never made this Alliance, but for his own Advantage, and who afterwards under the Title of this Match, did abet his Son *Lewis* againſt him.

[4] *Id.* p. 457. (*a*) K. *John* reduces *Aquitain* to his Obedience. Grows weary of his Wife, and is Divorced from her, on pretence of Conſanguinity.

[4] Immediately after the Concluſion of this Peace, King *John* marched with a ſtrong Army into *Aquitain*; where finding none able to reſiſt him, he ſoon reduced that Province to his Obedience; not long after, being grown weary of his Wife *Hawiſe*, or *Aviſe*, Daughter to *William* late Earl of *Glouceſter*; He was divorced from her by *Elias*, Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, and Two other Biſhops appointed by the Pope for that Purpoſe, becauſe they were Couſins in the Third Degree; which Exception had been taken long before againſt the Marriage, by *Richard*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, when it was firſt Conſummated; but it was then carried againſt him, becauſe King *Richard* would have it ſo, and that King *John* was then either very fond of her, or elſe of her great Eſtate: But having been married to her above Nine years without any Iſſue, he was reſolved to be rid of her, and marry ſome Younger Lady; wherefore being thus divorced, by the Advice of the King of *France*, he married *Iſabel*, Daughter of *Aymer* Earl of *Engoleſme*, whom her Father had formerly, at the Requeſt of King *Richard*, betroathed to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *Marche*: They had been affianced ſome time before; but the Marriage not being Conſummated, becauſe the Lady was thought too Young, her Father now finding King *John* had a great Kindneſs for her, being very handſom, took her away from the Earl againſt his Conſent, and beſtowed her upon the King; ſo that they were ſoon after Married at *Engoleſme*, by the Archbiſhop of that Place; but this Injury was ſo deeply reſented by the Earl of *Marche*, that he reſolved to be revenged of it, and did King *John* a great deal of Miſchief in the long War that not long after happened between him and the King of *France*.

He marries *Iſabel* Daughter to the E. of *Engoleſme*, tho' ſhe was then betroathed to the E. of *March*.

[5] *Id.* p. 458. The E. of *St. Giles* does Homage to K. *John*.

[5] Much about this time, the Earl of *St. Giles* renewed his Homage to King *John*, for the Lands and Caſtles which King *Richard* had beſtowed on him in Marriage, with his Siſter the Queen-Dowager of *Sicily*, from whence the King went to *Angiers*, and there took 150 Hoſtages for their Fidelity to him, and put them under ſafe Cuſtody.

[1] *Id.* p. 461. (*a*)

In [1] the beginning of *October* following, King *John* having ſettled his Affairs in *Normandy*, and his other Territories beyond Sea, return'd into *England*, bringing with him *Iſabella* his Wife, and upon the Eighth of the ſame Month, they were both together Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, by *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, at whoſe Coronation there was alſo held a Common Council of the Kingdom, as appears by a * Charter in the *Tower* (quoted by Mr. *Petyt* in his Preface to the *Rights of the Commons Aſſerted*) where it is recited, *That the Queen was Crowned by the Common Aſſent and Unanimous Agreement of the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, Barons, Clergy, and People of* England; which I have alſo given you at large in the *Appendix*, N. 4.

* *Rot. Cart.* 5 *Johan.* 5. n. 33.

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And [2] about the ſame time the King [3] cauſed his Brother *Geoffrey*, Archbiſhop of *York*, to be diſſeiſed of all his Mannors and Eſtate belonging to his Archbiſhoprick, upon pretence that he had fail'd attending of him beyond Sea, when he made Peace with the King of *France*; but the true Reaſon was, that he had forbid the Sheriff of *Yorkeſhire* to collect the late unreaſonable Carvage or Tax in his Dioceſe, to the King's uſe, though it had been granted him all over *England*; then *James de Potern*, Sheriff of *Yorkeſhire*, entred upon the Mannors of the Archbiſhop, and ſeized his Goods; whereupon he ſolemnly Excommunicated him, and all thoſe who were the Authors of this Violence; but ſome time after, the King upon better Advice, reſtored him to his Archbiſhoprick, and appointed him a Day to anſwer for the ſaid Miſdemeanours in his Court.

[2] *Id. ib.*

[3] *Id.* p. 461. (*a*)

The K. ſeizes on the Temporalities of his Brother *Geoffrey*, A.B. of *York*, and for what cauſe

[4] And not long after the Queen's Coronation, the King ſent *Philip* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Roger Bigot*, Earl of *Norfolk*, *Henry de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *David* Earl of *Huntingdon*, *Roger de Lacy* Conſtable of *Cheſter*, *William de Veſci*, *Roger de Roſſ*, and *Robert Fitz-Roger*, Sheriff of *Northumberland*, to attend *William* King of *Scots*, with Letters of ſafe Conduct, and to wait upon him into *England*, he being to meet King *John* at *Lincoln* on the 21ſt of *November*, where they met accordingly; and the next Day they came to a Treaty or Interview upon a ſteep Hill without the City, where in the View of all the People, *William* King of *Scots* became King *John*'s Liege-man, or did him Homage, * as of Right, and ſwore Fealty to him upon the Croſs of *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *to Preſerve the King's Life, Limbs, and Temporal Honour, againſt all Men, and keep Peace with him and his Kingdom, ſaving his own Right:* This Homage was ſolemnly perform'd in the Preſence of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *Dublin*, with moſt of the Earls and Barons of both Kingdoms, many of whoſe Names *R. Hoveden* hath particularly mentioned, which would be tedious here to ſet down; therefore I refer the Reader (who is Curious in ſuch Matters) to that Author.

[4] *Id. ib.* (*b*) Divers Noblemen ſent to attend the K. of *Scots* into *England*.

The two K's meet at *Lincoln*.

* *De Jure ſuo.*

The *Scotiſh* K. does Homage to K. *John*.

This Homage being thus perform'd, the King of *Scots* demanded of his Lord King *John*, the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, with their Appurtenances, as his Antient Right and Inheritance; and when they had long Treated concerning this Matter, but could not agree, the King of *England* deſired longer time to conſider of it, until *Whitſunday*; then Early on the Morrow, (being *November* the 23.) the King of *Scots* return'd toward his own Country, under the Conduct of the ſame Perſons that brought him into *England*, being much diſcontented at his Diſappointment.

The K. of *Scots* renews his Demand of *Northumberland*, &c. but being put off returns into his own Countrey

But *Buchanan*, and the reſt of the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians, tho' they grant this Homage to have been perform'd in the ſame Manner, as our Hiſtorians relate, yet will needs have it to have been only for the Territories, which the King then held in *England*, yet ſay nothing of his Demanding the Countries above-mentioned; only that he parted with King *John* in Diſcontent, becauſe he would have had his Aſſiſtance in an Expedition againſt the King of *France*, which he did not like to grant. This, tho' it be alſo related by *Polidore Virgil*, is certainly a groſs Miſtake; for as none of our Ancient Hi-

The Error of *Buchanan* and other *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians, concerning this Homage.

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ſtorians mention any ſuch thing; ſo King *John* could not deſire the *Scotiſh* King to aſſiſt him againſt the *French*; becauſe there was then a Peace newly made between them: And as for the Homage it ſelf, it muſt certainly be for ſome part of *Scotland*; for as to *Northumberland*, and the other County above-mentioned, 'tis plain, that the King of *Scots* had not then any Part of them; and as for the Earldom of *Huntingdon*, that King had long before beſtowed it upon his Brother *David*, who is alſo particularly mentioned by *Hoveden* under that Title, as one of the Witneſſes of the Homage. So that nothing can be more evident, then that it was not perform'd for any Territories the King of *Scots* then enjoy'd in *England*, as *Buchanan* vainly ſuppoſes, and conſequently muſt have been for *Lothian* and ſome Parts of *Scotland*.

But to return again to our Hiſtory, from which this Affair has made us digreſs; King *John* having diſpatched this difficult Buſineſs with the King of *Scots*, return'd into the Southern Parts, where having nothing elſe to do, being very much pleaſed with his good Succeſs, he ſpent the reſt of his time in Feaſting and Jollity.

I ſhall conclude this Year with a ſhort Account of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, that happen'd during the King's Abſence in *Normandy*.

[5] *Id. ib.* 457. The firſt Synod that was held by the Pope's Legate, notwithſtanding the Prohibition of the K's Juſticiary.

[5] *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as Legate to the Pope, held a General Council or Synod, of all the Biſhops and Clergy of *England*, at *Weſtminſter*, notwithſtanding the Prohibition of *Geoffery Fitz-Peter* the King's Juſticiary; which is one of the firſt Examples of that Arbitrary and Independant Power, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other extraordinary Legates from the Pope, ever after Uſurp'd till the Reformation, of holding Eccleſiaſtical Synods, and making Canons by their ſole Authority, without the King's Licenſe or Confirmation; Nay often contrary to his conſent, which had not been practiſed in former times; but as for the Canons of this Council, ſince they only relate to the Reformation of the Clergy, in ſeveral points of Diſcipline and Manners, or concerning the more due and regular Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, (many of which had been already ordain'd in former Synods,) I think it needleſs to ſet them down, and ſhall therefore refer the Reader to *R. Hoveden* for his further Satisfaction.

[1] *Id.* p. 461. (*b*) 462. The Death of *Hugh* Bp. of *Lincoln*, the Kings of *England* and *Scotland* attend at his Funeral.

[1] Some days alſo before the late Interview at *Lincoln*, deceaſed that Pious Prelate *Hugh*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who was the great Example of that Age for Piety, Chaſtity, and all other Chriſtian Virtues; and was in ſuch Reputation, that his Body being brought to *Lincoln* to be Interr'd, whilſt King *John* came thither to meet the King of *Scots*, the King himſelf, and Three Archbiſhops, with all the Biſhops and Barons that attended at that Solemnity, went out in ſolemn Proceſſion to meet the Corps; nor did that King with his Chief Nobility, think it beneath them to bear it on their Shoulders to the Door of the Church, where the Archbiſhop and Biſhops received it, and carried it into the Choir, depoſiting it there all Night, till it could be buried near the Altar of St. *John Baptiſt*; where his Tomb is ſhewn at this Day: But as for the Miracles which our Hiſtorians relate to have been performed there, ſuch as that of a Woman who had been Seven Years blind of one Eye, and received her Sight at his Funeral; and of a certain Cut-purſe, who as ſoon as

Divers Miracles related to be done at his Tomb.

he

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he had got his Booty had his Hands ſo ſhrunk up that he could not ſtir them, ſo that he was not able to hold what he had taken, I leave them to be told and believed by thoſe who have a greater Faith in ſuch things than my ſelf; nor ſhould I mention them at all, were they not Related by Authors of ſo good Credit in other things.

[2]
Id. Ib. (*b*)

The Pope Sends a Legate into *Fr.* to hear and determine the matter con-concerning the Q's. Divorce.

Another Legate come into *France*, who will not paſs Sentence for the Ks Divorce who thereupon takes away the Q. and puts her under a cloſer Confinement.

I muſt here alſo take notice of what was done this Year in *France*; in Relation to that King, and his Queen *Iſemburge* or *Botilda*, whom he had put away, and which had been the Cauſe of the Pope's Interdict upon *France*; which yet was ſome time before taken off, upon the Kings promiſe to receive his Queen again, or elſe to ſtand to the Deciſion of the Pope's Legate: Wherefore the Pope now ſent *Octavian*, Biſhop of *Oſtia* to Hear and Determine the Cauſe; at what time the King of *France*, who deſired to be Divorced from his Queen, alledged, that they were too near of Kin to be Married; which being denied by the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Denmark* (who appeared for her) and alſo becauſe they looked upon this *Octavian* as the King's Relation, who conſequently would be too favourable to him; they appealed from him, to the Pope himſelf: But Three Days after another Legate came thither, who was more indifferent, and upon hearing the matter over again, found no cauſe why a Divorce ſhould be pronounced between them. But when he was going to give a definitive Sentence againſt the King, He being forewarned of it, carried her away along with him on the ſudden; and tho' he pretended to take her to him as his Wife, yet he ſtill kept her under a cloſer Confinement than before, which yet put an end to this troubleſome Affair; and indeed the Queens and Princeſſes of that Age had a very hard time of it; for Diſpenſations from the Pope being not then in faſhion, if a King or a Prince were weary of his Wife, and if he could make himſelf any way Related to her (tho' it were Three or Four Degrees removed, provided he could gain the Pope's Legate on his Side, it was ſufficient to obtain a Divorce. Yet it ſeems in this Caſe the Pope thought them too far off Related to grant it; for King *Philip* and this Queen were only Couſins in the Fourth Degree, by which means tho' ſhe kept the Title of Queen to her Death, and ſaw *Agnes* her Rival deceaſe before her, yet did ſhe thereby obtain no better Treatment from the King her Husband?

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[3]
Id. p. 464 (*a*)

The K. keeps his *Chriſtmas* at *Guilford*, whilſt the A. Bp. does the like at *Canterbury*, and vies with the K. in magnificence.

The K. and Q. go on Progreſs as far as the Borders of *Scotland*, and by the way he is reconciled to his Brother *Geoffrie* A. Bp. of *York*.

This [3] Year King *John* kept his Chriſtmas at *Guilford*, with great Solemnity, and diſtributed many rich Cloaths or Liveries to his Knights, or Military Men; whilſt the Archbiſhop did the like at *Canterbury*, as it were vying with him in Magnificence; which very much incenſed the King (as very well it might) againſt that Prelate. Not long after Chriſtmaſs, the King with his Queen, went on Progreſs as far as the Borders of *Scotland*, and in his Journey, he laid great Fines upon thoſe, who had any ways Treſpaſſed in his Foreſts; when he came to York, he was Reconciled there to *Geoffrie*, the Archbiſhop; and by the Mediation of Four Biſhops, and Four Barons, choſen by both Parties, all Differences were compoſed between them; and thoſe alſo whom the Biſhop had Excommunicated for performing the King's Commands, were Abſolved; notwith-

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The Pope threatens to Excommunicate that A. Bp. and upon what occaſion

notwithſtanding the Quarrels between the Archbiſhop and his Dean and Chapter were again Renewed; as alſo with the Archdeacon of *Richmond* concerning the Right of Preſentation to certain Churches; who Appealing to Pope *Innocent*, he writ a very high and angry Letter to the Archbiſhop: Commanding him to do Right to the Archdeacon, and to Abſolve thoſe, whom he had unjuſtly Excommunicated, or elſe to Incurr the ſame Sentence himſelf.

I have taken notice of this, to let you ſee the abſolute and arbitrary Power which the Pope then Executed over one of the Primates of *England*, who (tho' the King's baſe Brother) was threatned to be Excommunicated, without being heard; ſo great an advantage was it in thoſe Days to complain Firſt; he that Appealed being ſtill moſt likely to carry the Cauſe.

[4] *Id.* p. 466. (*b*) The K. and Q are again Crowned at *Canterbury*.

Earls and B's. ſummoned to be ready to paſs over beyond Sea, and on what occaſion.

[4] But now (as if the Firſt Coronation had not been ſufficient) on *Eaſter Sunday* following the King and his new Queen, being at *Canterbury*, they were there again ſolemnly Crowned in the preſence of *John* Archbiſhop of *Dublin* and other Biſhops in the Cathedral Church, by *Hubert* the Archbiſhop; for ſuch was the Superſtition of thoſe times, that Princes believed their Crowns could not ſit faſt enough upon their Heads, unleſs they were more than once Solemnly put on by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Immediately after this Solemnity, he Commanded the Earls and Barons of *England* to be Ready with their Arms at *Whitſuntide* following, to paſs over with him beyond Sea, for the *Poictovins* had Rebelled againſt their Governors, and had beſieged them in their Caſtles; but *Warren de Glapion*, Seneſchal of *Normandy*, had by the King's Command beſieged the Caſtle of *Driencourt*, which King *Richard* had before given to *Ralph de Iſſodun*, Earl of *Edwe*, Brother of *Hugh de Brun*; but the King of *France* hearing of King *John*'s coming over, had marched into the Country to his Aſſiſtance, and raiſed the Siege for him, before He arrived in *Normandy*.

[5] *Id. Ib.* The Noblemen of *England* refuſe to attend the K. unleſs he would reſtore their ancient Rights. who inſtead of that ſeizes on ſeveral of their Caſtles; ſo that many of them go with him.

[1] *Ib.* The Earl of *Striguil*, and other Noblemen are ſent before with Men to repel the Aſſaults of his Enemies.

[5] Before the Kings departure, the Earls and Barons of *England* aſſembled at *Leiceſter*, and there having a Treaty or Conference together, ſent the King word, they would not go over with him, unleſs he would Reſtore to them their ancient Rights; that is the Liberties that were formerly granted them by his Predeceſſors; but tho' it might not be ſo Loyally done of them thus to preſs the King at ſuch an Exigency, when his Affairs required haſt, yet certainly he took much worſe Advice, when inſtead of granting their Requeſt; he preſently demanded of them their Caſtles as Pledges of their Fidelity, and particularly he made *William d' Aubeny* to deliver up his Caſtle of *Beavouir*; yet it ſeems moſt of them were at laſt prevail'd with to go over with him; for our Author tells us, that the Barons of *England* being aſſembled at *Portſmouth* in *Whitſon-week*, to paſs over with the King, He took Money of moſt of them to be excuſed, and permitted them to go home: *Mat. Paris* tells us, it was Two Marks on each Knights Fee. in [1] the mean time the King ſent *William* the Mareſchal, Earl of *Striguil* before into *Normandy* with an Hundred Men at Arms, and *Roger de Lacy*, Conſtable of *Cheſter* with another Hundred, to repell the Attempts of his Enemies on the Borders of *Normandy*; he

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He reſtores the Archbiſhop of *York* t. his Lands.

he alſo delivered to *Hubert de Burgh* his Chamberlain, a Hundred Knights or Horſemen to defend the Borders of *England* and *Wales*, and that he might give no cauſe of Diſcontent to the Clergy, and yet might raiſe what Money he could, He fully pardoned his Brother *Geoffrie* Archbiſhop of York, and reſtored him to his Favour, as alſo to all his Mannors and Free Tenents, and by his Charter Confirmed all the Liberties of that Church in as ample manner as *Roger* the late Archbiſhop had held them, for which confirmation the preſent Archbiſhop engaged to pay the King a Thouſand Marks in a Year's time, and engaged his Barony to him for Security.

[2] *Id. Ib.* p. 466 (*a*) The K. ſends Ambaſſadors to the King of *Scots*, deſiring longer time to give his Anſwer concerning *Northumberland*, &c. and the reaſon of it.

The K. follows the Q. into *Normandy* where there is an interview between him and the K. of *France*, where they agree very well, and he invites K. *John* to *Paris*. Q. *Berengera*, meets the K. at *Chinon*.

[2] Then the King ſent *Geoffrie* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Richard Malebiſſe*, and *Henry de Pudſie* to *William* King of *Scots*, to deſire him, that the Term of returning an Anſwer to the Requeſt he had lately made concerning *Northumberland*, and the other Counties already mentioned, which King *John* had promiſed to give at *Whitſuntide*, might be put off, till Michaelmas following; this was Politickly done, to prevent the King of *Scots* from laying hold of the King's failing to return an Anſwer at the time appointed, as a pretence to Invade *England* in his Abſence. And thus the King having ſettled all things at home, as well as He could, and being gone on Shipboard together with his Queen; upon ſome ſudden Buſineſs not mention'd, he put in at the Iſle of *Wight*, whilſt the Queen continued her Voyage into *Normandy*; however the King after ſome Days ſtay, took Shipping again at *Portſmouth*, and preſently after his arrival on the other ſide the Water, there was an Interview between him and the King of *France*, near the Iſle of *Andelie*, where they agreed very well, tho' none were preſent but themſelves: Three Days after, King *John* at the Invitation of the King of *France*, went to *Paris*, and was there magnificently Entertain'd in the King's own Pallace, the *French* King himſelf, lying elſewhere: After ſome ſtay there, the King of *England* taking his leave, went to *Chinon*, where his Siſter in Law *Berengera*, the Queen Dowager met him, whom he fully ſatisfied concerning her Dower, according to the Teſtimony of *Philip* Biſhop of *Durham*, and others who were preſent at her Marriage; the King then alſo ſettled upon her the City of *Bayeux* (that is the Duties and Revenues thereof) and Two Caſtles in *Anjou*, with a 1000 Marks Sterling *per Annum*, Five Hundred of which were to be Received from the King's Exchequer at *London*, and the other Five Hundred at *Caen* in *Normandy*.

[3] *Id. Ib.* p. 468 (*a*) K. *John* does nothing conſiderable againſt the Rebellious B. of *Poictu*, only procures Champions to accuſe them, and fight with them.

But notwithſtanding all King *John's* great preparations, I do not find any thing conſiderable He did againſt the Rebellious Barons of *Poictu*, [3] only, that reſolving to accuſe them of Treaſon againſt himſelf and the late King his Brother; he underhand procured ſome ordinary Gentlemen of his Subjects, very well skill'd in the Art of Duelling, who as his Champions, were (as ſoon as thoſe Barons appeared at Court) to accuſe them of Treaſon, and Fight them: But they, who being forewarned of it, refuſed (tho' Summon'd) to come thither, ſending him word, that they would Anſwer none upon that account, but their Peers, and ſo they became more implacable againſt him, than they were before, which is another Proof of this King's Puſillanimitie; who when he had a ſufficient Force to reduce them to Obedience; would let ſo great an Inſolence go unpuniſhed, which was the cauſe of their taking up Arms againſt him the Year following. [4] The King of *France* ſeemed ſtill very willing to obſerve the Peace, and to make it more Firm, it was again renewed, and put into Writing, in which it was ſpecified, that whoſoever of the Two Kings firſt broke it, thoſe Barons which were his *Fidejuſſors* or Security, for the true Obſervation of it, ſhould be diſcharged from their Allegiance, and take part with the injured King againſt their own.

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[4] *Id. Ib.* The Peace is again renewed between the two Kings one Covenant of which was that the Barons who were their Securities were to be diſcharged from their Allegiance to that P. who firſt broke the Peace.

[2] In the mean time all things remaining quiet, nothing happened in *England* worth mentioning; only *Hugh Bardolf* and other of the Kings Juſtices going to *Boſton* Fair, with an intent to ſeize to the Kings uſe all Woollen-Cloaths that were not two Ells within the Liſts, according to King *Richard's* late Aſſize, or Statute; the Merchants ſo prevailed with the Juſtices, that their Cloaths were not ſeized, nor the late Aſſize concerning the Breadth of Cloaths, nor the meaſure of Grain further obſerved; ſo that for the future they might make their Cloaths as broad or as narrow as they pleaſed; for which Licenſe (tho' to the Damage of many) the Juſtices procured a great Sum of Money to the King's uſe, this, tho' there was no expreſs Diſpenſation, but only a bare Connivance of the breach of the late Laws concerning Meaſures; yet, ſerves to let us ſee, how pernicious this Prerogative of diſpencing with wholeſome Law, has been to this Nation in all Ages.

[2.] *Id. Ib. p.* 468(*a*) The K. Juſtices goe to *Boſton* Fair, to ſeize all Cloaths that were not full meaſure; but upon payment of a great Sum of Money by the Merchants, their Cloaths are not ſeized.

Nor can I omit taking ſome notice of what was done in *Ireland* this Year, [5] where it ſeems the King's Authority was of ſmall account, the great Men of the Kingdom making War upon each other, when they pleaſed; for *Walter de Lacy*, a powerful Noble Man in *Ireland*, under the pretence of holding a Treaty with *John de Courcie* Earl of *Ulſter*, fell upon him on the ſudden, killed many of his Men, and routed the reſt, but *John* being in his flight purſued; *Hugh de Lacy* Brother to *Walter*, (being his Liegeman) invited him to take ſhelter in his Caſtle, till his Forces could be rallied; which he accepting, and going into the Caſtle, was there detained Priſoner by this *Hugh*, who deſigned to deliver him up to the King, againſt whom he had then taken Arms; but in the mean time the followers of, and adherents to Earl *John*, did not ceaſe to waſt the Lands of *Walter* and *Hugh de Lacy*, until ſuch time as they would ſet their Maſter Free; as they were ſoon after forced to do.

[5] *Id.* 468. (*a*) *John de Curcy* Earl of *Ulſter* being put to flight by *Walter de Lacy*, is ſeized by *Hugh de Lacy* in his Caſtle.

[1] But the *Iriſh* Annals further inform us, that on *Good-Friday* following, when the ſaid Earl *John* was going unarmed and barefoot on Pilgrimage in a Linnen Garment to a Church, (after the uſual manner of thoſe times) he was treacherouſly taken Priſoner by his own People, for a Sum of Mony, and ſo was again delivered to *Hugh de Lacy*, who brought him over Priſoner to King *John*: Whereupon he beſtowed on this *Hugh* the Earldom of *Ulſter*, and the Lordſhip of *Connaught* for this good Service, which before belonged to the ſaid *John de Curcy*.

In Camdens *Britannia ad finem.* *John de Courcy* treacherouſly taken Priſoner by his own Men.

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As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Year, [2] the *Holy Land* being now almoſt all loſt, the Pope wrote an earneſt Epiſtle to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of *England* to contribute a Fortieth part of their Eccleſiaſtical Revenues to the Relief thereof; and to take care that the Clerks in every Dioceſs did the ſame; alſo the * Maſter of the *Hoſpital* of *Jeruſalem* wrote a lamentable Epiſtle to the Prior and his Brethren in *England*, moving them very earneſtly for Relief, and that they would induce the King and Great Men to aſſiſt them; [3] then the Pope reflecting ſeriouſly upon their ſad and dangerous Condition, ſent a Cardinal Legate to the Kings of *France* and *England*, requiring them to cauſe an Aid or Tax to be raiſed in their Dominions for the Relief of the *Holy-Land.* Upon which meſſage and requeſt the Two Kings conſented to give the Fortieth part of all their Revenues for one Year, and the King of *England* would have it levied on all his Revenues, and on the Ward-Lands and Eſcheats in his Hands; and farther Commanded, that all Laymen of his Dominions ſhould Contribute a Fortieth part of all their Rents as an Alms for the Relief of the *Holy Land.* [3] Whereupon *Geoffrie Fitz Peter*, then Chief Juſticiary of *England*, wrote to all the Sheriffs of *England*, to admoniſh and induce the Earls, Barons and others, in every of their Sheriffwicks, to give a Fortieth part as aforeſaid, and to Collect it from the Earls, Barons, Knights, and Freeholders, and cauſe their Names, with thoſe of the Cities and Towns, together with the Sums that each of them were to Pay, to be ſet down, and return'd by every Sheriff to the *Temple* at *London*; much after the ſame manner as our Briefs for Fire or other Charities are at this Day. Therefore you muſt obſerve that This was no Tax, but only a Voluntary Contribution.

[2] *R. H.* p. 469. (*a*)

The *Holy-Land* being like to be loſt, the Pope writes to the Biſhops of *England* to cauſe the Clergy to contribute a Fortieth part of their Revenues for its Relief.

* *I. e.* The Great Maſter of the Knights Hoſpitallers now called Knights of *Malta.*

[3] *Id.* P. 470 (*a*)

A Legate is alſo ſent to *France* and *England* to require an Aid for the ſame purpoſe, which is granted by King *John* out of his own Revenues.

[4] Alſo the ſame Year *Euſtace*, Abbot of *Flaye* in *Normandy*, came over into *England*, and here finding a great Prophanation of the Lords-Day in keeping of Markets, and doing other ſervile Works, He went from City to City, and from Town to Town, Preaching againſt it, pretending no leſs than an Epiſtle from *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, which was ſaid to be found upon the Altar of St. *Simeon* at *Jeruſalem*, ſharply reproving the Chriſtians of thoſe Countries, for working on the Lords-Day, and that all the Judgments that had fallen upon them, had been for the breach of this Commandement; which tho' it was but a pious Fraud, yet had then ſo good an effect, that by the Preaching of this Abbot, ſcarce any Man durſt for the future go to Markets, or do any ſervile Work on the Lord's-Day, which was to begin on *Saturday* at 3 a Clock in the afternoon, and to continue till Sun riſing on *Monday* morning; being much after the ſame manner as the *Jews* obſerve their Sabbath at this Day: *R. Hoveden* has not only given us a Copy of this pretended Epiſtle, but alſo divers ſtories of terrible Judgments which happened to thoſe who preſumed to Work at their Trades after the Hour abovementioned; the Truth of which Relations, tho' they happened in this Author's own time, I ſhall leave to the Reader's diſcretion to believe as he thinks good.

[3] *Id. ib.*

Geoffrie Fitz Peter then C. Juſtitiary, writes to all the Sheriffs of *England* to induce the B. Knights, and Freeholders to contribute a 40th Part of their Rents for the ſame purpoſe.

[4] *Id. ib.*

The Abbot of *Flaye* comes over into *England* to preach againſt the Prophanation of the Lord's Day.

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[5] *M. P.* An Interview between the Kings of *France* and *England*, where the former again picks a Quarrel with the latter. The King of *France* makes unreaſonable demands from King *John*.

[5] King *John* remaining ſtill in *Normandy*, kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Argenton*, and in *Lent* following near the Caſtle of *Guleton*, there was alſo not long after an Interview between him and the King of *France*. But *Nicholas Trivet* places it between *Vernon* and the Iſle of *Andeli*, where the *French* King ſeeking freſh occaſions of Quarrel, to break the Peace, which he had ſo lately ſolemnly Ratified and Sworn to, is ſaid to have ſummoned the King of *England* to appear at *Paris* 15 Days after *Eaſter*, there to anſwer concerning the Dukedom of *Aquitain* and Earldom of *Poictou* : But *Matt. Paris* is more particular in this Affair, and relates, that the King of *France* retaining a mortal hatred againſt King *John*, did then Demand no leſs than a Reſtitution of all the Territories, which he at that time held on that ſide the Sea, to *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*; in which relation I doubt the Author is miſtaken as to *Normandy*, ſince he never had demanded that Dutchy in any of the former Treaties, and beſides the *French* King then held a great part of it by King *John's* late conceſſion.

A more particular account of this Alteration in K. *Philip's* humour. * In *Bib. Cotton.* as alſo in the Herald's Offiſce. 10, 11. with the true Reaſons of this breach of the Peace.

But I do not find any Engliſh Author to give ſo particular an account of the Reaſon of this ſudden Alteration of the King of *France*, as * *Ralph*, Abbot of *Coggeſhal* in his Manuſcript Chronicle, where under this Year, he Relates, that the Peace having been for ſome time well obſerved between the Kings of *France* and *England*, the former took occaſion to break it on this pretence; King *John* had lately made War upon *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*, and his Brother the Earl of *Engoleſme*, becauſe they had begun with him, and defied him; but theſe Lords, being too weak to reſiſt the King, thereupon complained to King *Philip*, as their Sovereign, or Chief Lord; wherefore King *Philip* admoniſhed King *John* to forbear, and to make Peace with them, to which he not thinking fit to yield, King *Philip* ſummoned the Nobility of *France*, and among them King *John* himſelf, as Duke of *Aquitain*, and Earl of *Anjou*, to appear at *Paris* within 14 Days after *Eaſter*, and there undergo the Judgment of his Court, as that of his Supreme Lord, for the Injuries done to the Two Noblemen above mentioned; upon this the King of *England* anſwered, that he was alſo Duke of *Normandy*, and as ſuch, was not at all obliged to appear at *Paris*, but only on the Borders of his Dutchy, as had been antiently agreed upon between the Dukes of *Normandy* and King's of *France*; to which King *Philip* replied, that it was not Juſt, that he ſhould looſe his Right, as Supreme Lord of *Aquitain*, becauſe the ſame Man was alſo Duke of *Normandy*; wherefore the Quarrel between theſe Two Princes daily increaſing, upon this as well as other occaſions, the King of *France's* Court being again aſſembled, adjudged the King of *England* to have forfeited all his Right to his Territories in *France*, becauſe he had for a long time refuſed to perform the Services due for them. But whither this Judgment of the Eſtates of *France* preceeded this Treatie, or followed it, I ſhall not Determine; but it ſeems moſt probable, (as Mezaray in his Abridgment of the *French* Hiſtory relates) that after the breaking up of the late Treaty at *Gaileon*, (as you have heard) King *Philip* having his Deſign already formed, Summoned King *John* to appear at his Court, there to Anſwer not only to the Complaints of Earl *Hugh le Brun*, but alſo of his Nephew *Arthur*, for the Countries above-mentioned. [1] But when ever this Arreſt or Sentence of the Peers of *France* was given againſt King *John*, it is certain, that upon his refuſal to grant theſe Demands, the Treaty broke off, and they parted highly incens'd againſt each other, which the King of *France* ſufficiently expreſſed by Invading the King of *England*'s Territories the next Day, and razing to the Ground the ſtrong Caſtle of *Butavant*, and then marching further, took the Town of *Ougi* with the Caſtle of *Lymis*, and many other Places: He alſo beſieged the Caſtle of *Radford*, or *Ratpont*, (as *Matt. Paris* calls it) 8 Days, but hearing of King *John*'s approach, He marched off; and a few Days after turned all his Forces againſt *Gorney*, and breaking down the head of a large Pool which lay above the Town, a great part of the Walls were overthrown by the violence of the Water, ſo that the Garriſon retiring, the King took the Town without oppoſition. Then returning to *Paris*, he appointed certain Tutors or Governors for Duke *Arthur*, and aſſigned him 200 Knights or Horſemen, for his Guard, who were alſo to go with him into *Poictou*, and help him to ſubdue thoſe Territories; but as he was marching thither in a Grand Military Pomp, it was told them that Queen *Eleanor* was in *Mirabel*, which was but a weak Garriſon; therefore turning all their Forces thither, they beſieged the Caſtle, and it not being able to hold out, they ſoon compelled the outward Caſtle to ſurrender: But the Queen and ſome few of the principal Soldiers retiring into a ſtrong inward Tower, they could not ſo ſoon take that; but therefore laying cloſe Siege to it, almoſt all the Noblemen and Knights of *Poictou*, and principally *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*, (whoſe Spouſe King *John* had lately married,) and was therefore his declared Enemy came to Duke *Arthur's* aſſiſtance, and all together made ſo great an Army, that they were very like to take the Place; but before they did take it, the Queen being put to a great ſtreight ſent Meſſengers to the King her Son, earneſtly deſiring him to come ſpeedily to her Relief; he thereupon marching Night and Day, arrived ſooner than could be expected, and the Iſſue of the matter was, that the *French* and *Poictovins* left the Siege to give him Battle. But the King put them to flight, and preſſed ſo cloſe upon them, that he entred the outward Caſtle with them, where there was a ſharp conflict; but it was ſoon ended by the Courage of the *Engliſh*. In this Fight 200 *French* Knights were taken Priſoners, with Duke *Arthur* himſelf, and moſt of the Nobles of *Poictou* and *Anjou*, who being put into Fetters, were ſent away in Carts, ſome of them into *Normandy*, and others into *England*, there to be kept cloſe Priſoners; but as for Duke *Arthur*, he was ſent to *Falaiſe*, and there kept under a ſtrict Guard. In the mean time the King of *France* had beſieged the Caſtle of *Arches*, and battered it Fifteen Days with his Engines; but hearing of Duke *Arthur*'s misfortune, he raiſed the Siege, and returning to *Paris*, did nothing more that Year.

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[1] *M.P.* p.207.

The *French* K. invades K. *John*'s Territories, and takes divers Caſtles and Towns.

Id. ib.

He returns to *Paris*, and appoints Tutors and a Guard for D. *Arthur*, who thereupon marches into *Poictou*, and beſieges *Mirabel* Caſtle, *Elenor* the Q. Dowager being in it.

The Caſtle being almoſt taken, King *John* marches to its Relief, and engaging with D. *Arthur*'s Forces, routs them, and takes him and many Noblemen Priſoners.

Arthur is ſent to *Falaiſe* to be there kept.

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[2] *M. P. Ib.* The K. goes to *Falaiſe*, and tries by fair Words and Promiſes to bring over his Nephew *Arthur* to his Intereſt, but being repulſed, is ſo incenſed, that he ſent him Priſoner to *Rouen*. Where he ſuddenly vaniſhes, being ſuppoſed to be made away by the K's Orders.

[2] Sometime after, King *John* going to *Falaiſe*, cauſed his Nephew *Arthur* to be brought before him, and gave him many good words, promiſing him great Honours, if he would quit the King of *France*, and adhere to him, as his Lord and Uncle; but he anſwered him diſdainfully, and with Threats demanded the Kingdom of *England*, and all the Dominions King *Richard* died poſſeſſed of, as his Right by Inheritance, and ſwore he ſhould never enjoy Peace unleſs he reſtored them; King *John* very much incenſed at his high Demands, ſent him to *Rouen* to be kept cloſe Priſoner in the New Tower, under the Cuſtody of *Robert de Viepont*, where he ſuddenly vaniſhed, tho' by what means is unknown; *Matt. Paris* adds, That it were well, that it had not been as envious Fame reports; That is, That he were not made away by his Uncle's Orders, which tho' he will not ſpeak out, he plainly inſinuates.

A farther Relation of King *John*'s cruel Intentions againſt this young Prince, before he was made away.

But I cannot here omit, what *Radulph de Coggeſhal* further relates concerning this Unfortunate young Prince; who whilſt he remain'd Priſoner at *Falaiſe*, the Nobles of *Bretaigne* and *Anjou* made great offers for his Liberty, but being refuſed, combin'd afreſh againſt King *John*; wherefore his Counſellors ſeeing the great Conſtancy of the *Britiſh* Nobility, who would never be at reſt ſo long as he was alive, or in a Capacity to Govern, they upon this adviſed the King to deprive him of his Eyes and Teſticles, thereby to render him uncapable of Government, or Procreation; wherefore being provoked as well by the Stubborneſs of his Nephew, as the Obſtinacy of his Adherents, he yielded at laſt, that this cruel Advice ſhould be put in Execution, which being committed to Three of the King's Truſty Servants to ſee it perform'd, Two of them abhorring ſuch Cruelty, ſlipt aſide out of the way; but the Third going to *Falaiſe*, and delivering his Meſſage to *Hubert de Burgh*, the King's Chamberlain, and then Conſtable of that Caſtle, he was highly concerned, as was alſo the whole Garriſon, at this barbarous Sentence, whilſt the Poor Prince could only with Tears bewail his Misfortune; yet at laſt being tranſported with Rage, he with his own hands fell upon him who had brought this Cruel Meſſage, and as they were grappling together, *Hugh de Burgh* and the Guards ran in and parted them; and ſo putting the Man out of the Room, they not only abſolutely refuſed to execute his Orders, but Comforted, and appeaſed the young Prince, as well as they could.

[3] *Id. ib.* *Hugh de Burgh* gives out that D. *Arthur* is Dead, and the Reaſon of making that Report.

[3] Yet *Hugh* the Conſtable, to mitigate the King's Diſpleaſure, as alſo to take away the Hopes of the Noblemen his Adherents, cauſed it to be diſperſed throughout the Province, that Duke *Arthur* was dead, by the ſevere Execution of the King's Sentence; ſo that the Bells rung out for him in all Places; but this ſad News was ſo far from appeaſing the *Bretaigns*, that they were rather the more provoked, Swearing, That for the future, they would never deſiſt from making War upon the King of *England*, who had commanded ſo horrid a piece of Cruelty to be Executed upon his own Nephew; ſo that to appeaſe them, thoſe that kept Duke *Arthur*, were forced to tell them truly, that he was ſtill alive; but at laſt the King thinking he ſhould have no quiet ſo long as he lived, (for King *Philip* and the *Bretaigns*, ſtill preſs'd for his Delivery) reſolved to diſpatch him privately, ſo ſoon as he was removed to *Rouen*; ſo

that no Man can certainly tell to this Day how he came by his Death.

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But ſince ſome of the *French*, as well as of our own Writers, have taken upon them to give a more particular Account of the Death of this Unfortunate young Prince, I ſhall give you their Relation of it; without paſſing my word for its Certainty, ſince by the very Circumſtances of the Story, it appears, that very few were truſted with the Secret: But they ſay, that [4] King *John* ſollicited ſome of his Confidents, and in particular *William de Bray*, to Murther his Nephew; but none would undertake it, and this very Perſon plainly told the King, He was a Gentleman, and not an Hangman; wherefore the King conſidering the Importance of the Affair, and the great Miſchief and Reproach, that the Diſcovery of it might bring upon him, reſolved to truſt as few with the Knowledge of it as he could; wherefore coming one Night in a Boat to the Foot of the Tower of the Caſtle at *Rouen*, where Duke *Arthur* was kept Priſoner, he preſently ordered him to be brought down and put into the Boat; whereupon the Prince apprehending his approaching Fate by his Uncle's Silence, preſently abating his former Fierceneſs, flung himſelf at his Feet, in hopes to obtain Mercy; but the Cruel King without ſaying any thing farther to him, preſently drew his Sword and run him ſeveral times through the Body, till he had diſpatch'd him: Then carrying the Corps ſome Leagues down the Stream, they flung it into the River *Seine*; to give ſome colour to the Report, they had cauſed to be ſpread abroad, that this Prince thinking to eſcape out of a Window of a Tower, (which ſtood over the River) had fallen into it, and ſo was drown'd.

[4] *Wil. Brito, de Geſt. R. Philip.* p. 166, 167.

The *French* Writers Relation of the Murther of D *Arthur*.

But [5] the Annals of *Margan*, printed at *Oxford*, give us ſomewhat a different Account of the manner of King *John*'s making away with his Nephew, to this Effect; That ſome time after his Impriſonment, the King being much in Drink, came to the Caſtle of *Rouen*, and there murther'd him with his own hands, and then cauſing a great Stone to be tied about his Dead Corps, had it caſt into the River, out of which not long after it being drag'd by a Fiſherman's Net, it was known by ſome, and privately burried in the Abbey-Church of St. *Mary des Prez*.

[5] *Script. Ang* Vol. 2.

Another account of it, from the Annals of *Margan*.

All which not only differs from the *French* Relation, but ſeems alſo very improbable; for *Rouen* being within a few Years after in the hands of the *French*, they would certainly have very well rewarded that Man, who had found, and ſo charitably Buried that Prince's Body, whereas it was never known to this Day what became of it: But to return to our Hiſtory.

[1] King *John* not long after this horrid Action, went over into *England*, where, as ſoon as he arrived, he would needs be again ſolemnly Crown'd at *Canterbury*, on the 14th of *April*, by the hands of *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of that City, which I ſuppoſe was done to confirm his Title to the Crown, his Competitor being now taken out of the way; but it was to little purpoſe, for the King returning ſoon after into *Normandy*, it was quickly divulg'd throughout all *France*, that he had murther'd his Nephew; wherefore the Eſteem not only of Foreigners, but the Affections of many of his own People, on this Account, ever after turn'd againſt him, and that deſervedly, for

[1] *M. P.* p. 208.

K. *John* paſſes over into *England*, and is again Crown'd.

He returns into *Normandy*, and the News of his Nephew's murder is divulged through *France*, and that highly to the King's Prejudice.

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for tho' it was uncertain, how that Prince came by his Death, yet it is plain, it could never have been acted without his Order and Contrivance; and indeed, whoever conſiders this King's Actions after this, will find them ſo byaſs'd by Luxury, Falſhood, and Cruelty, as if God had wholly given him up to a Reprobate Mind. But it is high time to ſee what was the Conſequence of this Cruel Murther, in which the King was very much diſappointed of the Advantages he propoſed to reap by it. For as ſoon as the Report of Duke *Arthur*'s Death came to the Ears of the Dutcheſs of *Conſtance* his Mother, [2] ſhe immediately went to the King of *France*, and there made loud Complaints of the unheard of Violence and Cruelty committed by King *John* upon his Nephew, and her Son; whereupon King *Philip* aſſembling his Parliament, or Great Council, then conſiſting of all the Peers and Chief Noblemen of *France*, they ſummoned King *John*, as Duke of *Normandy*, to appear before them, and anſwer this Accuſation, at a Day appointed; Upon which, as [3] *Matt. Paris* relates, (for the *French* Hiſtorians omit this Circumſtance) the King ſent *Euſtace* Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Hubert de Burgh*, as his Ambaſſadors, to let that King know, *That he would willingly appear at his Court, provided he might have ſafe Conduct for his Going and Coming*; To which King *Philip* anſwered with a ſevere Look, *He may come in Peace*; But the Biſhop replied, *And may he return ſo too?* But all the King of *France* would ſay to this, was, *Yes, if the Sentence of his Peers permit him*; But the Ambaſſadors ſtill inſiſting to have a ſafe Conduct for their Maſter; it ſo incenſed King *Philip*, that he ſwore, *By all the Saints of* France, not otherwiſe then according to the *Judgment* of my Court: Then when the Biſhop laid open the great Dangers that might happen to King *John* by his coming; ſaying, 'That the Duke of *Normandy* 'could not attend his Court, but that the King of *England* muſt be 'there alſo, for one and the ſame Perſon was both King and Duke; 'and that the Baronage of *England* would not permit it, tho' the 'King himſelf ſhould be willing to come, ſince there appeared ſo 'imminent a Danger either of his Death or Impriſonment at leaſt; to which the King preſently reply'd, *And* **Pray, My Lord Biſhop, What is that to me?** *It is very well known, that the Duke of* NORMANDY *is my Vaſſal, and if he would conquer* ENGLAND, *and thereby acquire a Higher Title, ought his Capital Lord to loſe any thing by that?* To which I find the Ambaſſadors did not make any Reply; whether becauſe they could not, or elſe would not urge the Matter any further, I will not determine: But to come to the Proceſs and Sentence of this Council, in this great Caſe.

[2] *Paulus Æmil. in vita Philip. Auguſti.*

The Dutc of *Conſtance*, Mother to D. *Arthur* complains to the K. of *France*, who calls his great Council, and Summons K. *John* to appear and anſwer the Murther.

[3] P. 283.

Matt. Paris's Account of the Proceedings of the *French* K. againſt K. *John*; and what he ſaid to his Ambaſſadors.

All our [4] own, as alſo the *French* Hiſtorians agree, That upon King *John*'s Failure of appearing before the Great Court of Peers of *France*, above-mentioned, he was for his Contempt condemn'd of Treaſon and Murther; and [5] *Paulus Æmilius* has Recorded the Sentence it ſelf to this Effect, *That* John *Duke of* Normandy, *being Unmindful of his Oath to King* Philip *his Lord, had Murthered his Elder Brother's Son, being an Homager to that Crown, and that within the Seigniory of* France; *whereupon he is judged a Traytor, and, as an Enemy to the Crown of* France, *to forfeit all his Seigniories which he held by Homage, and that Re-entry be made by Force of Arms.* Thus by a Partial

[4] *M.P.Ib. Rigord. de Geſtis Phillipi.*

[5] *De Vita Philippi.*

The Sentence of the Court of the Peers of *France*.

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The Injuſtice and Illegality of it.

tial and Undue Sentence, the King and Peers of *France*, being at that very time in open Hoſtility with King *John*, condemned him, tho' Abſent, Unheard, and neither Confeſſing, nor Convicted of the Crime, nor had they indeed any Lawful Cognizance of it: But the *French* having then power ſufficient to put this Sentence in Execution, and *England* labouring many Years under the Government of this violent Prince, and his weaker Son *Henry* III. that was always Unſettled, it was no wonder that the Kings of *France* ſtill kept by Force, what they had by Force acquired: But it is time to purſue our Hiſtory, and to ſee how King *John* carried himſelf, after his return into *Normandy*, and that King *Philip* had declared open War againſt him.

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[1] *M P* 209.

The K. lies uxoriouſly with his Qu. till Noon, whilſt the K. of *Fr.* invades *Normandy*, and takes many Caſtles and Places of Strength.

[1] The King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Caen* in *Normandy*, where laying aſide all thoughts of Warlike Enterprizes, he Feaſted magnificently with his Queen, and lay in Bed with her every day till Noon: After *Eaſter* the King of *France* raiſed an Army, wherewith he took many of his Caſtles; the Places of greateſt Strength he kept up; all the others he levell'd with the Ground. And when King *John* was told, what King *Philip* had done, he only reply'd, *Let him alone, whatever he now takes, I will quickly have again from him*; But when the *Engliſh* Earls, Barons, and Noblemen, heard this, and obſerved his Inſuperable Sloath, they degred leave to go home; and ſo left but very few Knights or Military Men to tarry with him in *Normandy*: As for his part, *Hugh de Gourney* ſurrender'd to the King of *France* the ſtrong Caſtle of *Montfort*, with the entire Honour belonging to it, whilſt King *John* continued all this time, as he thought, ſecure at *Rouen*; inſomuch that People ſaid, *ſure he was Bewitch'd*; for he was as Briſk and Merry, as if he had loſt nothing, nor any ill had happened to him.

Id. Ib.

Then the King of *France* proceeded farther ,and ſat down before the Town and Caſtle of *Ruil*, within the Territory of *Rouen* with a mighty Force; But *Robert Fitz-Walter*, and *Saher de Quincy*, in whoſe Cuſtody it was, baſely delivered up that ſtrong Fortreſs, as ſoon as ever he appeared before it; but King *Philip* abhoring their Cowardize, commanded them to be kept cloſe Priſoners at *Compeigne*, where they remain'd in Fetters till they could pay their Ranſoms: So true is that Maxim, *That Princes, though they love the Treaſon, yet hate the Traytors.*

[2] *Id. ib.*

Normandy being left without any Defence, the *French* King marches where he pleaſes. Only Caſtle *Galliard* holds out.

[2] *Normandy*, and the King's other Tranſmarine Dominions, being thus left Naked and without Defence, the King of *France* paſſed thro' divers Provinces without any Oppoſition; and reduced ſeveral Caſtles to his Obedience; He alſo about that time beſieged that ſtrong Caſtle on the Rock of *Andeli* on *Seine*, which King *Richard* had built from the Ground, and call'd it *Caſtle Galliard*; but that being defended by the admirable Valour and Fidelity of *Roger de Lacy* (to whom the Cuſtody thereof was committed) King *Philip* prevail'd little againſt it, ſo that all he could do, was, to block up the Place, and hinder any Proviſions from being brought to it; in this Juncture ſome *Normans* revolted from the King of *England*, whilſt others, tho' feignedly, adher'd to him.

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[3] *Id. ib.* The K. returns into *England*, and picks Quarrels with his Nobility for Deſerting him, and exacts a great Tax from the Clergy and Laity.

[3] The King at laſt ſeeing his own weakneſs, and that he was left without any Forces, took Shipping, and landed at *Portſmouth* on the 6th of *December*: where he was no ſooner arrived, but he fell to picking of Quarrels with his Earls and Barons, pretending, that they had Deſerted, and left him amongſt his Enemies, beyond Sea; and that through their Neglect he had loſt his Caſtles and Territories there; wherefore he took from them the Seventh part of their Moveables, without their Conſents; neither did he in this Tax ſpare even the Conventual or Parochial Churches; for he had (ſays *Matt.Par.*) thoſe who ſeverely executed his Rapines, *viz. Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, upon the Clergy; and upon the Laicks, *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, Juſticiary of *England*, who ſpared no body in this Impoſition.

[4] *Id ib.* The K of *Fr.* during K. *John*'s abſence again invades his Dominions, and Summons ſeveral Cities and Towns, on pretence that they were deſerted by their Prince.

They obtain one Years Truce to gain Relief, yet ſurrender before that time is expired.

[4] Then the King of *France* taking advantage of King *John*'s abſence, came with a ſtrong Force before ſeveral other Cities and Caſtles of his Dominions; declared to the Citizens and Caſtellans, that King *John* had Cowardly deſerted them; and that he being chief Lord over thoſe Countries, he was obliged in that Caſe to preſerve the Fee, from Injury and Damage; and therefore friendly required them to receive him for their Lord, ſeeing they had no Other: But in caſe they would not ſubmit to his fair Propoſal, he ſwore, if they fought againſt him, and were ſubdued, he would either Hang or Flea them all alive. At length, after many Diſputes, they unanimouſly conſented to give Hoſtages for one Year's Truce; and if the King of *England* relieved them not within that time, they would recognize him for their Lord, and render their Cities and Caſtles to him. Yet as *Nicholas Trivet* better informs us, many of the chief Cities in *Normandy*, as *Falaiſe*, *Conſtance*, *Bayeux*, and others, being by Force, or Treachery, quickly reduced under the King of *France*'s Power, King *John* had nothing left there, except the City of *Rouen*. Thus we may obſerve the Policy of the King of *France*, who urged King *John*'s Deſertion of that Province, (tho' forced to it by himſelf) as a ſufficient Reaſon for their quitting their Prince, and transferring their Allegiance to himſelf, as their Sovereign.

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[5] *M.P.* The K calls a Council at *Oxford*, where was granted an Aid of two Marks and ½ on each Knight's Fee.

[5] The King continuing ſtill in *England*, kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Canterbury*, where *Hubert* the Archbiſhop entertain'd him all the time of that Solemnity: But when it was over, he removed to *Oxford*, and on the Second of *January*, He and all the Great Men of *England* met in a *Common Council, or Parliament, where was granted to the King a Military Aid of Two Marks and an Half of every Knight's Fee; nor did the Biſhops, Abbots, or Eccleſiaſticks depart without promiſing the ſame. From whence we may obſerve, that the King was now in ſomewhat a better temper, then when he firſt came over, and would not again venture to Tax the Nation without its Conſent: But notwithſtanding this great Aid now given him, I cannot find, that he did any thing worth ſpeaking of with it, either for the Regaining of what he had loſt beyond the Seas, or ſo much as keeping what was left, but ſpent his time Idly and Luxuriouſly at Home.

* *Colloquium.*

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[1] Then after *Midlent*, he ſent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Norwich* and *Ely*, as alſo *William* Earl Mareſchal, and the Earl of *Liceſter*, as Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to ſound his Inclinations to a Peace, and to propoſe ſome new Terms of Agreement, if he would receive them; but King *Philip* being puffed up, (becauſe all things had ſucceeded according to his deſires) would agree to nothing; for being then aſſured that Duke *Arthur* was Dead, he demanded *Eleanor* his Siſter to be given in Marriage to his younger Son, with all the Territories in *France*: [2] But this being thought unreaſonable, was denied; at which King *Philip* was ſo incenſed that again entering *Normandy*, he took the City of * *Rouen*, after a long Siege, by the Surrender of the Citizens, and that meerly for want of ſending them timely aſſiſtance; for the Military Men and Burghers had been ever ſince the beginning of *June* under a Truce with the *French* King, and had entered into divers * Articles with him, and given Forty Hoſtages for the Performance of the ſame; to this Effect, That if the King of *England* did not make Peace with the King of *France*, according to his liking, or could not remove him from the Place where he was, (lying then before *Rouen*) within Thirty days, they would deliver the City. Theſe Articles are long, and contain divers things to be performed on King *Philip*'s Part, the Chief of which were, That the City ſhould enjoy all its antient Franchiſes and Privileges; but as *Mezeray* very well obſerves in his *French* Hiſtory, ***This Precaution proved as feeble againſt abſolute Power, as Paper is againſt Iron***; for ſo ſoon as ever he had taken it, he demoliſhed its Walls, and would not permit them to be built again; as for the reſt, I refer the Curious Reader to the Articles at large: But how this City came to hold out till after *Chriſtmas*, when it was obliged by the Agreement above-mentioned, to ſurrender (if not relieved) within 30 Days, I cannot tell, unleſs our Hiſtorians miſtake, and make it to have been ſurrender'd after the time it really was.

[1] *R.C.* The A.Bp. of *Canterbury* and others ſent Ambaſſadors into *France*; who will hear of no reaſonable Terms of Agreement.

[2] * *Chron. Normaniæ.* Being now aſſured of the Death of D. *Arthur*, he is highly Incenſed, and the City of *Rouen* is ſurrender'd to him upon Condition.

* *Vid.* Theſe Articles at length in *Scriptor. Norman.* Vol. I. P. 1057

[3] Then the Caſtle, on the Rock of *Andeli*, was, after almoſt a Year's Siege, taken, a great Part of the Walls falling down by the Foundations having been undermin'd; beſides which, the Beſieged wanted Victuals to the laſt Extremity; but before the Enemy could Enter, *Roger de Lacy*, Conſtable of *Cheſter*, then Governor, ſcorning to make Conditions for himſelf, and reſolving either to break thro' the Enemy's Guards, or die, he bravely, with Sword in hand, together with divers of his ſtout Companions, (when they had ſcarce Meat left for one Meal) mounting their Horſes, ſallied out, and killing many of the *French*, maintained an obſtinate Fight, before they were taken: After the Surrender of the Caſtle, *Roger* was carried into *France*; yet for the great Courage and Bravery he ſhewed in the Defence of it, the King commanded he ſhould be a Priſoner at large; this Prince having ſo much Generoſity as to make a Diſtinction between a Gallant Man, and ſuch Cowards as *Robert Fitz-Walter*, and *Saher de Quincy*, who ſurrendering the Caſtle of *Ruil* without ſtriking a Stroke, were clapt in Irons for their Pains; and indeed this Unfortunate Gentleman was worthy to have ſerved a better Maſter. Some time after this, the Caſtle of *Arches* and *Verneuil* being alſo render'd, all *Normandy* was reduced under the Power

[3] *M. P.* p. 211. The Caſtle on the Rock of *Andeli* taken, and *Roger de Lacy* the Governor, ſallying out, is made Priſoner at large.

With whom the K of *Fr.* deals generouſly in regard to his Valour.

of the *French* King, after it had been Governed by Twelve Dukes of the *Norman* Race, (of which King *John* was the laſt) for the ſpace of Three hundred and twenty Years.

[4] R. C. The War is carried on in *Poictou* and *Aquitain*, with variable ſucceſs, under the Command of *R. de Turnham* and *Savary de Malleon*.

[4] But as for the War in *Poictou* and *Aquitain*, *Ralph de Coggeſhal* tells us, that it was carried on with various ſucceſſes, ſince a part of thoſe Countries being under the Command of *Robert de Turnham* (who had the better of his Enemies in moſt Conflicts) ſtill obeyed the King of *England*, aſſiſted by *Savary de Malleon*, who being lately releaſed out of the King of *France*'s Cuſtody, faithfully ſerved King *John* againſt his Enemies; whilſt another greater and ſtronger party under *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*, and *William de Roches*, who (as the *French* Hiſtorians relate) having quitted King *John*, and taken King *Philip's* Side, put him not long after in Poſſeſſion of the whole Countries of *Anjou*, *Main*, and *Tourain*, (except ſome few ſtrong Places) alſo *Henry Clement* Marechal of *France* Conquered all *Poictou* with the Cities of *Nior*, *Touars*, and *Rochel*.

[5] p. 212. *Matt. Paris* more conciſe in his Relation of the War in *France*.

[5] *Matt. Paris* is very ſhort in this Relation, and only ſays, that the *Caſtellans* and Citizens who were Subjects to the King of *England* beyond the Seas, being now reduced to great ſtreights, ſent over to let him know their Condition, that the time of the Truce was almoſt expired, and that they muſt either deliver up the Cities and Caſtles, or permit their Hoſtages to be deſtroyed; whereupon the King told their Meſſengers that they muſt expect no Help from him, and therefore left it to them to do what they thought fit; thus for want of Relief all *Normandy*, *Tourain*, *Anjou*, and *Poictou*, came under the Dominion of the King of *France*, except the Places abovementioned.

The K. for all this bad Succeſs ſpends his time voluptuouſly; yet *N. Trivet* excuſes him.

The King knew all this, yet ſpent his time with his Queen wholly in Pleaſures, as if in her he had enjoyed all the World; only *Nicholas Trivet* does in ſome part excuſe him, ſaying, that King *John* diſcouraged by ſo many diſaſters, could not raiſe an Army ſufficient either to defend thoſe Countries, or to recover what he had loſt; for his own Subjects being now generally diſcontented, refuſed to fight for him, and ſo he learnt by certain (tho' dear bought) Experience, that the true Power and Authority of Princes conſiſts in the Love and Obedience of their Subjects, and when that is gone, a King that does not wholly depend upon an Army of Mercenaries, may bid farewell to any good Succeſs.

The D. of *Lovain* and E. of *Boloign* join in Confederacy to Invade *England*.

Nor can I omit what *Rad. de Coggeſhal* further relates, that the Duke of *Lovain* and Earl of *Boloign*, having agreed all their old Quarrells, now joined in Confederacy with the *French* King to invade *England*, and that King *Philip* alſo Swore to follow them with his Army, within a Month after their arrival there; by which Reports the whole Kingdom was very much diſturbed, fearing, leſt that King through the Aſſiſtance of ſo many Potent Princes ſhould Conquer it; yet for all thoſe Threats, this intended Invaſion was never put in Execution.

[1] *M. W.* The death of *Eleanor* the Q. Mother, and her Character.

Nothing more remarkable happened this Year, except [1] the death of the Queen Mother *Eleanor*, a ſtirring Princeſs, and of a high and intriguing Spirit, who had met with various Viciſſitudes of Fortune; for having been repudiated by *Lewis* King of *France*, ſhe then married the young Duke of *Anjou*, who by the Acceſſion of

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of the Crown of *England* and Dutchy of *Normandy*, was the greater Prince; but ſhe falling afterwards to ill Terms with him, was kept a Priſoner till his death; yet her Two Sons, King *Richard* and *John* ſucceeding, ſhe had for Fifteen Years lived in great Honour and Reſpect, being a moſt indulgent Mother, but a partial Grandmother to Duke *Arthur*, out of Hatred and Emulation to his Mother, the Dutcheſs of *Bretaigne*, as hath been already obſerved.

[2] And now, ſince neither *England* nor *France* affords us any thing elſe this Year worth noting, we will look as far as the utmoſt Parts of *Europe*, where the People of *Conſtantinople* having lately depoſed their Emperour *Iſaac*, and put him in Priſon, the *French* and *Venetians* Sailed towards *Conſtantinople*, with no leſs than 28000 Men, and made themſelves Maſters firſt of the Haven, and then of the City, altho' there were more than 60000 Soldiers within it; then they delivered *Iſaac* the late Emperor out of Priſon, who being too old to Govern, they at his Requeſt made his Son *Alexis* Emperor, the late Tyrant *Alexis* (of the ſame Name) with his Brother *Theodorus Laſcaris* eſcaping over the Walls, retired to *Adrianople*; but whilſt the *French* Army Wintered about *Conſtantinople*, and that the new Emperor endeavoured to ſatisfie them with the Pay he had promiſed them, the People upon whom he had impoſed great Taxes for that end, firſt mutinied, and then Rebelled, being headed by one *Alexis Ducas*, Great Maſter of the Wardrobe, who ſeizing upon the new Emperor, ſtrangled him with his own Hands, and then having cauſed himſelf to be Proclaimed Emperor, he muſtered up what Forces he could, and marched with them out of the City againſt the *Franks*, who not only beat them back into the Town, but alſo beſieged the City of *Conſtantinople*, which after Sixty Days was taken by ſtorm; great part of it being alſo ſet on Fire, was burnt to the Ground, and the Slaughter was ſo great that the Streets ran down with Blood.

[2] *Vid. Mezray's French* Hiſtory under this and the former Years.

The Em. *Iſaac* being depos'd by the People of *Conſtantinople*, the *Fr.* and *Venetians* Invade the City and take it, and makes his Son *Alexis* Emperor.

Againſt whom the People Rebelling, he is ſtrangled. The *Franks* thereupon again beſiege the City and take it.

Then the conquering Army choſe Twelve of their principal Commanders, to whom they committed the Power of Electing an Emperor, on this Condition, that if he were a *Frank*, the Patriarch ſhould be a *Venetian*, and ſo *vice verſa*; upon which, tho' *Boniface* of *Montferrat* ſeemed moſt worthy of that Dignity, yet becauſe he was not grateful to the *Venetians*, they rejected him, and choſe *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* Emperor, and *Thomas Moroſini*, a Noble *Venetian*, Patriarch. This Empire was of ſmall Extent, by reaſon that the Marqueſs of *Montferrat* had all *Theſſaly* beſtowed upon him, with the Title of King; and the *Venetians* made themſelves Maſters of *Candie*, as alſo divers *Greek* Princes poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral Cities and Provinces in *Aſia-minor*, under the Title of Emperors; as were that of *Trebiſond*, upon the *Euxine* Sea, and that of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, beſides ſome other Principalities of leſs Extent.

The *Frank* Commanders choſe *Baldwin* E. of *Flanders* Emperor.

This Empire of the *Franks* at *Conſtantinople* continued for near Fifty Years, and then the *Greek* Emperor of *Trebiſond* recovered it, together with all the Adjacent Countries; and thus it continued the Capital City of the *Greek* Empire, till it was taken by the *Turks*. I have been the more particular in this Relation, becauſe it gives us an account of ſome of the greateſt and moſt remark-

The ſhort Continuance of this Empire of the *Franks* at *Conſtantinople* able Revolutions that ever happened in ſo ſhort a time, and ſhews us how much the *Greeks* were then degenerated from the Valour and Simplicity of their fore-fathers; but to return again to our Hiſtory.

[3] *M. P.*

King *John* keeps a ſhort *Chriſtmas* at *Tewksbury*, and the occaſion of it.

The King being provoked at the *French* King's ſucceſs raiſes another Army in order to go into *France*; but is diſwaded by Arch-Biſhop *Hubert*, and for what Reaſons.

The Archbiſhop adviſes the K. to ſend over his Brother the E. of *Salisbury* into *France* with an Army.

[3] This Year King *John* kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Tewksbury*, but the Feſtival was very ſhort, laſting but one Day; I ſuppoſe, becauſe few, if any of his Noblemen (being then highly diſcontented with his Arbitrary Government) would attend him: But as *Ralph de Coggeſhal* relates, it was upon the News of *Robert de Turnham's* (who had hitherto defended great part of *Poictou*) being taken Priſoner by the King of *France's* Forces, as alſo of *Bernard d' Acies* being taken in the Caſtle of *Loches*, which he had hitherto valiantly defended: But at this King *John* was ſo provoked, that about *Whitſuntide* following, he raiſed a great Army in order to paſs the Seas; tho' he was hindred from it by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William* the Earl Mareſchal, with divers others of the Nobility, who (as the laſt mentioned Author tells us) diſwaded the King from this Expedition, ſetting forth the great Dangers and Inconveniencies that might happen from thence to himſelf and his Kingdom, being now to truſt himſelf in the midſt of his Enemies, without any Place of ſtrength to repair to; and that beſides all this, the King of *France* had a far greater Armie, as being now Maſter of the whole Country, and therefore it was by no means ſafe to truſt the fickle *Poictovins* who were upon every turn wont to conſpire againſt their own Princes; and it was yet more hazardous, in reſpect that the Earl of *Boloigne* and his Adherents might in the mean time invade *England.* But the King was not at all moved with their Remonſtrances, and ſeemed reſolved upon this expedition, tho' they fell upon their knees before him, beſeeching him not to go, adding further, that if he would not conſent to their Requeſt, they would detain him by force; At this the King being put into a great confuſion, adjured the Archbiſhop to give him the beſt Advice he could, who told him, that the likelieſt means he could think on to ſecure his own Safety as well as Reputation, was to ſend his Brother the Earl of *Salisbury* over together with ſome others of the Prime Nobility with a powerful Army to join with thoſe *Poictovins*, who it ſeems then expected his coming over; whereupon the King making as tho' he hearkned to it, diſmiſt the greateſt part of his Noblemen and Knights; many of whom having been put to vaſt Charges for this Expedition, in Expectance of their going over, curſed the Authors of this Advice; and more eſpecially the Mariners, who brought their Ships from the utmoſt Parts of the Kingdom to carry them over.

[4] *Id. ib.*

The K. ſeems at firſt well ſatisfied with the Advice, but ſoon after repents, and goes for *France* himſelf; but preſently returning back, extorts a vaſt Sum from his Subjects.

[4] Then on a ſudden the King ſeeming to have changed his Reſolution, went back to *Wincheſter*; but at length repenting of what he had done, he returned again to *Portſmouth*, and having there hired a good many Ships, about the middle of *July* he went on Board, and with a ſmall Retinue put out to Sea; but again changing his Mind (or perhaps never intending otherwiſe from the beginning) he came back, and landing at *Warham* in *Dorſetſhire*, he immedi-

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immediately after his Return extorted a vaſt Sum of Money from all his Subjects as well Eccleſiaſtics as Laics, upon pretence they had refuſed to follow him beyond Sea, that he might recover his loſt Dominions.

This was the Second time he had thus ſqueezed Money from the Nation by his abſolute Power, without their Conſents; and was one of thoſe Grievances which afterwards caus'd the Barons to take up Arms againſt him; and was alſo one of thoſe particular Heads that are provided againſt by his great Charter, which he was afterwards forced to grant them: Nor does this Year afford any thing conſiderable in Foreign Parts, only as [5] our Author relates, the Earl of *Salisbury* paſſed this Summer over into *France* with a ſtrong Body of Men, and tho' there was a great deal of Money beſtowed in this Expedition, yet little or nothing was done with it; for the ſtrong and almoſt Impregnable Caſtle of *Chinon* was tataken about *Midſummer*, and in it *Hugh de Burgh* the King's Chamberlain, the valiant Governor was taken Priſoner, who had defended it for near a Year together, againſt the King of *France* his Forces, and was now dangerouſly wounded.

[5] *Rad. de Cogeſhal.*

[1] But tho' this Year proves barren as to Civil Affairs, yet it affords us enough of Eccleſiaſtical; for now *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed a few Days before the King's going laſt to Sea; he was a Prelate of a large and magnificent Spirit, tho' of no great learning, being more addicted to Civil and Military employment, than to the buſineſs of his Function; having been chief Juſtitiary and Chancellor, as alſo the Pope's Legate, during great part of the late King *Richard*'s Reign, and was continued Chancellor under King *John*, until the time of his death; At which the King was not a little glad, having ever ſince his oppoſing his late intended Expedition, ſuſpected his holding private Intelligence with the King of *France*; but I rather believe, that it was without any juſt cauſe, and that this Archbiſhop as well as others of the Nobility oppoſed that Deſign, not out of any good will to the *French*, but either for the Reaſons they then gave him, or elſe becauſe they were ſatisfied, that the recovery of the King's Dominions beyond Sea, would be a matter of greater Charge and Trouble than any real Advantage to *England*.

[1] *M. B.* p. 212. *Hubert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* dieth. of an Ulcer, or Fiſtula, attended with a Feaver.

But the ſudden Deceaſe of this Archbiſhop mightily altered the State of Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; for tho' the News of his death was at firſt (as I ſaid) very grateful to the King, who had of late lookt upon him as his Enemy, yet had he very little reaſon to rejoyce, ſince the double Election of a new Archbiſhop by ſome of the Monks * which not long after followed, produced great Diſturbances to him and the Kingdom, concerning which the ſame Author gives us this account; that before this Archbiſhop was buried, ſome of the *Junior* Monks of *Canterbury* privately choſe one *Reginald*, then their Sub-Prior, Archbiſhop, without the King's Knowledge, and preſently ſent him away to *Rome*, to procure his Confirmation: But when he came there, and had ſhewed the Pope and Cardinals the Inſtruments of his Election, and Petitioned him to Confirm it; he told the Sub-prior, he would conſider of that till he had more certainty of the manner

* Monks of *Chriſt's Church* at *Canterbury*.

The *Junior* Monks of *Canterbury* privately chuſe *Reginald* their Sub-prior, A-Bp. whom they ſend preſently to *Rome*, to obtain the *Pope's* Confirmation.

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of his Election; but that which quite imbroiled this Affair, was, that tho' the Monks had obliged their Sub-prior to Secrecy, yet ſo ſoon as this vain glorious Monk had got into *Flanders*, he divulged the Errand he went about, telling every body that he was going to *Rome* to get the Election Confirmed, ſhewing the Inſtrument of the Convent, under their Seal; of which they having notice, and that he had broke his Oath of ſecrecy, were ſo mightily inſenſed againſt him; that they ſent to the King, deſiring his Licenſe to chooſe a new Archbiſhop; whereupon he gave them free leave, without any Condition, but intimated to them, that if they would chooſe *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, they would do him an acceptable piece of Service, ſo the Monks having unanimouſly choſen him in due Form, the King and he went with all ſpeed to *Canterbury*, where the next Day the Prior in their preſence, as alſo in that of the Convent, declared *John de Gray* Biſhop of *Norwich*, duly Elected Archbiſhop; then the Monks placed him in the Archiepiſcopal *Throne*, and the King preſently put him in Poſſeſſion of the Temporalities that belonged to the Archbiſhoprick; and thus all things reſted till the end of this Year, without the Pope's interpoſing either one way or other.

The Monks being incens'd at the Imprudence of their Sub Prior, crave leave of the K. to chooſe another Archbiſhop, which is granted on condition they would chooſe the B. of *Norwich*.

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[2] *Id.* p. 214.

The K. ſends ſome of the Monks to *Rome* to obtain the Confirmation of the laſt Election of an A. Bp. whither the Biſhops alſo ſend complaining againſt both Elections as Illegal. Divers Allegations and Precedents produced in their behalf.

And now, [2] to avoid making any Breach in this Relation, I ſhall, tho' contrary to my uſual method, begin this Year with Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. At this time fell out that which gave the Pope a fair Pretence to make both theſe Elections void: for [2] the King having kept his *Chriſtmas* at Oxford, not long after ſent ſome of the Monks of the Church of *Canterbury* to *Rome*, to obtain the Pope's Confirmation of the laſt Election of the new Archbiſhop he had recommended; when at the ſame time the *Suffragan* Biſhops of that Province, ſent alſo their Proctors to *Rome*, who made a grievous complaint to the Pope, that the Monks had preſumed to chooſe an Archbiſhop without them; when they of common Right and antient Cuſtom ought to have been preſent, and to have agreed with the Monks in their Election; for which they Alledged divers Decrees and Precedents, produced witneſſes, and exhibited Teſtimonials, that the *Suffragans* together with the Monks had choſen three Archbiſhops; the Monks on the other Hand affirm'd, that by *antient* and *allowed* Cuſtom, and by ſpecial *Privilege* of divers Popes, they uſed to make Elections without them, which they offer'd to prove by ſufficient Witneſſes; thus this Proceſs continued till the Year following, in the mean time the Allegations on both ſides having been heard, and the Witneſſes examined, the Pope appointed the 21ſt of *December* for pronouncing Sentence, which proved at laſt in favour of the Monks, as you will find hereafter. But now to return to Civil Affairs.

[3] *Id. Ib.*

The K. paſſes over into *Fr.* where he is aſſiſted by the *Poictovins*, and takes the Caſtle of *Mont-Auban*.

[3] On the 25th of *June*, King *John* with a great Army took ſhipping at *Portſmouth*, and on the 9th of *July* landed at *Rochel*; the *Poictovins* were glad of his Arrival, and coming in cheerfully to him, promiſed their Aſſiſtance; then after he had ſubdued a conſiderable part of *Poictou*, he marched againſt the ſtrong Caſtle of *Mont-Auban*, which he laid Siege to, and after he had battered it 15 Days with his Engines, took it on the firſt of *Auguſt*, and then wrote to his Juſtices, Biſhops, and Nobility of *England*, how many

ny Great and Illuſtrious Priſoners, and what Horſe and Arms, and what innumerable Spoils he had taken; after this the Religious Perſons of thoſe parts mediating between the Two Kings, on the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, they procured a Two Years Truce; and then King *John* returned into *England*, and landed at *Portſmouth* on the 12th of *December*, and thereby loſt all the Advantages he had ſo lately gained.

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*Rigord, (an antient *French Hiſtorian*) ſays, that King *Philip* hearing King *John* was landed at *Rochel*, rais'd a great Army, and marched into *Poictou*, and Fortified and Garriſoned *Mirabel*, *Loudon*, and other Caſtles, which he held in thoſe Parts, and ſo returned to *Paris*; and that the Viſcount of *Touars* being then entered to a Confederacy with King *John*, it cauſed King *Philip* to return again into *Poictou*, and deſtroy the Lands of that Viſcount; and then both Armies being ready to Engage, a Truce was made from the Feaſt of *All Saints* for Two Years; and after this the King return'd into *England*, and landed at *Portſmouth* a little before *Chriſtmas*.

* *Hiſt. Franc.* Vol. 3. p. 206.

The *French* Hiſtorian's Account of this Year's War.

[4] This Feſtival Solemnity he held at *Weſtminſter*, where moſt of the Great Men of the Kingdom were preſent; then about *Candlemas* following, he took a 13th Part of all Men's Moveables, and other Goods, as well of the Prelates, as other Eccleſiaſtics; which made them all to murmur, but none durſt at that time contradict it; only *Geoffry*, Archbiſhop of *York*, who would not give his conſent to, but openly oppoſed it, and ſo went away privately out of *England*, but at his departure he Excommunicated all Invaders of the Goods of the Church, and eſpecially thoſe who ſhould preſume to do it in the Province of *York*; yet the * Record in the *Tower* (which you will find in Dr. *B*'s Appendix) ſays expreſly, That this Tax was granted by the Common Advice and Aſſent of the King's Great Council held at *Oxford*, being given for the Defence of his Kingdom, and the Recovery of his Right beyond the Seas; where you may alſo ſee the manner of Aſſeſſing, Collecting, and Paying into the *Exchequer*.

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[4] *M. P.* *W. C.*

The K. has another great Tax from both Clergy and Laity.

* *Pat.* 8, 9. *Johan. M.* 3. *Dorſ.* N. 83.

Which yet appears to have been granted by the Advice and Conſent of the Common Council of the Kingdom

But the Annals of the Abby of *Waverly* will, under this Year, ſerve very well to Explain this Record; and plainly ſhews, That this Tax, ſaid to have been Taken, or Extorted by King *John*, and which Doctor *Brady* ſuppoſes to have been only granted by the King's Privy-Council, was really given by the general Conſent of the Kingdom, tho' they were not able to help it; I ſhall therefore give you the Relation of this Tranſaction word for word, as it is to be found in thoſe Annals, (*viz.*) *That King* John *after his Return from beyond Sea, having* * *Summoned the* Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, *and* Great Men *of the Kingdom, Eight Days after* New-years-tide *to a Council at* London. *He there moved the Biſhops, and Abbots, that they would permit the Parſons and Beneficed Clercs of Churches to give him a certain Sum out of their Yearly Revenues; which when the Prelates would by no means agree to, it was further deferr'd to the next Common Council, which was to be held at* Oxford, *on the* Octaves *of the Purification of our Lady; where a great Multitude of the Prelates and Great Men of the Kingdom being aſſembled, the King again required of the Biſhops,*

This farther made out from the Annals of *Waverly*.

* This is alſo confirm'd by the Clauſe Roll of this Year, M. 6. *&c.* wherein is mentioned a Summons to the *Magnates* or great Men of the Kingdom, to give their Advice concerning thoſe things propos'd from the K. of *France*.

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and Abbots, what he had demanded of them before: But they all both of Canterbury *and* York, *taking Council together, Unanimouſly anſwered, That the Church of* England *could no ways bear that Burthen, which had never been heard of in all former Ages; Then the King taking better Advice, wholly releaſed that Demand to them; Yet afterwards it was ordained by the* Whole Kingdom, *that generally all Men by whatſoever Tenure they held, ſhould ſwear to the Value both of their Real and Perſonal Eſtates, and ſhould pay a Thirteenth Part thereof to the King for the Recovery of his Inheritance in* Normandy, *and his other Dominions.*

From whence, (comparing this Hiſtorian with the Record before cited by Dr. *B.*) it plainly appears, That there was a Great Council held this Year at *Oxford*, which gave the King a Thirteenth Part of their moveable Goods and Revenues; ſo that what was levied upon the Laiety, being according to Law, all the Violence that was done, was not to them, but to the Biſhops, Abbots, and inferior Clergy, who never conſented to it; and how far ſuch a Violence upon the Church could create a Prerogative in the King ſo to do, I leave to the Doctor to determine. I have been the more Particular in this Relation, to remove the Prejudices and Miſtakes of thoſe Modern Writers, who would make us believe that the Kings of *England*, in thoſe times, could legally by the bare Advice of their *Privy-Council*, raiſe what Taxes they pleaſed upon their Subjects: whereas, if they had ſeriouſly conſidered the words *Commune Concilium* made uſe of in this Record, as cited by the Doctor, they would find, that it muſt relate to the Common Council of the Kingdom held at *Oxford*, (as it is here related by theſe Annals) and not to the Privy Council: And tho' it is true, that the King exacted this Tax alſo of the Clergy, yet all Authors agree, That this was an Abuſe of his Prerogative, and therefore there can be no Precedent drawn from it.

The Error of thoſe Writers who ſuppoſe that the King might in thoſe Times, by the Advice of his Privy Council, raiſe what Taxes he pleaſed.

[1] R.C.

I have no more to note concerning this Taxation; [1] but that the *Ciſtertian* Monks were the only Order in *England*, that were exempted from the Payment of it, (which I ſuppoſe was in conſideration of the Wrong he had done them two years agone,) and that the King, upon the Departure of the Archbiſhop of *York* beyond the Seas without Licenſe, ſeized upon all his Eſtate.

As for other Eccleſiaſtical Affairs done in Foreign Parts, which yet had their Effect and Influence here, the only thing conſiderable that fell out this Year, was, that [2] at *Rome* the Pope took upon him to Nominate a New Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by his own Authority, which was never done by any of his Predeceſſors; the Occaſion and Manner of which being very remarkable, I will here ſet down. The Monks of that Church, who had been ſome time before ſent to *Rome*, at laſt came to a ſolemn Hearing before the Pope, concerning the late double Election at *Canterbury*; after which thoſe that ſtood for *Reginald*, the Sub-Prior. preſented him to the Pope, as being firſt and duly Elected, whilſt the other Party who were for the Biſhop of *Norwich*, would have proved the former Election of the Sub-Prior to be void, as being made by Night without the King's Conſent, or that of the Greater or more Diſcreet Part of the Convent; ſo that after long Diſputes between them, the Pope finding they could not agree, judged both of theſe Elections to be Uncanonical; wherefore by the Advice of his Cardinals

[2] *Id.* p.222. The Pope takes upon him to Nominate a New Archbiſhop, and on what Pretence.

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dinals he nulled them both ; forbidding, by a definitive Sentence, both the late Elects any more to pretend to the Archiepiſcopal Dignity : This being done, he then perſuaded the Monks to chuſe *Stephen Langton*, an *Engliſhman*, and Cardinal, for their Archbiſhop ; to this at firſt they anſwered, That they could not make a Canonical Election without the Conſent both of the King and their Convent ; But the Pope told them, they had in themſelves the full Power of the Church of *Canterbury* ; and that in Elections made at the Apoſtolic See, the Conſent of Princes was not expected ; and then commanded all thoſe preſent, being (as he ſaid) a ſufficient Number, in virtue of their Obedience, and under pain of a Curſe, to chuſe him Archbiſhop whom he had appointed for their Father and Paſtor. Upon this, the Monks being afraid of the Sentence of Excommunication, tho' very Unwillingly, and with much Reluctance, gave their Aſſent ; only one Monk, *Elias de Branlefeild*, amongſt them all would not conſent to this Election ; However, the Pope Conſecrated Cardinal *Langton*, Archbiſhop, at *Viterbo*, on the 17th of *June*. [3] But *Roger* of *Wendover*, (from whom *Matt. Paris* tranſcribed the greateſt Part of his Hiſtory) according to the Sentiments of the Monks of that Age, endeavours to Juſtifie this Election made at *Rome* as valid ; becauſe (as he relates) King *John* had bound himſelf by a ſolemn Promiſe to own him for Archbiſhop, whom the Prior, and the Twelve Monks that went with him thither, ſhould agree upon ; and that they having now choſen Cardinal *Langton*, by a general Conſent, only one of them refuſing, therefore the King was obliged to accept of him.

The Pope after long Diſputes between the Monks, declares both their Elections void, and then commands them to chuſe Card. *Langton* Archbiſhop.

The Monks at laſt obey the Pope's command, tho' unwillingly, whereupon the Cardinal is Conſecrated A.Bp. by the Pope himſelf.

[3]
Id. p. 222.
Roger of *Wendover* juſtifies this Election, & upon what Grounds.

But I do very much doubt the Truth of this Relation ; for in the firſt place it plainly appears, by what the Monks then alledged to the Pope, that they had no Power from their Convent to make a New Election ; but only to procure the Pope's Confirmation of one of thoſe who had been already choſen : Nor is it at all likely, (nor indeed by any other Author mentioned) that the King ſhould have thus tied up himſelf to accept him for Archbiſhop whom thoſe Twelve Monks ſhould chuſe, ſince he never dreamt of any New Election at *Rome*, but only of the Pope's Vacating one of the former Elections, and Confirming the other ; and therefore this New Election of Cardinal *Langton* was certainly more Uncanonical then any of the former ; only it had the Pope's pretended Authority to back it, which was now arrived to that height, that it might do whatever it pleaſed, eſpecially in *England*, where the Biſhops and Clergy were wholly at his Devotion.

His Relation of this Affair is not very probable.

[4] The Pope being ſenſible that King *John* would deeply reſent this his Arbitrary Proceeding, ſent over his Nuntio with a Preſent of four Rings, ſet with precious Stones of four different Colours ; and alſo a notable Inſinuating Letter, wherein he ſets forth the great wonderful Myſteries contain'd in the Roundneſs of the Rings, and their various Colours, which muſt needs (forſooth) ſignifie the Four Cardinal Virtues ; and might, if his Holineſs had pleaſed, have repreſented any other four things whatever he was pleaſed to conclude, with an Exhortation to follow each of thoſe Virtues thus ſignified ; yet would not the Pope only rely upon the King's good Pleaſure, whether his new Archbiſhop ſhould be received or not,

[4]
Id. p. 223.
The P. being ſenſible that K. *John* would reſent it, writes him an inſinuating Epiſtle, and ſends him four Rings to pacify him.

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but (to make ſure work of it) he alſo wrote other Letters, wherein he exhorts him to receive *Stephen Langton*, a Native of his own Kingdom, and Cardinal of *St. Chryſogonus*, and who was very well skill'd both in Secular and Spiritual Learning, to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſince his Exemplary Life and Converſation would be a high Advantage both to his Body and Soul: But to make the ſurer work ſtill, he alſo ſent his Command to the Prior and Monks, to receive and obey him as their Archbiſhop, as well in Spirituals as Temporals.

[5] *Id. Ib.* The K. is highly incens'd at the News, and Charges the Monks of *Canterbury* with Treaſon.

[5] When the King had received the Pope's Letters concerning the Vacating the Election of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and the unexpected Advancement of Cardinal *Langton*, he charged the Monks of *Canterbury* with Treaſon; alledging, That in prejudice of his Prerogative, they had firſt choſen their Sub-Prior without Licenſe, and then to make him ſome feigned amends had Elected the Biſhop of *Norwich*; and that tho' they had received Money out of his *Exchequer* for the Expences of their Journey, to obtain the Pope's Confirmation of the laſt Election, yet they had, as an Aggravation of their firſt Offence, preſumed to chuſe *Stephen de Langton* his declared Enemy, and had cauſed him to be Conſecrated Archbiſhop; for which cauſe, the King being in great Fury and Indignation, ſent *Fulk de Cantelupe*, and *Henry de Cornehulle*, two Cruel and Ill-natur'd Knights, with armed Officers, to drive the Monks of *Canterbury* out of *England*, as being Guilty of Treaſon: Theſe Ruffians in purſuance of the King's Commands, went to *Canterbury*, and there entering the Monaſtery with drawn Swords, they commanded the Prior and his Monks in the King's Name, preſently to depart out of *England*; and if they refuſed to obey, they ſwore, That they would burn them and their Monaſtery together. The Monks being at this greatly terrified, and acting without good advice, all departed without any Oppoſition, much leſs Violence; and ſo paſſing into *Flanders* were kindly received in the Abby of *St. Bertin*, and in other Monaſteries adjoining thereunto; then by the King's Command, ſome of the Monks of *St. Auguſtin*'s Abby, were put in their Places to perform Divine Service, yet under the Overſight of *Fulk de Cantelupe* above-mentioned, who Seized and Confiſcated all the Goods of the Monks.

And ſends armed Men to drive them out of their Convent.

And not only that, but Baniſhes them out of *England*, and puts ſome Monks of the adjoining Monaſtery in their Places.

[1] *Id. p.*224. The K. thereupon writes to the Pope, ſetting forth the Injury he had lately received at his hands.

[1] When they were thus Expell'd their Monaſtery, the King ſent Meſſengers to the Pope, with Expoſtulary Letters, in which he ſets forth the Injury had been done him in Vacating the Election of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Conſecrating *Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop; a Perſon altogether unknown to him, and one Educated in *France*, and who had converſed with his open Enemies, and all this without his Conſent; to the Prejudice and Subverſion of the Rights and Prerogatives of his Crown; affirming, That he would no way recede from the Election and Promotion of the Biſhop of *Norwich*; and alſo threatning, That if he might not receive a favourable Hearing at *Rome* in this Matter, he would hinder all Perſons from going thither, by ſhutting up his Ports; leſt his Country being thereby impoveriſh'd, he ſhould not be able to defend it from their Enemies: For ſince he had Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates within his own Territories, abounding in all kind of Learning, he would

(if

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(if he were forced to it) neither ſeek for Juſtice, or Judgment, from Strangers out of his own Dominions.

[2] *Id. ib.* The Pope returns the K. a very Politick Anſwer, wherein he juſtifies the late Election, and highly commends Cardinal *Langton.*

[2] Some time after that the Pope had received theſe Letters, he returned him a very Politick Anſwer, to this Effect: Firſt he blames the King forgiving ſo rough an Anſwer to his humble and kind Letters; He then proceeds to Juſtifie the Election of Cardinal *Stephen*, as one who had ſtudied long in the Univerſity of *Paris*, and who merited to be made a Doctor not only in the Liberal Arts, but alſo in Theology; farther telling him, That tho' at Elections made at the Apoſtolic See, the conſent of Princes was not requiſite, yet nevertheleſs Two Monks had been ſpecially deputed to gain his Aſſent; but they being detain'd at *Dover*, were not able to perform what was enjoined them; then Juſtifying the laſt Election, as agreeable to the Canons of the antient Fathers, he concludes, with adviſing him to ſubmit to his good Pleaſure, which would be much for his Honour, and not reſiſt God and the Church in this Cauſe, for which that bleſſed Martyr and Glorious Archbiſhop *Thomas* (they are the Hiſtorian's words) had ſhed his Blood, eſpecially ſince his Father and Brother had abjured that evil Cuſtom; by which I ſuppoſe he means, that of our King's Nominating Biſhops and Abbots: ſo this Affair reſted for a time.

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[3] *Id.* The Pope finding the K. not to be prevail'd upon, commands ſome of the Biſhops to admoniſh him to be obedient, under pain of an *Interdict.*

[3] This Year the King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Windſor*, where he beſtowed many Feſtival Liveries upon his Knights, who attended him at that Solemnity; but immediately after, the Pope finding the King was not to be prevail'd upon neither by Perſuaſions or Threatnings, to receive *Stephen Langton* for Archbiſhop, he therefore expreſſing great Grief for his Contumacy, commanded *William* Biſhop of *London*, *Euſtace* Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Mauger* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to go to the King, and diſcourſe him concerning this great Affair of the Church of *Canterbury*; and if they found him Contumacious, (as hitherto he had been) they were then to declare to him, that his Kingdom ſhould be *Interdicted*, and if that would not do, but he ſtill perſiſted in his Obſtinacy, the Pope would lay a heavier Hand upon him; he alſo wrote to the Suffragans of the See of *Canterbury*, and to the Other Prelates of that Province, to receive and obey Cardinal *Stephen* as their Archbiſhop; whereupon the Biſhops abovementioned, in performance of the Truſt committed to them by the Pope, immediately repairing to the King, entreated him with Tears, That as he had God before his Eyes, he would recall the Archbiſhop and Monks to their Church, and Honour and Love them with perfect Charity, that ſo he might avoid the Scandal of the *Interdict*; but when the Biſhops would have proceeded in their Speech, he fell into a great Paſſion, and ſpoke many hard words againſt the Pope and his Cardinals, Swearing by *God's Teeth* (his uſual Oath) that whoever ſhould preſume to *Interdict* his Territories, he would forthwith ſend all the Prelates and Clergy of *England* to the Pope, and alſo Confiſcate their Goods; further adding, That if he found any *Romans* within his Dominions, he would firſt put out their Eyes and cut off their Noſes, and then ſend them to *Rome*, that ſo they might be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of other Nations; he alſo commanded the Biſhops forthwith to depart his Preſence, as they valued

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their Lives: This is *Matt. Paris*'s Account of the Succeſs of the Biſhop's Negociation with the King; in which ſetting aſide his Paſſionate Words and Threatnings, I do not ſee any thing wherein he might not very well be juſtified in thus Diſobeying the Pope's Command. But [4] Dr. *Brady*, (who does what he can to Juſtifie this King's Actions, whether right or wrong) *gives us his Letters Patents, atteſted by ſeven Earls, and three Barons, (dated above two Months before the *Interdict*) wherein he condeſcended ſo far as he could to Obey the Pope in the great Affair concerning the Church of *Canterbury*, upon ſuch Terms, as he himſelf, with the Advice of his *Council* ſhould think reaſonable; ſaving always *to Himſelf and his Heirs, the Right and Dignity of his Crown*; and then the Dr. caſts all the Fault upon the Biſhops, for not being ſatisfied with the King's reaſonable Propoſals; and that upon their preſſing him further, it put him into ſuch a Tranſport, as cauſed him to ſpeak thoſe hard and paſſionate Words againſt the Pope, already mentioned.

[4] *Com. Hiſt.* p.477. & *Append.*n:85.

* *Vid.* His *Appendix*, n. 85.

Dr. *Brady*'s miſtake of the Privy-Council, for the Common Council of the Kingdom.

Tho' I cannot deny the Authority of the Record which the *Dr. cites, becauſe it is among the Patent Rolls in the *Tower*; yet this does not prove what he endeavours to make out: for it is evident by the Record it ſelf, directed to the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worceſter*, (the very ſame Biſhops who had been with him before about this Matter) that it was not at the time of their laſt Meeting, but ſome days after, when (upon cooler Thoughts, and by the Advice of thoſe Earls and Barons who were Witneſſes to it,) he promiſed that he would obey the Pope's Command in the Buſineſs of the Church of *Canterbury*; and that by the Advice of his Council, not his Privy Council, (as the Doctor here inſinuates) but that of the Eſtates of the Kingdom when they ſhould meet, as appears by the Words of the Record it ſelf, that is to ſay, *Cum Concilio Fidelium Noſtrorum*; *i.e.* By the Advice of our Faithful Subjects; by which Expreſſion, the Great Council of the Kingdom is often underſtood.

But let this Promiſe of the King above-mentioned be made when it would, it is certain, he was then upon ſuch ill Terms with his People, that he durſt never after call a Great Council but when he was forced to it; and therefore it is no wonder if he found no better Succeſs in it, for not taking the Advice and Conſents of his Clergy, Nobility, and People, that they would ſtand by him in this Quarrel with the Pope, it put him upon thoſe ſevere and deſperate Courſes which loſt him the Love and Confidence of his Subjects, and which ended at laſt in a ſhameful Submiſſion to the Pope's Will and Pleaſure, as you will find hereafter. I hope the Reader will pardon this Digreſſion, it being ſo neceſſary for the Illuſtration of the Hiſtory of theſe Times. But to return to where I left off.

[5] After theſe threats, the Biſhops above-mentioned, finding no further hopes of Repentance from the King, they forſook him, and in Lent following, on the Two and Twentieth of *March*, they *Interdicted* the whole Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales* in Obedience to the Pope's Commands; Whereupon there was immediately a Ceſſation of all Eccleſiaſtical *Rites, except *Confeſſion*, *Baptiſm*, of *Infants* and Adminiſtration of the *Euchariſt* to Dying

[5] *M.P.* P. 226.

The Bps. forſake the K. and pronounce the Sentence of the *Interdict.*

* *Sacramenta.*

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Dying Perſons; ſo that the Bodies of the dead were carried out of the Cities and Towns, and buried in the High-ways and Ditches, without any Service, or the Miniſtery of Prieſts. Whereupon the Day following, the King ſent to thoſe Biſhops who had pronounced the *Interdict* his Letter or Writ (which Dr. *Brady* has alſo given us at large,) wherein he Commanded them to deliver to his Juſtitiary *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter* the Letters Patents he had lately given them, concerning what he had promiſed in the buſineſs of the Church of *Canterbury*, ſtill ſaving his Right and Dignity: What was his Intention by this, I am not able to Determine; but it is certain it came too late, for (as I have already ſaid) he never called any Great Council for that purpoſe, as he ought to have done, if he deſigned to have this Affair concluded to the general Satiſfaction of the Kingdom; but the Three Biſhops above-mentioned, who had publiſhed the *Interdict*, as alſo *Joſcelin* Biſhop of *Bath*, and *Giles* Biſhop of *Hereford*, fearing ſome Violence from the King's Diſpleaſure, privately ſtole away, beyond Sea.

• *Vid.* his Appendix. n. 86.

The Three Bp's. who had Publiſhed the *Interdict* leave the Kingdom.

I cannot omit one other paſſage, that [1] Dr. *Brady* has given us from a Writ or Letter, directed to the *Kentiſh* Men, wherein he lets them know, that *Simon de Langton* had lately come to him at *Wincheſter* about *Mid-Lent* laſt paſt, and had there before divers Biſhops deſired him to receive *Stephen* his Brother as Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but that when the King ſpoke to him of preſerving the Royal Dignity in this Affair, he replied, that he could do nothing on his Majeſty's behalf, unleſs he would wholly put himſelf upon his Brother's mercy, with which ſawcy anſwer, the King acquainted them, that ſo they might know the prejudice he had done him; Commanding them alſo, to believe thoſe things which *Reginald de Cornhul* ſhould further tell them on his behalf. From which we may obſerve the intolerable Pride and Inſolence of the Archbiſhop's Relations, which ſo exaſperated the King, that it was no wonder it rendered him more harſh and obſtinate than otherwiſe he would have been.

[1] p. 471. *vid. Appendix.* n. 88.

An account of the K's Letter to the *Kentiſhmen*, ſetting forth the ſaucy behaviour of *Simon Langton*, Brother to the new A. Biſhop.

[2] The King much afraid of this Sentence of *Interdict*, ſent his Sheriffs and other Miniſters into all parts of *England*, Commanding with terrible threats, all Prelates and their inferior Clergy, that they ſhould forthwith depart the Kingdom, and repair to the Pope, requiring him to do the King Juſtice for this Injury: Then he alſo put all Biſhopricks, Abbies and Priories under the Cuſtody of Laymen, Commanding all the Churche's Rents to be Confiſcated. But in this Affair the Prelates (that is) the Abbots as well as Biſhops were ſo cautious, that they would not leave their Houſes and Monaſteries, unleſs they were expelled by Force; which the King's Officers perceiving, durſt not offer them any violence, having had no Command from the King ſo to do: However they converted their Goods to the King's uſe, providing for them Food and Raiment, tho' very ſparingly out of their own Eſtates; the Barns of Clergymen were every where locked up by the King's Command, and the Corn ſeized for his Service.

[2] *M. P. Id. Ib.*

The K. being much afraid of the Clergy baniſhes them the Kingdom, and ſeizes their Eſtates.

But they refuſe to leave it, unleſs expelled by Force.

[3] But that which Plagued them moſt, was, that the * Concubines of the Prieſts and Clerks throughout *England* were impriſoned by the King's Officers, and they forced to pay great Compoſitions

[3] *Id. ib.*

* *Focariæ.*

The Concubines of Prieſts impriſoned, and they themſelves abuſed upon the Road.

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tions for their Liberty: The Monks and all Men in Orders, who were found Travelling upon the Road, were thrown off their Horſes and robbed and abuſed by the King's Souldiers,nor was there any one durſt Right them: Alſo the Kindred and Relations of the Archbiſhop and thoſe Biſhops who pronounced the Sentence of *Interdict*, were by the King's Command deſpoiled of their Goods, and caſt into Priſon; yet notwithſtanding all theſe Evils (ſaith *Matt. Paris*) the aforeſaid Biſhops remained beyond Sea, living in all manner of Delights, *not oppoſing themſelves as a Wall of defence for the Houſe of the Lord; but when they ſaw the Wolf coming, they left their Sheep and fled.*

[4] *Id. ib.* The Goods of ſuch of the Clergy, who would not obey the *Interdict* are reſtored by the King's Writs.

[4] However, for all this Seiſure of the Goods and Temporalities of the Biſhops and Clergy, the King ſometime after reſtored them to ſuch as ſubmitted to him; and to thoſe that Celebrated Divine Service, Adminiſtred the Sacraments, and refuſed to Obey the *Interdict*; he reſtored their Lands and Goods, and only kept thoſe which belonged to ſuch Abbots, Priors, Clerks and other Religious Perſons as had ſubmitted to the *Interdict*; nor indeed did he retain the Eſtates of any Religious or Clergymen,but ſuch as had refuſed to Celebrate Divine Service after this Publication, as appears by divers Writs [5] Dr. *Brady* has given us in the Appendix to his Hiſtory; ſome of which were Iſſued out on the behalf of the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Norwich*, directed to the Sherriffs and other Officers of thoſe Counties where their Lands lay, and who had then the Cuſtody of them from the King.

[5] *Appendix.* n. 89,90,91,92.

[1] *Id. Ib.* n. 93. The K. iſſues out another Precept againſt abuſing Clergy upon pain of death.

[2.] *Ib.* n. 94. As alſo another giving them leave to ſell their Grain.

And for the further ſecurity of all Religious Men, *i. e.* Monks and Clerks; he Iſſued out his Precept, that no Man againſt his Peace ſhould abuſe either Clerks or Religious Perſons in Word or Deed; and if they did, and could be taken, they ſhould be hanged upon the next Tree; likewiſe as by [2] another Writ for their Grain he permitted all Biſhops Priors, Religious Perſons and Clerks (tho' their Barns had been before ſhut up) to ſell it until the Feaſt of St. *Catherine*, that is, the 25th of *November*; from which Records we may obſerve the Partiality of the Monkiſh writers of thoſe times, who often repreſent this King more rigorous to the Clergy than indeed he was.

[3] *Id. ib.* The K. finding himſelf ſlighted, and hated by his Subjects, demands Pledges of his Nobility whom he ſuſpected. But the ſame being demanded of the Wife of *William de Brauſe*, refuſes to deliver her Sons, and her ſharp anſwer, for which ſhe is reproved by her Husband.

[3] Yet for all this King *John* now finding himſelf not only diſregarded, but hated by his Subjects for his Exorbitant and Tyrannical proceedings, and fearing leſt as a further addition to theſe Evils, the Pope might alſo abſolve them from their Allegiance to him, required all the great Men or Nobility of his Kingdom whom he ſuſpected, to deliver him Pledges or Hoſtages for their future Fidelity; hereupon ſeveral complied with his Injunctions; Some delivered their Sons, others their Nephews, or neareſt Relations to the Meſſengers ſent for that purpoſe, ſome of whom coming to *William de Brauſe* a Baron of Note, his Wife, a Lady of more Wit than Diſcretion, taking the words out of her Husbands mouth, thus raſhly anſwered them; *I ſhall never deliver my Sons to the King to be kept, who killed his own Nephew* Arthur *whilſt he was in his Cuſtody*; which when her Husband heard, he reproved her for ſo rude a Reflection, and modeſtly replied, that if he had offended the King in any thing, he was ready without a-

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any Pledges to make him Satisfaction according to the Judgment of his Court, and of the Barons his Peers, at any time and Place aſſigned him; but when the Meſſengers returned to the King, and they had told him what they had heard, he was in ſo great a tranſport of Paſſion, that he ſent ſome of his Officers and Soldiers privately to ſeize upon this *William* and all his Family, and bring them before him, but this Baron being forewarned by his Friends, immediately fled with his Wife, Children and Relations into *Ireland*, where you will find this bold Truth coſt this poor Lady and her Children their Lives.

The K. being incenſed at this Reply, ſends to ſeize the ſaid *William* and his Wife, but they eſcape into *Ireland*.

About this Time, the King grew ſo Jealous of the Queen, that (if *Matt. Weſtminſter* may be credited) he accuſed her of Adultery, and commanded her to be kept a cloſe Priſoner; and cauſed ſeveral whom he ſuſpected to have had to do with her, to be Executed; tho' our Author does not give us their Names, nor can I find this Paſſage mentioned in any other Writer of that Time; but it ſeems the Queen did not remain very long under this Diſgrace, for the Year following ſhe was brought to Bed of another Son, as you will find anon.

The K. grows jealous of his Wife, and puts ſeveral Perſons to death whom he ſuſpected to have had to do with her.

Alſo the ſame Author takes notice of a great Eclipſe of the Sun, that happened this Year in the Beginning of *March*, but does not name the Day.

As for what happened this Year in Foreign parts, I find no more than that *Philip* Duke of *Swevia* and Emperor of *Germany*, who had been for ſeveral Years Competitor with *Otto* Duke of *Saxony*, for that Imperial Throne, was murthered in his Bed-chamber by *Otto*, Count Palatine of *Wittolsbach*, whereupon the ſaid Duke was Elected Emperor in his ſtead, tho' he did not long enjoy it.

[4] *Vid. H. Mutij* Chron. *ſub hoc Anno.*

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King *John* this Year kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Briſtol*, where he Iſſued out a Precept or Proclamation, forbidding the taking of all ſorts of feathered Game, throughout *England*, which being the firſt Edict of this kind Iſſued by any King before, I thought fit to take notice of it, as an Act of this King's Arbitrary Power.

[5] *Id. P.* 228.

The K. iſſues out a Proclamation forbidding the taking of all ſorts of Game

Not long after there aroſe ſo great Difference between King *John* and the King of *Scots*, about his receiving ſome Out-laws who had fled out of *England*, and alſo for marrying his Daughter to the Earl of *Boloigne* without his Conſent, that King *John* raiſed a great Army, and marched toward *Scotland*; but when he came to *Norham* Caſtle in *Northumberland*, the King of *Scots* being afraid of the Conſequence, met him, and deſired Peace. Upon this King *John* reproved him for receiving and favouring his Fugitives and Enemies; but by the mediation of Friends to both Nations, they made up this Breach upon theſe Terms, that the King of *Scots* ſhould pay unto King *John* Eleven thouſand Marks of Silver, and that his two Daughters ſhould be delivered as Pledges for the better ſecuring of the Peace between them.

Ib.

King *John* marches againſt the K. of *Scots*, who being afraid, makes Peace with the K. upon his own Terms.

The King in his return from this Expedition did another Act which favoured too much of arbitrary Power; for he Ordained, that the Hedges ſhould be Burnt, and the Ditches filled up throughout all the Foreſts of *England*, and the Corn and Graſs to be every where left to the Deer; upon his coming home, he received

Another Act of arbitrary Power committed by the King

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tions for their Liberty : The Monks and all Men in Orders, who were found Travelling upon the Road, were thrown off their Horſes and robbed and abuſed by the King's Souldiers,nor was there any one durſt Right them : Alſo the Kindred and Relations of the Archbiſhop and thoſe Biſhops who pronounced the Sentence of *Interdict*, were by the King's Command deſpoiled of their Goods, and caſt into Priſon; yet notwithſtanding all theſe Evils (ſaith *Matt. Paris*) the aforeſaid Biſhops remained beyond Sea, living in all manner of Delights. *not oppoſing themſelves as a Wall of defence for the Houſe of the Lord; but when they ſaw the Wolf coming, they left their Sheep and fled.*

[4] *Id. ib.* The Goods of ſuch of the Clergy, who would not obey the *Interdict* are reſtored by the King's Writs.

[5] *Appendix.* n. 89,90,91,92.

[4] However, for all this Seiſure of the Goods and Temporalities of the Biſhops and Clergy, the King ſometime after reſtored them to ſuch as ſubmitted to him; and to thoſe that Celebrated Divine Service, Adminiſtred the Sacraments, and refuſed to Obey the *Interdict*; he reſtored their Lands and Goods, and only kept thoſe which belonged to ſuch Abbots, Priors, Clerks and other Religious Perſons as had ſubmitted to the *Interdict*; nor indeed did he retain the Eſtates of any Religious or Clergymen,but ſuch as had refuſed to Celebrate Divine Service after this Publication, as appears by divers Writs [5] Dr. *Brady* has given us in the Appendix to his Hiſtory; ſome of which were Iſſued out on the behalf of the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Norwich*, directed to the Sherriffs and other Officers of thoſe Counties where their Lands lay, and who had then the Cuſtody of them from the King.

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And for the further ſecurity of all Religious Men, *i. e.* Monks and Clerks; he Iſſued out his Precept, that no Man againſt his Peace ſhould abuſe either Clerks or Religious Perſons in Word or Deed; and if they did, and could be taken, they ſhould be hanged upon the next Tree; likewiſe as by [2] another Writ for their Grain he permitted all Biſhops Priors, Religious Perſons and Clerks (tho' their Barns had been before ſhut up) to ſell it until the Feaſt of St. *Catherine*, that is, the 25th of *November*; from which Records we may obſerve the Partiality of the Monkiſh writers of thoſe times, who often repreſent this King more rigorous to the Clergy than indeed he was.

[3] *Id. ib.* The K. finding himſelf ſlighted, and hated by his Subjects, demands Pledges of his Nobility whom he ſuſpected. But the ſame being demanded of the Wife of *William de Brauſe*, refuſes to deliver her Sons, and her ſharp anſwer, for which ſhe is reproved by her Husband.

[3] Yet for all this King *John* now finding himſelf not only diſregarded, but hated by his Subjects for his Exorbitant and Tyrannical proceedings, and fearing leſt as a further addition to theſe Evils, the Pope might alſo abſolve them from their Allegiance to him, required all the great Men or Nobility of his Kingdom whom he ſuſpected, to deliver him Pledges or Hoſtages for their future Fidelity; hereupon ſeveral complied with his Injunctions; Some delivered their Sons, others their Nephews, or neareſt Relations to the Meſſengers ſent for that purpoſe, ſome of whom coming to *William de Brauſe* a Baron of Note, his Wife, a Lady of more Wit than Diſcretion, taking the words out of her Husbands mouth, thus raſhly anſwered them; *I ſhall never deliver my Sons to the King to be kept, who killed his own Nephew* Arthur *whilſt he was in his Cuſtody*; which when her Husband heard, he reproved her for ſo rude a Reflection, and modeſtly replied, that if he had offended the King in any thing, he was ready without any

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any Pledges to make him Satisfaction according to the Judgment of his Court, and of the Barons his Peers, at any time and Place aſſigned him; but when the Meſſengers returned to the King, and they had told him what they had heard, he was in ſo great a tranſport of Paſſion, that he ſent ſome of his Officers and Soldiers privately to ſeize upon this *William* and all his Family, and bring them before him, but this Baron being forewarned by his Friends, immediately fled with his Wife, Children and Relations into *Ireland*, where you will find this bold Truth coſt this poor Lady and her Children their Lives.

The K. being incenſed at this Reply, ſends to ſeize the ſaid *William* and his Wife, but they eſcape into *Ireland*.

About this Time, the King grew ſo Jealous of the Queen, that (if *Matt. Weſtminſter* may be credited) he accuſed her of Adultery, and commanded her to be kept a cloſe Priſoner; and cauſed ſeveral whom he ſuſpected to have had to do with her, to be Executed; tho' our Author does not give us their Names, nor can I find this Paſſage mentioned in any other Writer of that Time; but it ſeems the Queen did not remain very long under this Diſgrace, for the Year following ſhe was brought to Bed of another Son, as you will find anon.

The K. grows jealous of his Wife, and puts ſeveral Perſons to death whom he ſuſpected to have had to do with her.

Alſo the ſame Author takes notice of a great Eclipſe of the Sun, that happened this Year in the Beginning of *March*, but does not name the Day.

As for what happened this Year in Foreign parts, I find no more than that *Philip* Duke of *Swevia* and Emperor of *Germany*, who had been for ſeveral Years Competitor with *Otto* Duke of *Saxony*, for that Imperial Throne, was murthered in his Bed-chamber by *Otto*, Count Palatine of *Wittolsbach*, whereupon the ſaid Duke was Elected Emperor in his ſtead, tho' he did not long enjoy it.

[4] *Vid. H. Mutij* Chron. *ſub hoc anno.*

Anno Dom. MCCIX.

King *John* this Year kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Briſtol*, where he Iſſued out a Precept or Proclamation, forbidding the taking of all ſorts of feathered Game, throughout *England*, which being the firſt Edict of this kind Iſſued by any King before, I thought fit to take notice of it, as an Act of this King's Arbitrary Power.

[5] *Id. P.* 228.

The K. iſſues out a Proclamation forbidding the taking of all ſorts of Game

Ib.

Not long after there aroſe ſo great Difference between King *John* and the King of *Scots*, about his receiving ſome Out-laws who had fled out of *England*, and alſo for marrying his Daughter to the Earl of *Boloigne* without his Conſent, that King *John* raiſed a great Army, and marched toward *Scotland*; but when he came to *Norham* Caſtle in *Northumberland*, the King of *Scots* being afraid of the Conſequence, met him, and deſired Peace. Upon this King *John* reproved him for receiving and favouring his Fugitives and Enemies; but by the mediation of Friends to both Nations, they made up this Breach upon theſe Terms, that the King of *Scots* ſhould pay unto King *John* Eleven thouſand Marks of Silver, and that his two Daughters ſhould be delivered as Pledges for the better ſecuring of the Peace between them.

King *John* marches againſt the K. of *Scots*, who being afraid, makes Peace with the K. upon his own Terms.

The King in his return from this Expedition did another Act which favoured too much of arbitrary Power; for he Ordained, that the Hedges ſhould be Burnt, and the Ditches filled up throughout all the Foreſts of *England*, and the Corn and Graſs to be every where left to the Deer; upon his coming home, he received

Another Act of arbitrary Power committed by the King.

Homage

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He makes all his Tenants to renew their Homage and Fealty to him.

Homage of all his *Free-Tenants* (even Boys of Twelve Years of Age) through the whole Kingdom, whom, after they had done their Fealty, he received kindly, and diſmiſſed them with the uſual Ceremony when Homage is paid, the kiſs of Peace; tho' this was very burdenſome as well to the Rich as Poor; alſo the *Welſhmen* then came to the King at *Woodſtock*, and performed their Homage to him, and ſo were ſent home with good Words.

[1] *Id.* 228.

A great diſturbance in the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

[1] This Year happened an unlucky Accident, which for ſome time was a great prejudice to the Univerſity of *Oxford*. A certain Clerk, who there followed his Studies, having by chance killed a Woman, made his eſcape, whereupon the Mayor of the City and ſeveral others attending him to the Place, found the Woman ſlain; but not the Murtherer; in whoſe Lodgings they ſeized Three other Clerks that lived in the ſame Houſe, which they had hired together; Theſe being taken and put into Priſon, were a few days after by the King's Order carried out of Town, and hanged, in contempt of Eccleſiaſtical Liberty; upon which near 3000 Scholars, as well Maſters as Pupils, left that Univerſity, ſome going to *Cambridge*, and others to *Reading*, ſo that there was ſcarce a Scholar remained in the Town: I mention this to let you ſee, how much *Oxford* flouriſhed in thoſe times.

[2] *Id. ib.*

The Pope commands certain Bp's. to declare the K. Excommunicated, but they neglect to do it.

[2] The *Interdict* had now continued Two Years, when Pope *Innocent* finding no hopes of King *John's* amendment, and making ſatisfaction for the violence he had done to all ſorts of Perſons, as well Laicks as Eccleſiaſtics, and reſolving not to ſuffer his Obſtinacy (which our Author calls Rebellion) to go any longer unpuniſhed; wherefore by the Advice of his Cardinals he Commanded the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worceſter*, to pronounce him *Excommunicate*; that ſo by publiſhing the Sentence every *Sunday*, and *Holiday*, in all Conventual Churches throughout *England*, they might cauſe him to be ſtrictly avoided by all Men; but when thoſe Biſhops would have committed the Publication of the Sentence to their Brother Biſhops and other Prelates that remained in *England*, they all became like dumb Dogs, either through favour, or fear of the King, and durſt not Bark; but tho' they made a ſhew as if they would Execute what was enjoined them, yet they did not proceed in performing the Pope's Command according to the due Form: However the Sentence was ſo well known every where, that it became the Subject of all Men's Diſcourſe; amongſt the reſt *Geoffrie* Archdeacon of *Norwich*, as he ſate in the Exchequer upon the King's buſineſs, conferred with his Aſſociates about the late Sentence pronounced againſt the King, ſaying, it was not ſafe for Beneficed Men to remain any longer in the Service of an Excommunicated King, and ſo he went away without leave; the King having notice of it, ſent *William Talbot* a Knight after him with a Band of Soldiers, who being taken, and put in Irons into a cloſe Priſon, after a few Days he had by the King's Command a Leaden Cope put upon him, with the preſſure, of which, and for want of Victuals, he died.

Geoffery Archdeacon of *Norwich* upon the hearing of this Sentence, ſpeaks certain words againſt the K. which he hearing of, orders him to be tormented and ſtarved to death.

[3] *Id. Ib. p.* 229.

[3] Nor muſt I here omit a Matter, tho' in it ſelf of no great moment, yet, is not amiſs to be inſerted, to ſhew us the Temper of ſome Eccleſiaſtic's of thoſe times, who taking the contrary Extreme,

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Cæmentarius. A Relation of the flattering Sermons of *Alexander*, Sirnamed the *Maſon*.

treme flattered the King as much as the others diſobeyed him; amongſt whom was was one Monſ. *Alexander*, Sirnamed the *Maſon*, who had been a famous Reader of Divinity in *Paris*; yet our Author calls him a falſe or counterfeit Theologue, becauſe by his flattering Sermons the King was not a little moved to Cruelty; for he Preached that this general Plague upon *England*, did not proceed from any fault of the King's, but from the Sins of the People, affirming, *that the King was only the Scourge of God's Anger, and Ordained to Rule his People with a Rod of Iron, and to break them in pieces like a Potter's Veſſel; to bind their Princes in Chains, and their Nobles with links of Iron*: And he alſo proved by divers probable Arguments, that it did not belong to the Pope to concern himſelf with the Secular Power of Princes, or the Government of their Subjects, ſince there was no ſuch Power conferred by *Jeſus Chriſt* on St. *Peter*, but that which was meerly Spiritual, over the Church and Eccleſiaſtical matters: By which fulſome Sermons, he ſo inſinuated himſelf into the King's favour, that he thereby obtained the Benefices of which others were deprived; but when the Pope heard of it, he after his Reconciliation with the King, turned this Man out of all his Livings, and he was at laſt reduced to ſuch neceſſity, as that in a wretched Habit he begged his Bread from Door to Door.

This ſhews us how Princes commonly leave ſuch Flatterers to ſhift for themſelves, when once they have ſerved a preſent Turn.

[4] *Id.* p. 229. *Hugh de Wells* the K's Chancellor is choſen B. of *Lincoln*, who pretending he would go to the Archbiſhop of *Rouen* for Conſecration, goes to him of *Canterbury*, whereupon the K. ſeizes his Temporalities.

[4] About this time *William* Biſhop of *Lincoln* being dead, ſome Years before, *Hugh de Wells* the King's Chancellor was choſen Biſhop, who thereupon obtained leave of the King to go into *France*, under a pretence that he might receive his Conſecration from the Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, and preſently return home: But he ſerved the King a ſlippery Trick, for as ſoon as he arrived in *Normandy*, he immediately went to the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, then Reſiding at the Abby of *Pontignie*, and was there Conſecrated by him, and performed Canonical Obedience to him; which the King no ſooner heard of, but he found out a way to be even with him: for preſently he ſeized, and confiſcated the Profits of the Biſhoprick, and delivering the Seal to *Walter de Gray*, made him his Chancellor.

[5] *Sub hoc Anno.*

The K. ſends certain Commiſſioners to meet the Bp's of *Lon. Ely*, &c. who treat about his Reconciliation with the A. Bp and the reſt of the Clergy.

I muſt now mention a remarkable Tranſaction that happened this Year in Eccleſiaſtical matters, which I think I ought not to Omit, tho' I find it mentioned in no other Author, except the Annals of *Waverlie*, the Compiler of which Part lived in thoſe times; and he relates, that upon the King's going into *Scotland*, he ſent certain Biſhops, Earls and other Barons, Commiſſioners, to *Canterbury*, there to meet the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worceſter*, who were ſent for by the King out of *France* to Treat on the Pope's behalf, concerning a Reconciliation between him and the Archbiſhop, with the reſt of the Clergy; who all meeting at the time and place appointed, in a few Days they ſo far adjuſted all matters, that the Articles being drawn into writing, were Sealed by the Commiſſioners of both Sides; and ſo Returning to the King, he yielded that a Reſtitution ſhould be made to the Archbiſhop, and the Four Biſhops who were laſt mentioned, as alſo to the Biſhop

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The K. not agreeing to an entire Reſtitution of what had been taken away from the Bps and Clergy, The Treaty breaks off, and the Bps ſend him a ſhort Letter.

of *Hereford*, with an Hundred Pounds, beſides to each of them an Earneſt of an entire Reſtitution of what had been taken from them; but when the Biſhops inſiſted on this Article on the behalf of all the reſt, it much diſpleaſed the King; yet theſe Biſhops would not agree to change either that, or any other Article, but wrote him a ſhort Letter, the Contents whereof were, ‘ That if He and his Miniſters would without any delay entirely reſtore what had been ‘ taken from all other Churches and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, they ‘ would then bring the Archbiſhop to his See, and not otherwiſe; but it ſeems the King not conſenting to it, the Biſhops went back again, and yet delayed publiſhing the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the King's Perſon, till Eight days after *Michaelmas*.

[1] *Id. ib.* The K. ſends for the A.Bp. to *Dover*, who comes over upon the K's Safe Conduct, together with the Bps laſt mentioned.

[1] Upon this the King ſent for the Archbiſhop to *Dover*, with Letters of Safe-Conduct, under the Hands of divers of his Great Men, for he would not truſt the King alone; and upon that ſecurity, the Archbiſhop came to *Dover* with the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, about the beginning of *October*; and notice being given to the King of it, he came with ſeveral of his Nobles, as far as *Chilham*, and from thence ſent *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, his Juſticiary, together with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſome other Great Men, as his Commiſſioners to treat with him, and by them he required of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, certain Articles, which they would by no means agree to, but reſolved to adhere unalterably to the Form of Reconciliation above-mentioned, and ſo the Treaty broke off, and the Biſhops returned to the Place from whence they came.

Where the Treaty is again renewed, but upon the Bps refuſal to agree to certain Articles, this Treaty alſo breaks off, as before.

What theſe Articles were, which the King required, our Author does not tell us; but it is moſt likely, that they imported his being excuſed from making an Entire Reſtitution, of what he had taken away from them; and if ſo, then indeed it was only the King's forCovetouſneſs that hinder'd this Agreement; for as for owning *Stephen Langton* for Archbiſhop, it is certain he had already conſented to that; yet after this, the King would have again renewed the Treaty, and offered the Archbiſhop four thouſand Marks, in lieu of what had been taken from him; but neither he nor the reſt of the Biſhops would come over, which I ſtill ſuppoſe was, becauſe the King refuſed to make an Entire Reſtitution of the Goods of the Clergy.

[2] The Q. is delivered of another Son, named *Richard*

[2] Nothing elſe happened conſiderable in *England*, but that the Queen was on the Vigil of the *Epiphany* delivered of a Second Son, called *Richard*, who was afterwards Earl of *Cornwall*, and King of the *Romans*.

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[3] *M.P.* p.229. The K. keeps his *Chriſtmas* at *Windſor*, where all the great Men and Commons of *England* attend him. The K. again extorts a great Sum of Money both from the Clergy & Laiety, without their Conſents.

[3] King *John* this Year kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Windſor*, where all the Great Men of *England* attended him, and freely converſed with him, notwithſtanding the late Sentence of Excommunication; yet that it was more out of Fear than Love appears by our Author, who ſays, That the King only watched for an Advantage over thoſe who withdrew or abſented themſelves from his Preſence; yet it ſeems they did not agree to the King's Demands, for the Annals of *Waverly* further tell us, That not long after, the King, under pretence of recovering *Normandy*, and his other Territories beyond Sea from the King of *France*, took an unaccountable Sum of Money from his

Subjects,

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Subjects, ſparing neither Clergy nor Laiety, except the Black Monks, whoſe Revenues he had received the Year before; alſo the *Knights-Hoſpitallers* and *Templars* were forced about *Eaſter* to pay a great Fine to the King. [4] Then the *Jews* of both Sexes were by the King's Command ſeized all over *England*, and cruelly Treated, till they would ranſom themſelves, according to the King's Pleaſure; ſome of whom were ſo grievouſly tormented, that they gave up all they had, and promiſed more, that ſo they might eſcape ſuch Cruel, and various kinds of Torments.

[4] *M. P. Ib.*

Here our Author gives us a Relation of a Jew at *Briſtol*, who being cruelly Tormented, yet was ſo hard-hearted, that he would not ranſom himſelf with any Money; the King hearing of it, ordered, That his Tormentors ſhould every day pull out one of his Cheek Teeth, till he would pay down Ten thouſand Marks; ſo they pulled out Seven of them in as many Days, but on the Eighth day, when they were about to go on with their work, he relented; and ſo with the loſs of ſeven Teeth, parted with Ten thouſand Marks to ſave the reſt; yet am I not ſatisfied that the King extorted all this Money from the Subjects contrary to the Law, ſince it appears from the Patent Roll of this Year, that the Archbiſhops and * Great Men gave the King an Aid, for the Defence of the Kingdom and Recovery of his Territories from the King of *France*.

A Jew of *Briſtol* tho' cruelly tormented, yet would part with no Money till 7 of his Teeth were pull'd out.

* *Magnates Regni.*

[5] *Id.* p.230.

[5] But inſtead of this, the King having raiſed a powerful Army, paſſed over with it into *Ireland*, in the beginning of *June*; and when he was come to the City of *Dublin*, there met him more than Twenty Petty Kings and Princes of that Country, who being all ſtruck with a Pannick Fear, did him Homage and Fealty; and there were very few remain'd at Home, except thoſe who Inhabited the inacceſſible Parts of the Kingdom.

The K. raiſes an Army and paſſes into *Ireland*, where all the Kings and Princes did him Homage, except ſome few.

Then the King cauſed the *Engliſh* Laws and Cuſtoms to be there Eſtabliſhed, placing Sheriffs and other Officers who were to govern the People of that Kingdom, according to the Laws of *England*; He alſo made *John de Grey*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, his Chief Juſticiary, who cauſed Money to be there Coin'd of the ſame Weight and Fineneſs with that of *England*; ſo that the like Money might be common in both Kingdoms. When theſe things were diſpatch'd, the King marching with a powerful Army, took a great many of his Enemy's ſtrong holds, and ſubdued the Province of *Connaught*, and took *Cathol*, King thereof, Priſoner; He alſo ſeized the Lands and Caſtles of *Walter de Lacy* (a Nobleman then in Rebellion) who with many others flying before him, dreaded nothing more than to fall into his Hands; then coming into the Province of *Meath*, he there took *Maud* the Wife of *William de Brauſe*, and her Son *William* together with his Wife, in a certain Caſtle; who being all brought before the King, laden with heavy Fetters, he ſent them over into *England*, to be kept cloſe Priſoners in the Caſtle of *Windſor*, where not long after they all, by the King's Order, periſhed with Hunger; only *William de Brauſe* the Husband, eſcaping out of *Ireland* in Diſguiſe into *France*, died not long after, near *Paris*.

The K. cauſes the *Engliſh* Laws to be Eſtabliſhed, and makes the Bp of *Norwich* Juſticiary, who coined Money there, of the ſame Value with that of *England*

The K. marches into the Country, and ſubdues *Connaught*, and ſeizes the Lands and Caſtles of ſeveral Noblemen in Rebellion.

He takes the Wife and Son of *Will. de Brauſe*, Priſoners, who are ſtarved to Death in *Windſor-Caſtle*.

[1] King *John* having thus reduced the greateſt Part of *Ireland* to his Obedience, made haſt to return into *England*, becauſe he heard that the *Welſh*, who were Confederates of *Hugh Lacy* and *William de*

[1] *Id. ib.*

The K. haſtes to return into *England*, and why.

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As ſoon as the K. arrives he Summons all the Clergy, & Religious Orders before him, whom he makes to pay vaſt Fines.

The *Ciſtercian* Order are ſo impoveriſh'd, that they were forced to quarter upon other Orders.

Brauſe, were about to Invade *England*; wherefore the King embarking, landed in *Wales* on the 30th of *Auguſt*, and making great haſt to *London*, cauſed all the Prelates and Clergy, and Religious Orders of *England*, to appear before him; upon which General Summons, there came all the Abbots, Priors, Abeſſes, *Knights-Templars* and *Hoſpitallers*, with the Guardians of the *Citercian Order*, and other Tranſmarine Aliens of what Order ſoever; who were all forced to make ſuch great Fines, that it was reported, the Sum amounted to an Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*; for the White Monks alone were forced to pay to the King 40000*l.* of Silver, beſides what he took from other Orders. The Annals of *Waverly*, (notwithſtanding their Exemptions) alſo tell us, That he exacted from the *Ciſtercian Order* alone, the Sum of above Three and Thirty thouſand Marks; by which Exaction, they were ſo much impoveriſhed, that they were diſperſed through the Monaſteries of all the other Monks in *England*; and the King was ſo great an Enemy to this Order, that he forbad any of them to paſs over beyond Sea, or to come over hither.

The Reaſon of the K's great Severity to this Order.

But *Walter* of *Coventry* gives us the Reaſon, why the King was more ſevere to the Monks of this Order, than to any other, becauſe that they relying upon their great Privileges, would by no means conſent to contribute to the Taxes, which all others of the Clergy then paid; ſo that to be revenged of them, he Confiſcated their Goods, nor would permit them to hold any General Chapter of their Order, till at laſt they were forced to part with a great Sum of Money, to pacify the King's Diſpleaſure againſt them. Theſe things (ſaith my Author) were the more eaſily done, becauſe many of the Biſhops, whoſe Duty it was to ſtand up for the Liberties of the Church, were now abſent beyond Sea, and thoſe that ſtayed here, loved rather to enjoy their Eſtate in Quiet, than to oppoſe the King; but as for the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he was ſo far from oppoſing it, that he was the Chief Inſtrument the King made uſe of in all his Exorbitant Actions. And here, were I only to follow *Matt. Paris*, I need ſay nothing farther concerning the New Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but the Annals of *Waverly* have given us an Account of another Tranſaction between the King and him, which I can find no where elſe, *viz.* That King *John* now ſent him Letters of Safe-Conduct, under the Seals of divers of his Nobility, as he had done the laſt Year, inviting him to come over, and meet the King at *Dover*; for which end he came thither in Perſon; but the Archbiſhop hearing that none of thoſe Nobles whoſe Lettres he had received, were come thither with him, would not venture over; and ſo the King return'd Home, much more enraged againſt him than before.

The K. invites the A Bp to meet him again at *Dover*, but he refuſes to come, and for what Reaſon.

[2] *M P.* 229. The Emperor *Otto* and the Pope falling out, he Excommunicates him, and diſcharges his Subjects from their Allegiance.

As for Foreign Affairs, I find nothing worth remarking, but that the [2] Emperor *Otto* having been the Year before ſolemnly Crown'd at *Rome* by *Innocent*, then Pope; he now notwitſtanding quarrelled with him, becauſe the Emperor had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Sicily*, and had taken divers Caſtles, and other Territories belonging to the Empire, which had been Uſurped by the Pope and *Fretheric*, late King of *Sicily*, during the laſt Vacancy of the Imperial Throne; the Emperor alledging, that he was bound by his Coronation-Oath to recover them, and the Pope aſſenting that they did not belong to him, and thereupon *Excommunicated* him, and Abſolved all his Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance to him.

King *John* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *York*, his Earls and Barons attending him there; [3] after which he went to * *Whit-Church* in *Shropſhire*, and being there met by a very great Army, he marched into the furthermoſt Parts of *Wales*, as far as *Snowdun*; ſo that the Petty Princes and Nobles ſubmitted without any Oppoſition; and then to ſecure their future Subjection, he took of them 28 Hoſtages, and ſo return'd with Honour and good Succeſs to *Whit-Church* the 15th of *Auguſt*; and going from thence to *Northampton*, there met him *Pandolf*, who (tho' but a Sub-Deacon, yet) being much in favour with the Pope, was come over hither as his Legate, accompanied with one *Durand* a *Knight-Templar* as an Aſſiſtant, they being ſent on purpoſe into *England* to make Peace between the King and the Eccleſiaſticks; then at their Requeſt and Mediation the King freely granted, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Monks, and all the Proſcribed Biſhops might return in Peace and Security to their own Palaces; but becauſe the King would not make Satisfaction for the Goods of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, which were Confiſcated, and for the Damages he had done them, the Treaty came to nothing, and the *Nuntio* and his Aſſiſtant returned into *France*.

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[3] *Id.*

* *Alba Monaſterium.*

The K. keeps his *Chriſtmas* at *York*, and then raiſing a great Army marches againſt the *Welſh*, whoſe Princes ſubmit, and give Hoſtages. *Pandolf* the Pope's Legate meets the K. at *Northampton*, where the K. agrees to receive the A Bp, and the reſt of the Bps, but breaks off upon the old Article of Reſtitution.

But the Annals of the Monaſteries of *Burton* and *Waverly*, (the Former under this, and the Latter under the Enſuing Year) have given us an Account of a long Dialogue between the King and the Legate; and becauſe it may ſerve to ſhew you the Obſtinate Humour of this King, as alſo the Inſolent Pretenſions of the Pope over the Kings and Princes of that Age, I ſhall here give you an Abſtract of it, being to this Effect:

'The Pope's *Nuntio* being admitted into the King's Preſence, 'were asked by him the Cauſe of their Coming; They told him, 'That it was to Reconcile him to the Church, and prevail upon 'him to Swear to reſtore whatſoever he had taken from it, and alſo 'to receive the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his fellow Biſhops in 'Peace; to all which the King freely anſwered, I will reveal to 'you the Secrets of my Heart, you may make me Swear what you 'pleaſe, yet I will never give him ſuch a Safe Conduct, but that I 'may cauſe him to be Hanged whenever he enters my Kingdom: 'Hereupon, they told him, It was very well they knew his Mind; 'and then asking him if he would ſay any thing further, he anſwered, he had ſpoken what he had to ſay; whereupon they replied, that they hoped he would have ſaid ſomething to prove 'the Juſtice of his Cauſe, or elſe to give the Pope ſome Satisfaction; 'whereas all they had hitherto heard him ſay, tended rather to 'make them confirm the *Interdict*, than releaſe it.

An Account from the Annals of *Burton* and *Waverly*, of what paſſed between the K. and the Legate at this Meeting.

'The King being moved at this, replied, That he granted the 'Pope to be his Spiritual Father, and, as St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor, he 'ought to obey him in Spiritual things, but not in Secular, which 'concerned his Crown; and then he proceeded to ſhew the great 'Breach of Truſt committed by thoſe 14 Monks of *Canterbury*, who 'at his own Expence had been ſent to *Rome*, by whom indeed he had 'written to the Pope, that whomſoever they ſhould Elect for Arch-

'biſhop

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‘ biſhop (provided he were an *Engliſhman*) he would own him; but that thoſe Monks had ſurprized him in Vacating the Election of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Chuſing Cardinal *Stephen*; then he ſet forth the antient Rights of his Anceſtors, who had always Nominated the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, and that St. *Wulſtan* had received his Croſier at the Hands of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*; yet that the Pope would now deprive him of all thoſe Liberties which his Predeceſſors had enjoy'd.

‘ To which Maſter *Pandolf* replied, That whereas he alledged, the Pope had only power in Spiritual Things and not in Temporal, he would have him to know, That he ought to obey the Pope in Temporal, as well as in Spiritual Things; and then preſſed him with his *Coronation-Oath*, as if by Swearing he would protect the Rights of the Church, there was included a tacite Obedience to the Pope in all things whatſoever; Then they proceeded to give a long Account to Juſtifie the laſt Election made by the Monks at *Rome*, urging againſt him his own Letter to the Pope, by which he had authorized them to chuſe any *Engliſhman* Archbiſhop, which could not well conſiſt with the Election of the Biſhop of *Norwich*; then as to what he urged concerning the Rights of his Predeceſſors in conferring the Archbiſhoprick; they replied, That he was not Heir to *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, but to King *William* the *Baſtard*, who (as likewiſe himſelf and all his Progenitors) always endeavoured to deſtroy the Church; and that he rather now preferred the Wicked Laws of *William* the *Baſtard*, than the Good and Juſt Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*; but as for what he alledged concerning the King his Father's Nominating *Thomas Becket* to be Archbiſhop, that after the Archbiſhop's Martyrdom, King *Henry* had by his Charter granted to the Monks of *Canterbury*, a full Power for the future to Elect an Archbiſhop without the Conſent of the Biſhops; and that thereupon the ſaid Monks then Elected *Richard*, Prior of *Dover*, Archbiſhop; to which (tho' Falſe in matter of fact) the King replied nothing; but that his Father could not do it, to the Prejudice of his Succeſſors; Then *Pandolf* anſwered, but You your ſelf have agreed to it, and ſworn to obſerve what they have granted, and have thereby confirmed it, wherefore then ſhould you not obſerve it? Then after ſome Silence the King offer'd, That out of reſpect to the Pope, he would conſent, that if he would deprive this New Archbiſhop, and Nominate any other Perſon, he would receive him; to which the Legate returned, That the *Holy Church* could not degrade an Archbiſhop without manifeſt Cauſe, but would rather humble Kings and Princes than proved Rebels to her; Then the King repl'd, *You only threaten*; *You ſuppoſe ſo to ſubject me to You as you have done the Emperor* OTTO, *my Nephew*; which the Legate granted to be true, and ſaid, That his Lord, the Pope, very well knew, that as he had made him Emperor, ſo he had alſo depoſed him; ſo could he alſo Humble the King as well as any other Prince; who thereupon replied, That they could ſpeak more ill, than they were able to perform; the Legate to this replied, That as the King had diſcovered to them the Secrets of his Heart, ſo they would do the like to him, and therefore they would let him know, That the Pope had already *Excommunicated* him,

‘ altho'

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‘altho' the Execution of the Sentence was ſuſpended till their coming into *England*; that therefore ſince he continued Contumacious, he was further to know, That he now ſtood *Excommunicated*; Then the King asking him, what they could do more? The Legate to this return'd, That he was further to take Notice, That whoever for the future kept him Company, ſtood likewiſe involved in the ſame Sentence; and upon the King's repeating the ſame Queſtion, he added, That they now (that very Day) Abſolved all Earls, Barons, Knights, and all Clergy-men, and Free Lay-men from their Fealties and Homages in which they ſtood obliged to him, and would leave the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Norwich* to ſee it perform'd; and that they would Abſolve all thoſe who would take up Arms againſt Him. Nor was this any hard Matter, becauſe divers Princes, Dukes, Earls, and Barons, had two years ſince offer'd the Pope to Invade the Kingdom, and ſubdue it for whom he ſhould pleaſe to beſtow it; pretending alſo, that whenever the Pope ſent his Army into *England*, all the People ſhould reſort to his General, or elſe ſhould be reduced to perpetual Servitude; but when the King asked again, what they could do more? The Legate plainly told him, That neither He nor any Heir of his, ſhould from that day forward wear the Crown; at which the King replied with ſome concern, that tho' they had pretended to come over to Promote his Cauſe, yet he now plainly ſaw, that it was only to Depoſe him. Then he ſwore *By him who rules all Things, That if they again entred his Kingdom, he would make them and theirs Ride for a Year*. What the King meant by this I know not, but the Legate took it in that Senſe, as if he would order them both to be Hang'd; yet told him, That they had hitherto promoted his Cauſe, and had come over at his Command, hoping, that he would obey God and the Pope, and make Satisfaction to the Church; but he had deceived their Expectations, and in return for the love they bore him, was now about to do all the Miſchief he could to himſelf and his Kingdom, which they had forewarn'd him to avoid; but they called God to Witneſs, that they had come hither upon no other Errand, than to ſuffer Death if there were occaſion, for the Cauſe of the Church; neither did they expect any other Reward at the King's Hands.

This is the Sum of the Diſcourſe, which theſe *Annaliſts* relate to have paſſed between the King and the Pope's Legate. How far this was real, I will not determine; but it ſeems not to agree with *Matt. Paris*'s Relation, who places the definitive Sentence of King *John*'s Depoſition in the Year following; but theſe Monks further relate, That then the King, to terrifie the Legate, Commanded his Sheriffs and Foreſters, to bring before him ſuch as were in Priſon, (I ſuppoſe for Offences done in his Foreſts) ſome of whom he commanded to be Hang'd, ſome to have their Eyes put out, and others to be Diſmember'd; among theſe there was a certain Clerk, who was a †Notorious Forger of Writings, whom the King commanded to be Hanged; which when the Legate heard, he threatned to *Excommunicate* all thoſe, who ſhould preſume to do it, and called for a * Taper for that purpoſe; which the King perceiving, he ordered the

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† *Falſarius.*

* Note, That no Sentence of *Excommunication* could be then pronounced, unleſs a Taper or Candle were firſt lighted.

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the Clerk to be delivered to the Legate to be puniſhed as he thought fit; then as ſoon as the Legate was departed the Kingdom, the King took of thoſe military Men who failed to attend him in the late *Welſh* Expedition, for every Knight's Fee, Two Marks of Silver.

[4] *M. P.* p. 230 Prince *Llewelyn* makes new Incurſions into *England*, but is repulſ'd with Loſs.

[4] For it ſeems *Llewelyn* Prince of *Wales* had ſome time before made freſh Incurſions into *England*, but was Repulſed with Loſs, and made to ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure; tho' the *Welſh* Chronicles give us a quite different Account; and perhaps this was the very ſame Submiſſion which they place under the preceding Year.

[5] *Id. Ib.* *Reginald* Earl of *Boloign* is expelled his Earldom by the K. of *France*.

[5] As for what happened in forreign Parts, *Reginald* Earl of *Boloign* was this Year Expelled his Earldom, and deprived of all his Eſtate by the King of *France*, who gave it to his own Son *Philip*, in perpetual Right, with the Daughter and Heir of that Earl, who now came into *England*, and was honourably received by King *John*, from whoſe Bounty he received 300*l.* a Year in Land, and did Homage and Fealty to him.

[1] p. 231. The Pope Solemnly abſolves the Subjects of *England* from their Allegiance to the King.

The Names of ſuch as were then look'd upon as his Evil Councellors.

As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, [1] *Matt. Paris* defers the Pope's Solemn abſolving the King's Subjects from their Allegiance till the latter end of this Year; when he tells us, that being further incenſed at his Obſtinacy in refuſing the Admonitions of his *Nuncio, he now Abſolved all his Subjects, High and Low, from their Fidelity and Subjection to him; ſtrictly injoyning all manner of Perſons under the Pain of* Excommunication, *to avoid him in private and in Publick, both at his Table, and in Council, and even in common Converſation*; for the King had at the time of this *Interdict* divers Counſellors about him, whom our Author does not ſcruple to Name; ſuch as were *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, the King's half Brother, *Aubery de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, *Geoffery Fitz.Peter*, Juſtitiary of *England*, *Hugh de Nevil*, Chief Warden of his Foreſts, *William de Brotham*, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and divers other Noblemen, all whoſe Names it would be too tedious to Relate; beſides Three Court Biſhops, *viz. Durham*, *Wincheſter*, and *Norwich*, with *Richrd de Mariſco*, the King's Chancellor; who all ſtriving to pleaſe him in all things, were ſuppoſed not to give him Council according to Law or Reaſon, but his own Humour.

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[2.] *M. P. C. M.* The King Knights *Alexander*, only Son to the K. of *Scots*.

The reaſon of the *Scotiſh* K's. confidence in K *John* at this time.

[2] King *John* now kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Windſor*, and in *Lent* following held a great Feaſt at *Clarken-well*, where he Knighted Prince *Alexander*, only Son and Heir to the King of *Scots*, who then returned home with the Applauſe and Congratulations of both Kingdoms; ſo that it ſeems the King was not, for all the Pope's *Excommunication*, ſo far abhorred by Neighbouring Princes, as to make them avoid his Converſation. But *Walter* of *Coventry* gives us the true Reaſon of this more than ordinary Confidence of the King of *Scots* in King *John*, *viz.* becauſe being now pretty well in Years, and finding the further Parts of his Kingdom much diſturbed with Inteſtine Seditions, he implored the Aſſiſtance of the King of *England*, and had ſent to him his only Son, and committed him to his Care entirely; but he then Returned him back again with Honour and large Promiſes of his future Kindneſſes and Protection.

Not

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Not long after this the *Welſh* made ſeveral Hoſtile Incurſions, and taking ſeveral Caſtles in *England*, put thoſe that defended them to the Sword, burnt many Towns, and returned with great ſpoils into their own Country: The King being much provoked at this Action, levied a great Army of Tenents by Knights Service, beſides ordinary Horſe and Foot, reſolving to harraſs all *Wales*, and Root out the Inhabitants; and in Revenge, hanged up the Twenty eight Hoſtages which had been delivered to him the Year before: But when he was ready for this Expedition, he received Letters from the King of *Scots*, and his Natural Daughter, Wife to Prince *Llewelin*, of a Trayterous Conſpiracy formed againſt him, which at firſt he ſlighted, and ſo marched forward to *Cheſter*, but there he again received other Letters to the ſame effect, that if he went on, he ſhould either be ſlain by his *Noblemen*, or delivered up to his Enemies: At theſe repeated Advices he ſeemed much concerned, but when he underſtood that the Great Men of *England* were abſolved from their Obedience and Fealty to him, he gave more Credit to the Letters; and then changing his Deſign, Diſbanded his Army, Returned to *London*, and ſent his Commiſſioners to all the Great Men he ſuſpected, to ſend him Pledges, that thereby he might know who were ready, and who refuſed to obey him: Then upon this they who durſt not oppoſe the King's Commands, ſent their Sons, Nephews and neareſt Relations, that ſo they might in ſome meaſure appeaſe his Indignation; but *Euſtace de Veſcie*, and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, being accuſed of Treaſon, fled out of *England*; *Euſtace* into *Scotland*, and *Robert* into *France*.

The *Welſh* make freſh Incurſions, take ſeveral Caſtles; upon which, the K. reſolves to make War upon that People. But upon notice from the K. of *Scots*, and the Wife of *Llewelyn*, of a Treaſonable Conſpiracy againſt him, he Returns home.

Dr. *Powel's* Chronicle juſtifies this Inſurrection of Prince *Llewelyn*, as that not being able to endure the injuries his Subjects ſuffered from the King's Gariſons in *North-Wales*, he called to his Aſſiſtance *Gwenwyn-wyn*, Lord of *Powis-Land*, *Maelgon ap Rees* from *South-Wales*, *Madoc ap Gryffyth* from *Brome-Field*, *Meredyth ap Rotpert* from *Cydewen*, and to theſe, who were then the Chief Lords and Princes of *Wales*, he declared their miſerable Condition; *how they, who were wont to have a King of their own Nation, were now by their own private Diſcords brought into Subjection by Strangers, to which he added in few Words, that if they would but agree among themſelves, they might yet defend their antient Rights*: Which when they had all promiſed to do, and had Sworn Fealty to Prince *Llewelyn*, they forthwith gathered an Army, and won all the Caſtles in *North-Wales* and *Powis*, except *Ruthland* and *Diganwy*; and then marching further into *Powis*, they laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Mathreval*, which *Robert de Vipont* had lately built; but when the King heard this, he levied an Army, and marched thither to raiſe the Siege, which he quickly did, and cauſed the Caſtle to be Demoliſhed (as not worth keeping;) but then having greater Affairs in Hand, he returned Home. Yet, being a little afterwards at *Nottingham*, and hearing that the Prince of *Wales* ſtill deſtroyed the Marches, he Commanded the Hoſtages to be Executed, as has been already ſaid; who were moſt of them hopeful Youths, being the Sons of the Chief Men of *Wales*: To which this Author alſo adds, that the ſaid *Robert de Vipount* cauſed Rees the Son of *Maelgon* to be hanged at *Shrewsbury* by the King's Order, being a Child of not

The *Welſh* Chronicle Juſtifies this Inſurrection, and gives a larger Account of it.

Upon a ſpeech of P. *Llewelin* the *Welſh* L's. Confederate and take many ſtrong Caſtles in *Wales*; whereupon the K. raiſes an Army, marches into *Wales*, but does little. And at his Return cauſes the Noblemen's Sons who were given for Hoſtages to be executed at *Shrewsbury*

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Seven Years old; ſo much did King *John* exceed his Father in Cruelty; who was ſatisfied with only putting out the Eyes of his *Welſh* Hoſtages. And indeed it was a deplorable Object to ſee theſe Innocents ſo cruelly put to death for the offences of their Relations; tho' it muſt be owned, that their Levity and Treachery can no ways be excuſed, who gave the King ſo great a provocation thus to exert his Cruelty upon their Children and Relations.

[3] *M. P.* p. 232. *Peter* a Hermite foretels that K. *John* ſhould not be K. by *Aſcenſion-day* following.

For which the *Hermite* is ſeized, and brought before the K. where he juſtifies what he had ſaid, and is thereupon committed to Cuſtody.

[3] Sometime after this, *Peter* a Hermite of *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire*, who had often taken upon him to foretell things to come; he Prophecied that by *Aſcenſion-day* following, King *John* ſhould not be King; but on that Day the Crown ſhould be transferred to another; which when he heard, he cauſed the Hermite to be ſeized and brought before him, and then asked him, whether he was that day to die, or elſe by what other means he ſhould be deprived of his Crown; but all the King could get from the Hermite was, to bid him aſſure himſelf that on that day he ſhould not be King, and if he were convicted of a Lye, he might then deal with him as he pleaſed; to whom the King replied, it ſhould be according to his own offer, and ſo committed him to the Cuſtody of *William de Harecourt* to be kept cloſe Priſoner, till it was ſeen what would be the Iſſue of his Prediction: In the mean while this was firmly believed by the People, as if it had been a voice from Heaven; ſo eaſie and credulous have the *Engliſh* vulgar always been obſerved in the belief of Prophecies.

[4] *Id.* p. 232. The K. had now highly incenſed the Nobility againſt him, and for what cauſe.

Many of them hearing they were abſolved from their Allegiance, Seal a Charter to the K. of *France*.

[4] Here our Author farther adds, that the King being a Prince of Inſatiable Luſt and Cruelty, had now highly provoked divers of the Noblemen of the Kingdom by debauching of their Wives and Daughters, or by Baniſhing their Relations, or elſe by Reduceing them to Poverty through his illegal Exactions, ſo that he had thereby made himſelf almoſt as many Enemies as there were Noblemen in the Kingdom; and our Monk further tells us, that when they knew themſelves to be abſolved from their Fidelity by the Pope, they exceedingly rejoyced: For if common Fame might be credited, they had every one of them Sign'd and Seal'd a certain Charter which they ſent to the King of *France*, aſſuring him, he might ſafely come into *England*, obtain the Kingdom, and be Crowned with Honour. From whence the Reader may obſerve, that it is no new thing for the Nobility of *England*, when their Kings have broken the Conditions of Government expreſs'd in their Coronation Oath, to ſeek the Protection of a Foreign Prince, in Hopes of finding better Uſage from him; but of this you will hear more a few Years hence.

The ſad effects of the K's. jealouſie of his Subjects.

Many of the Nobility quit the Realm.

Walter of *Coventry* is more exact in ſetting forth the ſad effects of this King's fear and ſuſpicion of his Subjects; for he ſays, that after he had baniſhed a great many Noblemen, he had the reſt in ſuch ſuſpicion, that he never went abroad but well Armed, and ſurrounded with a Guard; and moreover he often clapt up ſome of thoſe, that before ſeemed very intimate with him, and ſuddenly taking the ſtrong Places of divers of the Earls and Barons into his own hands, the whole Kingdom was thereupon in a general Commotion. Wherefore many of the great Men, being either conſcious of ſome Crime, or elſe fearing the King's Diſpleaſure, ſtole a-

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way into *Scotland* or *France*, as particularly *Euſtace de Veſcie*, and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, whoſe Lands and Goods the King had ſeized, and alſo demoliſhed a Caſtle in *London*, belonging to this Lord *Robert*, called *Baynard's Caſtle*, as likewiſe ſeveral other Places of ſtrength.

Baynard's Caſtle.

[5] *Id. ib.* After their departure, the K. grows more merciful to the common People.

[5] But when the King was rid of theſe Great Men, he began to carry himſelf more mildly towards the reſt of his Subjects, and amongſt his many ſevere Actions, did this one good one, that finding the Nation much oppreſt by the cruel Exactions of his *Foreſters*, and having compaſſion upon the ſufferings of the People, he Remitted the *Fines* they had unjuſtly Exacted; and farther made all Officers of *Foreſts* to take an Oath, that for the future they would not demand any thing from the People, but what had been wont to be paid in his Father's Reign. At the ſame time alſo he Remitted ſeveral Exactions which had been lately laid upon the Sea-ports, on pretence of guarding them from Foreign Enemies, and alſo in divers other matters, ſeemed very kind and favourable to the Petitions of poor Widdows and others that were any ways oppreſs'd; but all this was Interpreted as done meerly out of Fear, and to obtain the Favour of the Common People.

[1] M. P. p. 232 The A. Bp. with ſome Bps go to *Rome* to excite the P. againſt King *John*; whereupon a Sentence of *Depoſition* is Iſſued out againſt him.

About this time, [1] *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William* Biſhop of *London*, and *Euſtace* Biſhop of *Ely*, went to *Rome*, and informed the Pope of the many Enormities King *John* had committed ſince the *Interdict*; lifting up (as they termed it) the Hand of Oppreſſion and Cruelty againſt God and *Holy Church*; and therefore humbly beſought him in this Extremity to Commiſerate and Aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Church.

The Pope ſeem'd very much Concerned, when he had heard their Complaints, and by the Advice of his Cardinals, Biſhops and other Great Men, pronounced the Sentence of *Depoſition* or *Deprivation* againſt King *John*, and farther reſolved that a more worthy Perſon ſhould ſucceed him: And therefore to this end the Pope wrote to *Philip* King of *France* to put this Sentence in Execution; and to render him the more willing to undertake it, he granted to him Remiſſion of all his Sins, together with the Kingdom of *England* to himſelf and his Succeſſors in perpetual Right, when once he had Dethroned and Expelled the preſent Poſſeſſor.

The Pope writes to the K. of *France*, to put this Sentence in Execution, and grants him great Indulgences for ſo doing.

He alſo wrote to the Great Men, Knights and other Warriors of divers Nations, that they ſhould undertake this War, Signing themſelves with the *Croſs* (as if it were for that of the *Holy-Land*) for the Dethroning of King *John*; and that they ſhould follow the King of *France* as their General in this Expedition, and labour to vindicate the Injury done to the *Catholick* Church; and farther Decreed, that whoſoever ſhould contribute either Money, or other Aſſiſtance towards the ſubduing of this Contumacious King, ſhould be ſecure not only in their Goods and Perſons, but alſo as to their Souls, through the Prayers of the Church: And that they ſhould enjoy the ſame Priviledges with thoſe who Viſit the Sepulchre of our Lord.

[2] The Pope's private Inſtructions to his Legate.

[2] With this large Commiſſion, the Pope ſent *Pandulph* his Nuntio with the *Engliſh* Biſhops for *England*; firſt giving him Inſtructions, that every thing ſhould be punctually put in Execution,

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according to his Order. Then the Legate, when the Company were all withdrawn, privately asked the Pope, what he ſhould do, if the King of *England* ſhould Repent, and make Satisfaction to God and the *Roman* Church, and all others concerned in this Buſineſs? Whereupon the Pope preſcribed certain Conditions of Peace, to which if the King would Aſſent, he might yet obtain the Favour of the *Apoſtolick* See.

[3] *M. ib.* 233. *R. C.* A great Fire in *Southwark*, by which St. *Mary Overy's* Church is burnt, with *London Bridge*, and great part of the City.

Nothing elſe happened remarkable this Year, [3] but that a great Fire beginning in *Southwark*; the Church of St. *Mary Overy's* was burnt, and the Fire going on to *London* Bridge, not only a great part of that, but alſo of the City it ſelf was conſumed to Aſhes; and which was worſe ſtill, a great number of People periſhed by this means; for whilſt they ran over the Bridge, ſome to behold, others to help to quench the Flames, the Houſes on the *North* End thereof took Fire, and preſently after the other End of it alſo; ſo that the Multitude being thus Encloſed both behind and before, many of them were forced to leap into the River, whilſt others, crowding into the Boats that came to their Relief, were the cauſe of their own Deſtruction, the Boats and People ſinking together; ſo that what with the Fire, and what with the Water, near 3000 Perſons were ſuppoſed to have periſh'd by this unfortunate Accident, which happened on the 10th of *July*.

Near 3000 Souls periſhed either by Fire or Water.

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[4] *M. P. Ib.* The Bp's of *England* Return from *Rome* into *France*, where they held a Council, and acquaint that K. and his Bps with the Pp's Sentence againſt K. *John*. And excite K. *Philip* to depoſe him. Who thereupon raiſes a great Army.

[4] This Year King *John* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Weſtminſter*, being very ſlenderly attended by his Nobility; and about the latter End of *January*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, Returned from *Rome* into *France*, where they held a Council, and made known to King *Philip* and the Biſhops and Clergy of that Kingdom, the Sentence that had been Solemnly pronounced at *Rome* againſt King *John* for his Contumacy; and beſought them, as well for the ſake of the Pope, as for the Remiſſion of their own Sins, unanimouſly to Invade *England*, and *Depoſe* King *John*, by the Authority of the *Apoſtolick* See, and to ſet up another more Worthy Perſon in his Room.

Upon this the King of *France*, now ſeeing what he had ſo long deſired, was come to paſs, preſently prepared himſelf for the Expedition, and Commanded all his Subjects, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and Knights with their * Eſquires, to be ready at *Rouen* with their Horſes and Arms, on pain of *Culvertage*, and of incurring the Crime of Treaſon, (which was then termed *Felony*.) He likewiſe cauſed all his own Ships, with as many as he could muſter together, to be very well ſtored with all ſorts of Proviſions and Ammunition.

† But notwithſtanding this great preparation, *Pandulph* the Pope's Legate, being now arrived in *France*, would not permit that King to Invade *England*, till ſuch time as he had once more gone over, and tried whither King *John*, being allarmed with theſe preparations, could not be brought to Repentance, and ſo make Satisfaction for the Injuries he had done to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Clergy.

* *Servientes.* *Culvertage.* *Du Freſne* in his Gloſs, interprets, Confiſcation of Goods and Eſtate.

† *Rad. Niger,* Ms. in *Bib. Cotton.*

[5] In the mean time, King *John* being certified by his Spies, what was doing beyond Sea, conſidered with himſelf how he ſhould prevent theſe Deſigns; and therefore in the Month of *March*, He iſſued out a Writ directed to all Bayliffs of Sea-Ports, *&c.* thereby Commanding that all Ships of whatſoever Ports through *England*, which could carry Six Horſes or more, to be liſted, and the Maſters and Mariners to be ready at *Portſmouth* by *Mid-Lent* following, and the Bayliffs were to Return up to the King a Liſt of the ſaid Ships; and having now made this Proviſion for his Defence by Sea, he likewiſe took the ſame Care at Land, by directing other Writs or Commiſſions much of the ſame Nature to all Sheriffs of the Kingdom, ſtreightly Commanding them that they ſhould Summon all the Earls, Barons, Knights, Freemen and Eſquires, (whoever they were, and of whomſoever they held) that ought, or could have Arms, and who had done Homage and Fealty to him, to be ready with their Horſes and Arms at the cloſe of *Eaſter*; and that none ſhould remain at Home who could bear Arms under the like Penalty of *Culvertage*, which it ſeems was then a like Term for this Fault as well in *England* as in *France*; and thoſe who had no Land, and yet could bear Arms, were likewiſe to appear at *Dover*, and enter into the King's Pay: and the Sheriffs were alſo to Return a Liſt to the King of thoſe that freely left their ſeveral Bailywicks, as well as of thoſe who refuſed to ſtir: They were alſo to Command all Markets adjoining to follow the King's Camp, and not to be held elſewhere.

[4] *M.* p. 233. The K. to prevent theſe deſigns, ſends out Writs to Preſs all the Ships he could.

Vid. the Writ at large in *Matt. Paris* And likewiſe iſſues other Writs to the Sheriffs to Summon all the Military Tenants of the Kingdom, And that none ſhould remain at home upon pain of *Culvertage*.

I have been the more particular in giving an account of this Writ or Commiſſion of Array, becauſe the Reader may draw divers uſeful Obſervations from thence, concerning the *Militia* in thoſe times; as firſt that the *Sheriff* was then the only Chief Officer, as well Civil as Military of each County: As alſo that the ordinary *Militia* of *England*, (conſiſting of the Tenants by Knights Services) were then the only Forces for the Defence of the Kingdom; no conſtant ſtanding Armies being at that time in faſhion, either in *England* or *France*.

[1] But to return to our Hiſtory; upon theſe Writs, in divers Places upon the Sea-Coaſts, eſpecially about *Dover*, *Feverſham*, and *Ipſwich*, (where it was moſt ſuſpected the Enemy might Land) vaſt Multitudes of all ſorts and conditions of Men preſently Liſted themſelves, who feared nothing more, than the Reproach of *Culvertage*; which ſeems to have been then not only a Penalty, but alſo a Term of reproach for Cowardize: But their Numbers being ſo great, that they began to want Victuals, the Commanders ſent home Thouſands of the unarmed Rabble, and retained the Knights, Eſquires, Freemen, Croſs-bow-men and Archers.

[1] *Id. ib.* Upon theſe Writs great Multitudes liſt themſelves on the Sea-Coaſts of *England*. Which growing too numerous, many of the meaner ſort are ſent home.

[2] The Biſhop of *Norwich* alſo about this time Landed out of *Ireland* with 500 Foot Soldiers, and many Horſe to attend the King, and was kindly Received by him: Inſomuch that the whole Force that was then Muſtered upon *Barham-Down*, conſiſted of Sixty Thouſand Stout and well appointed Men; upon which our Author very juſtly obſerves, that if they had been then all of one mind,

[2] *Id. ib.* The Bp. of *Norwich* comes over out of *Ireland* with 500 Foot, beſides Horſe; which made up an Army of 60000 Men.

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mind, there had not been any Prince in the World could have withſtood the King of *England*: But indeed the Miſchief of it was, that all the Clergy, who at that time had a large ſhare in the Government of Men's Conſciences, were highly incenſed againſt the King; nor can I ſay the Laiety were leſs diſcontented, by reaſon of the vaſt arbitrary Taxes they had paid, and all to ſo little purpoſe.

[3] *Id. ib.* The K. finding himſelf ſtrongeſt at Sea, reſolves to fight the *French* with his Fleet.

[3] However, the King finding himſelf ſtronger at Sea than the *French*, (tho' they were then near 1700 Sail, conſiſting chiefly of ſmall Veſſels) reſolved to meet and Fight them on that Element; from whence our Author obſerves, that *the greateſt hopes King* John *had of ſubduing his Enemies, lay in the advantage he had over them by his Fleet*: So that it appears, whilſt a King of *England* is Maſter at Sea, he need not fear any Foreign Enemies.

Of all the great Feudataries to *France*, none refuſed to aſſiſt that K. but the Earl of *Flanders*; So that King makes War upon him, and takes divers of his Towns.

But now let us ſee how the Nobility of *France* behaved themſelves; in the mean time *Rigord* the old *French* Hiſtorian, as alſo our own *Walſingham* Relates, that of all the Princes and Great Men, who were Feudataries to the King of *France*, none refuſed to Aſſiſt him in this Expedition, except *Ferrand* Earl of *Flanders*: Wherefore the King reſolved, before ever he Engaged with *England*, to put him out of a Condition to do him any Hurt; and ſo Invading his Territories, he ſubdued the Towns of *Ipre*, *Caſſel*, and all the Country to *Bruges*, with the Port of *Dam*; and then laid Siege to *Gaunt*.

[4] *Id. ib.* The *Engliſh* Fleet puts to Sea under the Command of the Earls of *Boloigne*, and *Salisbury*. who Block up the *French* in the Harbour of *Dam*. The *French* K. orders his Ships to be burnt, with the Town of *Dam*.

[4] In the mean while the *Engliſh* Fleet put to Sea, under the Command of the Earl of *Boloigne*, (whoſe Dominions the King of *France* had lately ſeized) and *William Longeſpee* Earl of *Salisbury*, the King's baſe Brother, who had taken or burnt all thoſe which lay upon the Coaſt, and kept the Harbour of *Dam* ſo ſtreightly blockt up, that the *French* could not get out. Thereupon the King of *France* raiſed the Siege of *Gaunt*, and marching to the Sea-Side, beat back the *Engliſh* to their Ships, and killed Two thouſand of them; nevertheleſs, they being ſtill Maſters of the Sea, and the *French* Ships being ſmall, and of little Force, durſt not ſtir out; therefore the King of *France*, after he had cauſed their Tackle and Lading to be taken out, ordered all the Ships to be burnt, and then he fired the Town of *Dam*, for fear the Enemy ſhould make themſelves Maſters of it; and ſo he returned to *Paris*.

[5] *Id. ib.* Notwithſtanding this good ſucceſs, the K. is diſmay'd, and accepts a Treaty with the Legate.

[5] Notwithſtanding this good Succeſs, yet whilſt King *John* lay upon the Coaſt of *Kent*, near *Dover*, with his Army, watching the *French* King's motions, *Pandulf* the Pope's Legate, ſent over Two *Knights-Templers* to let King *John* know, he deſired to Treat with him, and Offer him Terms ~~of~~ Peace and Reconciliation, tho' he were already *Depoſed* by the Pope's Sentence. The King thereupon accepting the Meſſage, ſent him Word by the ſame Perſons, that he might if he pleaſed paſs over with ſafety; upon which the Legate immediately came into *England*, met the King at *Dover*, and there repreſented to him the great Danger he was in from that vaſt Fleet and Army the King of *France* had at the Mouth of the River *Seyn*, ready Equipt to come over for the Conqueſt of the Kingdom; wherein likewiſe would come all the Biſhops, Clergymen, and Laymen, who had been unjuſtly Baniſhed the Realm;

who thereupon comes over into *England*, and frights the K. into a ſubmiſſion to the Pope.

Realm; but (which was above all) the *French* King boaſted alſo, that he had received Charters or Aſſurances from moſt of the Great Men of *England*, of their Fidelity and Obedience to him; and therefore adviſed him to ſubmit himſelf, and make his Peace with the *Apoſtolick See*, before it was too late. We may from hence obſerve, That had not this Unfortunate Prince been now upon very ill terms with his own Subjects, he needed not to have been afraid of what either the Pope, or King of *France*, could have acted againſt him.

But to proceed with our Hiſtory; King *John* being highly terrified with this News, did upon thoſe and ſome other Conſiderations, [1] which our Author has given us, (tho' needleſs here to be inſerted) at laſt by the Perſuaſion of the Legate, agree (but yet with great Reluctance) to that very Form, or Article of Peace which had been propoſed and drawn up at *Rome*; and in Confirmation of which the King ſwore upon the *Holy Goſpels*, that he would obey the Judgment of the Church; and at the ſame time alſo Sixteen of the Chief Earls and Barons of the whole Kingdom, ſwore on his behalf, That if he ſhould happen to depart from what he had agreed to, they would to the utmoſt of their Power compel him to make his Holineſs Satisfaction.

[1] *Id. Ib.* The K. at laſt agrees to the ſame Form of Peace, which had been drawn up at *Rome*, and he with 16 of the Chief Noblemen ſwear to the Obſervance of it.

[2] Then on the 13th of *May* following, (being the *Monday* before *Aſcention* Day) the King, and *Pandulph* the Legate, together with the Earls, Barons, and a very great Company met at *Dover*, where they unanimouſly agreed to a Peace, which was drawn up at large in the Form of a *Charter, under his Seal, in which having firſt recited the Names of four great Barons, (*Viz.*) *William* Earl of *Salisbury*; *Reginald*, Earl of *Boloigne*; *William*, Earl of *Warren*; and *William* Earl of *Ferrers*; they all ſwore on his behalf, that he ſhould truly obſerve the following Articles.

[2] *Id. ib.* The K. with his Earls and Barons meet the Legate again at *Dover*, where he Seals the Charter of Agreement.

*See the Charter at large in *Matt. Paris.*

The Articles of Agreement between the Pope and the King.

Firſt, *They Swore to ſtand to the Commands of the Pope, to be imparted by his Legate, or Nuncio, concerning all Matters for which the King ſtood Excommunicated.*

Secondly, *That he would grant true Peace and Safety to* Stephen *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *as alſo to the Biſhops of* London, Ely, Hereford, Bath, *and* Lincoln, *together with the Prior and Monks of* Canterbury, *and to* Robert Fitz-Walter, *and* Euſtace de Veſcie, *and to all other Clerks and Laicks concern'd in this Affair; Swearing further, That he would do them no hurt, either in their Perſons or Eſtates, but remitting all Anger and Ill Will towards them, would fully receive them into his Favour.*

Thirdly, *That he would iſſue out Letters Patents, by which he would confirm all theſe Things, and cauſe as many Biſhops and Barons, as the Archbiſhop and Biſhops ſhould chuſe, to ſwear and give their Charters for the Security of the Peace.*

Fourthly, *That if He or any Others by his Order ſhould violate this Agreement, then thoſe Biſhops and Barons, on behalf of the Church, ſhould adhere to the Pope's Commands, againſt him, and that in ſuch Caſe he would for Ever loſe the Cuſtody of Vacant Churches.*

Fifthly, *He obliged himſelf to ſend Letters of Safe Conduct and Security for the Performance of theſe Things, to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, before their return into* England; *who were alſo (if the King pleaſed)*

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to take an Oath, that they would not either by Themſelves, or any Other, attempt any thing againſt his Perſon, or Crown.

Sixthly, *He alſo promiſed Reſtitution, and ſufficient Satisfaction for what they (whether Clerks or Laicks) had been endamaged, either in their Goods, or Liberties.*

Seventhly, *That he would cauſe all Clerks and Laicks who had been kept in Priſon upon the Account of this Quarrel, to be releaſed; and that preſently after the Legate's arrival (who could Abſolve the King) he would pay him, in part of Reſtitution, what had been taken away from the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and Monks, the Sum of Eight thouſand Pounds* Sterling, *which was to be divided between them, according to the ſeveral Rates and Proportions therein expreſs'd.*

Laſtly, *He was forced to renounce and recall for the future the* Out-Lawry *of all Clergy-men, as not at all belonging to his Juriſdiction; as alſo the* Out-Lawry *of Lay-men, as far as related to this Matter.*

Upon the true Performance of all which Particulars, the Sentence of the *Interdict* was to be releaſed; and if there remain'd any Doubt or Diſpute concerning theſe Articles, they were to be Judged and Determined by the Pope's Legate: This Charter bears Date at *Dover*, the 13th Day of *May*, being the Fourteenth Year of this King's Reign.

[3] *Id. ib.* The Legate is not ſatisfied with theſe Conditions, unleſs the K. reſign his Crown into his hands for the Pope's uſe, which the K. alſo agrees to.

[3] Nevertheleſs, the Legate was not content with theſe Conditions, but pretended that his Crime was ſo heinous, that nothing could obtain the Pope's Abſolution, but the King's abſolute Reſignation of his Crown: wherefore two days after, (being the 15th of *May*) the King with the Great Men of the Kingdom, met again at the Houſe of the *Knights-Templars* near *Dover*, where humbling Himſelf before the Legate, He (according to what had been before reſolved at *Rome*) Reſign'd his Crown to the Pope, in the Preſence of *Pandulf* his Legate; which Reſignation being reduced into due Form, he thereby confirm'd to the Pope and his Succeſſors, the Grant of the ſaid Kingdoms by his *Charter; wherein having firſt acknowledged himſelf to have highly offended God and Holy-Mother the Church, therefore in full ſatisfaction, (not being conſtrain'd by Fear, but of his own Free Will, and by the Common *Advice, or Conſent of his Barons) he granted to God, and to St. Peter and Paul, and to Pope *Innocent* and his Succeſſors, the whole Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*, for the Remiſſion of his own Sins, and that of his Family, to be held by him for the future as a Feudatary of the Church of *Rome*. And it likewiſe recites, that he ſwore Homage and Fealty to the Pope and his Succeſſors, before the ſaid *Pandulf*, obliging his Heirs and Succeſſors to do the like for the time being; and for a further Proof of this his perpetual Obligation, he promiſed to pay a *Thouſand Marks* by the Year Rent, for all other Services, that is, Seven Hundred Marks for *England*, and Three Hundred Marks for *Ireland*, by equal Portions, ſaving to Him and his Heirs the Power of Executing all Juſtice, and creating Juſtices, with all Liberties and Royalties.

The Reſignation is reduced into Writings, and the Contents of it.

*See the Charter at large in *Matt. Paris.*

* *Conſilio.*

There is alſo at the end of the Charter, a Remarkable Clauſe, whereby he obliged Himſelf and his Succeſſors, not to revoke it, which is expreſſed in theſe Terms, *That if He or any of them ſhould*

preſume

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*preſume any ways to contradict it, whoſoever he were, unleſs upon admonition, he repented of it, he ſhould immediately *forfeit his Right to the Kingdom*; This Charter is Witneſſed by the King himſelf, in the Preſence of *Henry*, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, and divers Earls and Noblemen of the Kingdom, whoſe Names you may find in my Author at the end thereof.

* *Cadit à Jure Regni.*

[4]
Id. ib.
The K. thereupon does Homage to the Pope for the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*.

[4] This Charter being Seal'd, the King delivered it to *Pandulf* to be carried to Pope *Innocent*, and then in the Preſence of them all did Homage to the Pope, as his Supreme Lord, repreſented by *Pandulf*, in the moſt ſubmiſſive and abject Manner, according to the Forms and Cuſtoms of thoſe Times; promiſing alſo to keep and defend the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* as the Patrimony of St. *Peter*; and then it was that *Pandulf* proudly trode under his Feet the Money which the King had offer'd as a Mark or Earneſt of his Subjection; which did not a little trouble the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, who at the ſame time blam'd his haughty Carriage: Theſe things were done on the Vigil of our Lord's *Aſcenſion*, the above-named Biſhops, Earls, and Barons being preſent.

[5]
Id. ib.

[5] Nor can I here omit taking notice of one great piece of Severity (if not Cruelty) of this King, immediately after his Reſignation of the Crown to the Legate: You have already heard of *Peter* the Hermit's Prophecy, That the King ſhould ceaſe to be ſo, upon *Aſcenſion-Day*; This, tho' it was in ſome meaſure fulfill'd, by the above-mention'd Reſignation of the Crown, and his taking it back again upon thoſe Conditions, whereby the King's Independent and Abſolute Dominion was totally given up, yet he would underſtand none of theſe Niceties; but *Aſcenſion-Day* being now paſt, and he ſtill continuing in the Poſſeſſion of his Throne, he was reſolved to be revenged of this ſuppoſed Falſe Prophet; wherefore the King commanded him to be drawn at Horſes Tails from *Corf-Caſtle* (where he was Priſoner) to the Town of *Warham*, and there to be Hang'd upon a Gibbet, together with his Son, whoſe Crime I do not find mentioned; tho' if he were not himſelf a Partaker of his Father's Crime, it was certainly a great Inſtance of this King's Cruelly. But how ſevere ſoever this Proceeding might be, it ſtands as a good warning in Hiſtory to deter pretenders to *Divine Revelation* from taking upon them to Predict the Fates of Princes.

The K. after *Aſcenſion-Day* orders *Peter* the Hermite to be Executed, notwithſtanding that his Propheſie ſeemed in ſome ſort fullfilled.

[1]
Id. ib.
The Legate having obtain'd the Charters, he deſired Paſſes over into *Fr.*

[1] Theſe things being thus diſpatched, and the King's Charters above-mentioned delivered to *Pandulf*, he returned into *France* with part of the Reſtitution-Money of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, for what had been taken from them.

[2]
Id. ib.
The Legate perſuades the K. of *Fr.* to deſiſt from his Enterprize againſt *England*

[2] The Legate, as ſoon as he arrived, preſently applied himſelf to the King of *France*, who then lay ready with an Army to Invade *England*, and did all he could to perſuade him to deſiſt from his Deſign, for that now he could not proſecute it without offending the Pope, ſeeing King *John* was ready to make Satisfaction to Holy-Church, and to Obey the Pope's Orders. The King who was not well pleaſed with what he ſaid, reply'd, He had expended more ‘ than Sixty Thouſand Pounds in Arms, Victuals, and fitting out ‘ of Ships, and had undertaken the Enterprize at the Pope's Com-

But he does not agree to it, and the Reaſon why.

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‘ mands, and for the Remiſſion of his own Sins, all which now ſignify'd nothing.

From whence we may obſerve, what Tools Princes were in that Age to the Pope, who could make them Cudgel one another into Obedience to himſelf, and when he had once effected it, he valued them no further.

The difference between *M. Paris* and the *French* Hiſtorians, concerning the Time of the *Fr.* King's Expedition againſt *Flanders*.

Next to this in time, *Matt. Paris* places the King of *France*'s Expedition againſt the Earl of *Flanders*, whoſe not joining with him in his intended Invaſion, he makes to have been the greateſt Obſtacle, why that King durſt not undertake it; whereas the *French* Hiſtorians affirm with greater Probability, that the Expedition againſt the Earl of *Flanders*, was undertaken during the time of *Pandulf*'s being in *England*.

[3] *M.P.* p. 238.

K. *John* is in hopes, by the Aſſiſtance of the Emp. and E. of *Flanders*, to recover his Loſſes in *Fr.* and to that end muſters a great Army, but the Barons refuſe to attend him; and for what Reaſon.

The K. ſends in all haſte for the exil'd Bps.

But however, it is certain, that King *John* being now puffed up with his late ſeeming Succeſs, was in hopes [3] by the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders*, to regain what he had loſt in *France*; to this end he muſter'd up a great Army at *Portſmouth*, which being join'd, the Great Men and Barons refuſed to follow him, unleſs he were firſt abſolved from his *Excommunication*, which hitherto had been deferr'd, under pretence, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was to come over to perform it in Perſon on the Pope's behalf. Wherefore the King was forced to ſend for him, and the reſt of the baniſhed Biſhops, and for their greater Honour, there went to conduct them over, *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, with two other Perſons of leſs Note, as appears by the King's * Writ or Letter to the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops, ſtill remaining among the Records in the *Tower*, by which he deſires them to make what haſte they could over, becauſe he had long expected their coming.

* *Rot. Clauſ.* 15 *Johan. parte prim. M.* 8 *Dorſ. Vid.* D. *Brady*'s *Append.* N. 101

[4] *Id.* p. 239.

The K. ſends the Biſhops a Charter for their greater Security.

They came over, and the K. flings himſelf at their Feet.

[4] *Matt. Paris* further adds, That for their greater Security the King was alſo oblig'd to ſend them the Charts or Aſſurances of Twenty four Earls and Barons, that they might return with ſafety into *England*, and receive Satisfaction according to the late Articles of Peace. Whereupon, *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William* Biſhop of *London*, *Euſtace* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Hubert* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *Giles* Biſhop of *Hereford*, together with the other Clerks and Laicks then in Exile by reaſon of the *Interdict*, through the Mediation of *Pandulf* the Legate, arrived at *Dover* on the 16th of *July*, (being St. *Margaret*'s Day) and went to wait on the King at *Wincheſter*; who when he knew they were coming, went forth to meet them, and throwing himſelf at the Feet of the Biſhops, beſeeched them with Tears to have Mercy on him, and the Kingdom of *England*; Upon this, they ſeeing his great Humility, lifted him up from the Ground, not without Tears likewiſe, and led him to the Chapter-Houſe at *Wincheſter*, where, before he was Abſolved, he took his Oath, ‘That he would Love, Defend, and Maintain *Holy Church* and the Clergy, againſt all their Adverſaries, to the utmoſt of his Power; that he would Re-eſtabliſh the good Laws of his Anceſtors, and eſpecially thoſe of King *Edward*, and deſtroy the Wicked ones; That he would Judge all his Subjects according to the juſt Judgment of his Court, and would reſtore to every Man his Right: He alſo ſwore, That he would make full Satisfaction

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‘ to all concern’d in the Buſineſs of the *Interdict*, for what had been ‘ taken from them, before *Eaſter* next; if not, the Sentence of *Ex-* ‘ *communication* was to be renewed againſt him; Moreover, He ‘ ſwore Fealty and Obedience to Pope *Innocent*, and his Catholick ‘ Succeſſors, as it was contained in his late Charter: Then the Archbiſhop carried him into the Church, and there ſung Maſs; from whence they went, and Dined at the ſame Table with the King, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of them all.

[4] *Id. ib.* He ſends to all the Sheriffs of *England*, to enquire what Damages the Biſhops had ſuſtained.

[4] On the Morrow after his Abſolution, the King ſent his Precepts to all the Sheriffs of *England*; that they ſhould cauſe to meet at *St. Albans*, on the Fourth of *Auguſt*, Four Lawful Men, with the Reeve, or Bailiff of every Town, they kept in their own Hands; that ſo by thoſe and their other Officers, he might enquire and be informed, what Damage every Biſhop had ſuſtained, what had been taken from, and what was ſtill due to him.

[5] *Id.* p. 239. The K. prepares to go beyond Sea.

[5] Then the King made haſte to *Portſmouth* in order to paſs into *Poictou*, committing the Government of the Kingdom to *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with direction that they ſhould order all the Affairs of the Nation by the Advice of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: But when the King came to *Portſmouth*, his *Great Men, Knights, and ſuch as held by Military Tenure, complained, they had been there ſo long in expectation of this Expedition, that all their Money was ſpent; and unleſs he would furniſh them with more out of his Treaſury, they could not go with him; which the King refuſing to do, took Shipping himſelf with his Private Family, and after three Days arrived at *Jerſey*, while his Lords and Great Men returned Home; at length when he ſaw himſelf thus Deſerted, he came back into *England*; ſo that nothing was further done in this Deſign. *Ralph de Coggeſhal* lays the Miſcarriage of this Voyage, chiefly upon the Barons of the *North*, whom he had ſummoned to go over with him; but they with one conſent denied it, affirming, That they were not obliged to it according to the Tenure of their Eſtates; and further added, That they were already ſo impoveriſhed by the late Expeditions at home, that they neither could, nor would do any more; but who were moſt in fault, whether the King for thus urging their Service, or they for denying it, is hard to Judge at this diſtance of time.

* *Magnates.* His great Men excuſe themſelves from going over with him.

Ral. de Coggeſhal lays this Miſcarriage on the Barons of the *North*.

[1] *Id. ib.* A Council held by his Juſticiaries at *St. Albans*, where the K’s Peace is proclaimed.

[1] Whilſt the King was abſent, and taken up in this unſucceſsful Affair, his Juſticiaries held a Council at *St. Albans*, with the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Great Men of the Kingdom, where the King’s Peace was proclaimed to all Men; and it was firmly enjoin’d on his behalf, That the Laws of King *Henry* his Grandfather ſhould be obſerved by all Perſons, and that all unjuſt Laws ſhould be abrogated: And there likewiſe it was further order’d, That no Sheriffs, Foreſters, or other the King’s Officers, as they valued either their Lives or Limbs, ſhould extort any thing violently from any Man, or preſume to wrong any one; nor that they ſhould make **Scotalls* in any Part of the Kingdom, as they uſed to do.

**Scotalla*; Exactions made by Foreſt-Officers who ſold Ale.

[2] *Id. ib.* The K. ſeeing himſelf deſerted by his Barons, raiſes an Army againſt them, but is admoniſhed by the A. Bp to forbear making War without the Judgment of his Court.

[2] And now the King immediately after his Return, ſuppoſing himſelf deſerted by ſome of the Great Men of the North, raiſ’d a Powerful Army, that ſo he might force thoſe whom he looked upon as Rebels to the Performance of their wonted Duty and Service;

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But when he would have marched forward to reduce them, the Archbiſhop came to him to *Northampton*, and told him, He violated the Oath he had taken at his Abſolution, if he made War upon any one without the Judgment of his Court; Hereupon, the King with a loud Voice anſwered, He would not lay aſide the Buſineſs of the Kingdom for him, who had nothing to do with Lay-matters.

So next Morning early, the King marched towards *Nottingham*; the Archbiſhop followed him, and threatned, that unleſs he quickly deſiſted, he would *Anathematize* all thoſe, beſides himſelf, that ſhould take up Arms againſt any Man before the Relaxation of the *Interdict*; by which means, he cauſed the King to give over proſecuting the Barons by Force, and left them not, untill he had obtained a competent Day for them, to anſwer in his Court, and to be tryed there: Yet we do not find that ever they appeared there at all, for the Pope's Legate and Archbiſhop made their Peace for 'em, as you will find hereafter.

[3] *Id.* p. 240. A Synod of the Clergy at *London*, and on what Occaſion.

The A.Bp gives leave to the Monks & Prieſts to celebrate Divine Service with a low Voice.

[3] Then upon the 25th of *Auguſt*, a Council or Synod met at *London*, to compoſe all Differences between the King and the Barons; at which time the Biſhops, Abbots, Deans, and ſeveral Barons, being all aſſembled in St. *Paul*'s Church, with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he, before they fell to any Buſineſs, ſo far Indulged all Churches, both Conventual and Parochial, That tho' the *Interdict* was not yet taken off, yet however, they might there Chant over their Canonical Hours, or Prayers, with a low Voice, which was ſome favour, it being not permitted them to celebrate Divine Service any other manner.

In this Aſſembly the A.Bp tells the Noblemen, that he had Abſolved the K. and upon what Terms.

And tells them, that he had found the Charter of *Henry* I. and reads it before them.

After this was over, in the ſame Aſſembly, the Archbiſhop reſolving to keep the King to that Oath he had lately taken at *Wincheſter*, drew ſome of the Great Men of the Kingdom aſide, and put them in Mind, that when he Abſolved the King there, he had made him to ſwear, That he would aboliſh all unjuſt Laws, and cauſe the good Ones, (that is to ſay, the Laws of King *Edward*) to be obſerved by all Men in the Kingdom. He farther alſo told them, He had found a certain Charter of King *Henry* the *Firſt*, by which, if they would themſelves, they might aſſert the Antient Liberties they had ſo long loſt. Then producing the Charter it ſelf, he cauſed it to be read publickly before them, which was received by them with great Joy and Satisfaction; and being the ſame with that already recited in the beginning of King *Henry* the *Firſt*'s Reign, I need not repeat here. Only I muſt needs confeſs it ſeems very ſtrange, that this Charter, which is ſaid by this very Author to have been preſerved in all the Counties, and moſt of the Monaſteries in *England*, ſhould now be grown ſo Obſolete and Forgotten, that none of the Biſhops or Nobility in the ſpace of 100 years ſhould remember any thing of it. Which ſhews, that either the Biſhops and Noblemen were very ignorant of their own Privileges, or elſe, that the Liberties granted by that Charter, had been ſo ill obſerved ſince that time, that they were now grown out of date: But whatever might be the Cauſe, it is certain, they were now ſo well ſatisfied with this Diſcovery, that they all ſwore in the Preſence of the Archbiſhop, That upon a fit Opportunity they would contend even to Death it ſelf for thoſe Liberties; and the Arch-

The Nobility ſwear to fight to Death it ſelf, in maintenance of their Liberties.

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Archbiſhop promiſed them his faithful Aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of his Power; and ſo the Confederacy being firmly concluded, the Conference or Parliament was diſſolved.

This is the firſt League or Confederacy which was ever made by the Barons of *England* of the *Norman* Extraction againſt the King, in defence of their Antient Rights and Liberties; and this will not appear ſtrange to the Reader, if he pleaſes to conſider, that tho' in the Reign of King *William* the *Firſt*, and his Sons, it might ſeem very advantageous to the Great Men of the *Norman* Race to join with the King in oppreſſing the *Engliſh* Nobility; yet in the ſpace of above an Hundred Years, when thoſe very *Normans* were now become perfect *Engliſhmen*, and found themſelves Governed after the ſame Arbitrary manner as the *Engliſh* had been before, I ſay, 'tis no wonder if they deſired ſome eaſe from thoſe Burthens, and now began to contend for the Reſtitution of the antient Laws of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, and for thoſe Liberties and Priviledges, which had been granted to their Anceſtors by King *Henry* the *Firſt*.

But had not the Biſhops and Clergy (being now highly Diſcontented at the King's Oppreſſions) joined with the Lay-Nobility in oppoſing them, the Eccleſiaſticks had then ſo great a Power, that the Laiety alone could never have done any good againſt the King: And hitherto they had been ſo far from concerning themſelves what Burthens the King laid upon the People, that they rather joined with him in it, ſo long as they themſelves felt nothing of them; but ſo ſoon as the King came to Tyrannize over them all alike, the Caſe was altered, eſpecially when the Archbiſhop was become the King's ſecret Enemy, and he and the reſt of the Biſhops now depended wholly upon the Pope.

[4] *Id. P.* 243. The death of *Geoffery Fitz-Peter*, Juſticiary of *England*.

But to return to our Hiſtory from which this Reflection has made us digreſs, [4] Not long after the breaking up of the above-mentioned Aſſembly, that is to ſay, upon the Second of *October*, died *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, Juſticiary of *England*, to the great Loſs of the Nation, as being the Chief Stay and Support of the Kingdom; a Man learned in the Laws, and of great Authority, as well by reaſon of his ample Eſtate, as by his Noble Relations. But whither he entered into the late Confederacy againſt the King, our Author does not mention, tho' it is moſt likely he did, ſince he had at the Council at St. *Albans* joined with the Biſhops and Great Men in Commanding the Laws of King *Edward* to be obſerved, which was the ſame in Effect with King *Henry*'s Charter above-mentioned: And certainly it could not be for nothing, that our Author tells us, the King ſhould ſo hate and fear him, that he never thought himſelf abſolutely King, till he was dead; inſomuch that when he firſt heard the News of it, he Swore by the Feet of God (his uſual Oath) that now at length he was King of *England*; and with great rejoicing ſaid to ſome Lords about him; *now when this Man comes into* Hell, *let him Salute the Archbiſhop* Hubert, *whom certainly he ſhall find there*; and ſo from that time forward he took upon him a more abſolute Power of contradicting his own Oaths and Contracts, and of ſetting himſelf looſe from the Bonds of that Agreement he had ſo lately made.

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[5] *M. P. Id. Ib. Matt. Paris* his Hiſtory of *K. John*'s Ambaſſy to the K. of *Morocco.*

[5] Here our Author proceeds to give us a long Relation of a ſecret Ambaſſy which King *John* ſent about this time to the *Mooriſh* King of *Spain*, and *Morocco*, whom he calls *Admuralius Murmelius*, but his true Name was *Mahomet Enaſar*, and gives us alſo the Ambaſſador's Names, (that is to ſay) *Thomas Hardington*, and *Ralph Fitz-Nicholas*, Knights, with *Robert* of *London* a Prieſt or Clerk; Theſe it ſeems were to let this Black King underſtand, that if he would give him a powerful Aſſiſtance, their Maſter was willing to ſurrender up his Kingdom into his Power, to be held of him, under an *Annual* Tribute; and that he would willingly quit the *Chriſtian* Law, and Embrace that of *Mahomet*: Then our Author further proceeds to give us a long Account of the manner of the Audience, and of the Converſation that paſſed between that King and the Ambaſſadors; the Summ of which is, to ſet forth how much the *Mooriſh* King deſpiſed their Maſter, not only for his inconſtancy in Religion, but his meanneſs of Spirit; and how he diſmiſſed them with great Contempt, ſcarce taking notice of any of them, except *Robert* of *London*, to whom, finding him to be a very ſharp and ingenuous Perſon, tho' but of an ill Aſpect, he gave large preſents, becauſe he had told him the Truth concerning the Manners and Humour of the King his Maſter.

The truth of this Relation juſtified from thoſe that cry it down.

I confeſs this Relation being found in no other Author, ſeems improbable to ſome of our late Hiſtorians, that King *John* (whatſoever he thought of the *Chriſtian* Religion) ſhould dare offer to abjure it, ſince he might be ſure that not only the Pope, but alſo moſt of the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, together with his own Subjects, would have combined to Dethrone him; tho' on the other Side it ſeems ſtrange that *Matt. Paris*, who lived and wrote his Hiſtory in this King's Son's Reign, and by his particular Encouragement, ſhould dare to relate it, if there had been no ground for it; beſides that the naming of the Perſons that were ſent then to that Monarch, would have been too notorious a falſhood to be publiſh'd ſo ſoon after the thing done.

But tho' the Subject of their Ambaſſy as this Author relates it, may be doubted, yet can we not agree with Dr. *Brady's* Opinion, " who will needs have it paſs for a meer Tale or Legend, and a " malicious Calumny raiſed againſt that King, to alienate the af" fections of his People from him, becauſe he had granted his " Kingdom to the Pope, and received it again as a Feudatary to " him; as alſo becauſe Matt. *Paris* makes this *Robert* of *London*, the " King's own Clerk, and one of his Envoy's to that Emperor; and " in his Diſcourſe with him, to have made the moſt horrid In" vective againſt his own Prince and Maſter, that perhaps was e" ver heard. The Firſt of theſe Reaſons might have been omitted, had the Dr. pleaſed to take notice of what our Author expreſly tells us, that it was that very Agreement or Form of Peace the King had lately made with the Pope and Biſhops, that he then repented of, and from which he could find no way to ſet himſelf free, but by imploring the aſſiſtance of that *Mahometan* Prince. As for the Dr's. Second Reaſon, I think it leſs ſatisfactory than the former, ſince it is not at all improbable that the Envoy he mentions, when left alone with that Prince, might frankly tell him his

thoughts

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thoughts concerning the King his Maſter, ſince there was no body by who would or could tell Tales; and our * Author ſays expreſly, that he related all this to ſome of his Confidents in his preſence, which was not till ſome Years after King *John*'s death: However, I ſhall leave it to every one to judge or believe as he pleaſes concerning this matter.

† *Matt. Paris.*

[1] *Id.* p. 246. The Pope's Legate comes into *England*, and for what purpoſe.

[1] The ſame Year, *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Tuſculum* (now *Fraſcati*) being newly made the Pope's Legate in the Room of *Pandulf*, came about *Michaelmas* into *England*, to compoſe by his Authority the Diſſentions between the *Secular* and the *Eccleſiaſtick* States; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with the Biſhops and Great Men of the Kingdom, met him at *London*: And tho' the Kingdom was ſtill under an *Interdict*, yet was he received by the Clergy with a Solemn Proceſſion and Singing; and there it was, that in the preſence of the King and this Cardinal, there was a Treaty for Three Days between the King and Clergy concerning the Damages the Biſhops and Abbots had ſuſtained, and what had been taken from them; at which time the King offered an Hundred thouſand Marks to be forthwith paid, as a full Reſtitution to the ſaid Biſhops; yet with this *Proviſo*, that if it ſhould afterwards appear by *Inquiſition*, that the *Guardians* the King had placed in Churches, or his other Officers had taken away more, then that he would before the next *Eaſter*, according to the Judgment of the Legate and the Biſhops make further ſatisfaction for what had been taken away: and to this he likewiſe Swore with certain *Fidejuſſors* or Sureties.

A Treaty held between the K. and the Clergy concerning their Damages, and the K's offer of Reſtitution.

Whereupon the Legate conſented to this Propoſition, and would have had it preſently put in execution, and took it ill that the Biſhops, did not accept of it, which made him a little ſuſpected of ſhewing the King too much favour; and therefore the Biſhops gave a dilatory Anſwer to this propoſal, and only agreed, there ſhould firſt be an *Inquiſition* made of all the Damages, and of what had been taken from them, and then the Value or Sum total thereof to be preſented to the King, who conſented to this Agreement; and ſo there was no more done that Day.

The Legate aſſents to the K's propoſal, and is therefore ſuſpected of partiality.

[2] *Ib.* p. 247. The K. before the *Interdict* could be taken off, publickly renews his Subjection to the Pope.

[2] On the morrow, they all met again in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*'s, where after many various Diſcourſes about the Relaxation of the *Interdict*, the King before the great Altar, in the ſight of the Clergy and Laiety, renewed his * *infamous* Subjection of the Crown and Kingdom of *England*, with the Lordſhip or Dominion of *Ireland* to the Pope, and the King's Charter which was formerly Sealed with Wax, and delivered to *Pandulph*, was now * Sealed with Gold, and delivered to the Legate to the uſe of the Pope, and the *Roman* Church.

* *Famoſa.*
* *Bullata.*

[3] *Id. Ib.*

[3] But as to the Reſtitution of what had been taken from the Clergy, the Third of *November* was appointed to Treat of it at *Reading*; but when they were met there on that Day, the King being abſent, they were appointed to meet again at *Wallingford* Three Days after, upon the Sixth of that Month, where the King (as he had done before) voluntarily offered to ſatisfie the Biſhops and all others whomſoever; but this ſeemed a ſmall matter to ſuch as had their Caſtles Demoliſhed, their Houſes pulled down, and their Orchards and Woods ſtubbed up; wherefore the King and Biſhops agreed to

The K. again offers to make good his firſt propoſal, but is not accepted by the Clergy.

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The matter is referred to the Arbitration of Four Barons. *Id. Ib.*

to refer the matter to the Arbitration of Four Barons, ſo that the King ſhould make ſatisfaction according to their Judgment.

After this the King and Legate with the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and all the Religious Perſons concerned in the buſineſs, met again at *Reading* on the Sixth of *December*, where every one produced a Schedule or Inventory of what had been taken from him. with the Value of the Damage he had ſuſtained thereby: But the Legate favouring the King, they were put off, and payment delayed except to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and ſuch Biſhops who went out of *England* to him, who received there 15000 Marks of Silver.

N. 103. and 104. It does not appear what was done on this Inquiſition, only that Commiſſioners were again appointed to enquire into the Da-Damages.

[*] *Rot. pat* 15. *Johan. P.* 2. *M.* 8. *Dorſ. Ibid. M.* 7. *Dorſ.*

I cannot find who theſe Barons abovementioned were, or what they did in this Arbitration, only Dr. *Brady* has given us in his Appendix Two ſeveral Writs extant upon the Patent Rolls of this Year, directed to certain Commiſſioners in the Counties of *Dorſet* and *Norwich*, in purſuance of the aforeſaid Agreement with the Biſhops; to make Inquiſition in every Dioceſſe, before certain Clerks of the Archbiſhop, what had been taken from the Biſhops, Clerks Eccleſiaſtical Perſons and Laicks, and to return it to the King, as and other appears * upon Record in the Tower; where is alſo inſerted the Names of the Commiſſioners for each Dioceſs, tho' the Inquiſitions themſelves are not to be found; which in all probability were the Inventories or Schedules alſo above-mentioned.

The Barons of the *North* are reconciled to the King.

About this time alſo (as *Rad. de Coggeshal* relates) the Barons of the *North* were reconciled to the King, by the mediation of the Legate and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Biſhops and Barons of *England*, on this Condition, that they ſhould ſtill enjoy their antient Liberties; which ſeems to refer to the Quarrel, that this Author tells us the King had with them not long before, upon the account of their refuſing to follow him into *Poictou*.

[4] *Id. Ib.* The Pope writes to the Legate to fill up the vacant Biſhopricks and Abbeys.

About this time [4] the Pope Wrote to his Legate *Nicholas* to fill all vacant Abbacies and Biſhopricks with fit Perſons, and wrote to all Convents and Chapters, Commanding them to comply with his Judgment and Determination; and if there were any Rebels, or ſuch as Contradicted him, that he ſhould compel them to Obedience by Eccleſiaſtick Cenſures without any benefit of Appeal.

[*] *Id. Ib.*

The great abuſes committed by the Legate.

* The Legate armed with this Power, deſpiſed the Archbiſhop and Biſhops of the Kingdom, and went to the vacant Churches with the King's Clerks and Officers, and placed in them unfit Perſons; all ſuch as Appealed to the Church of *Rome* he ſuſpended, and ſuffered them not to have one Penny of what was their own to bear their Charges thither. In many Places he gave the vacant Parochial Churches to his own Clerks, without the conſent of the Patrons; ſuch was the effect of the Pope's late uſurped Power in this Kingdom. Nevertheleſs *Walter* of *Coventry*, tho' he agrees with *Matt. Paris* in the reſt of this Relation, yet ſays, that the vacant Biſhopricks of *York*, *Durham*, *Litchfield*, and others, were not now filled up, becauſe the King refuſed to beſtow them but according to the antient Cuſtom of the Kingdom, that is, he would ſtill recommend thoſe whom he would have elected; which the Biſhops oppoſing, thoſe Sees yet remained vacant, till it ſhould be agreed at *Rome*, between the Pope and the King's Envoys, how far that antient Cuſtom ſhould be obſerved.

Several Vacancies not filled up, and why.

But

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[5] *Gu. B. Rigord.* *Olphonſo*, K. of *Arragon* undertaking the Protections of the Counts of *Thoulouſe*, *Foix*, &c. is routed by Count *Montfort*.

And ſlain, and his Troops cut all to pieces.

But *England* affording us litle more worth noting this Year, we muſt ſee what was done in foreign Parts; and here both our own as well as the *French* [5] Hiſtorians relate, that *Peter*, King of *Arragon* having taken into his Confederacy and Protection the Counts of *Toulouſe*, *Foix*, and *Commenge*, with the Viſcount of *Beziers*, and others, whoſe Territories *Simon*, Count *Montfort*, had not long before Seized for their Protecting the *Albigenſes*, who, being then declared Hereticks by the Church of *Rome*, undertook an unfortunate War in their Defence: But *Montfort* having put a ſtrong Gariſon into a Town called *Mureƈt*, the King of *Arragon* laid Siege to it in the Month of *September*, his Army conſiſting of near a Hundred thouſand Men: *Montfort* being then at Caſtle *Naudarie*, tho' he could ſcarce muſter up Twelve hundred, yet immediately he caſt himſelf into the Place, from whence he made a furious Sally upon that King; who contemning the ſmallneſs of his Numbers, ſate himſelf down to dinner, at the beginning of the Fight. But however before his Troops could be drawn up in any Order to reſiſt the Enemy, they were all cut to pieces, and the King himſelf then marching out when it was too late, was thrown off his Horſe, and killed by the Common Soldiers, that refuſed to give him Quarter, becauſe they looked upon him as an *Apoſtate*; the Victors alſo carried off his *Standard-Royal*, which was ſent in Triumph to *Rome*: So that the whole Field being covered with dead Bodies, there was never known a more entire Defeat; the Earl of *Toulouſe*, (commonly called by our Writers the Earl of St. *Giles*) fled out of this Battle.

[1.] *Id. ib.* The Earl of *Toulouſe* looſes his Earldom, and the Citizens their Liberties.

[1] Upon which Blow the City of *Thoulouſe* offered to Submit to what Conditions the Pope's Legate ſhould pleaſe to impoſe; but matters being gone too far to admit of any Reconciliation, it was reſolved to ſtrip that Earl of his Eſtate, and the Citizens of theirs; ſo that the poor Prince not knowing whither elſe to flie for Refuge, was forced to come over into *England*, to his Uncle King *John*, and not long after was deprived of all his Dominions by the Pope's Authority.

I have been the more particular in the Relation of this Affair, as being the laſt Effort which the Princes who favoured the *Albigenſes* ever made in *France*; from whence being expelled upon the taking this City of *Toulouſe*, they fled to the Mountains of *Savoy* and *Pyemont* to thoſe of their own Opinions, who were ſettled there long before.

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[2] *M. P.* The Archbiſhop and Bp's meet at *Dunſtable*, to conſult how to hinder the Legate from filling up the vacant Churches, and agree to Appeal to the Pope.

[2] King *John* kept his *Chriſtmas* this Year at *Windſor*, where being upon ſomewhat better Terms with his Nobility than before: He beſtowed a great Number of Rich Feſtival Liveries among them; then after the Octaves of *Epiphany*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with his Suffragans met at *Dunſtable*, to Treat of the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church; for it much troubled them that the Legate without their Advice, and in favour to the King's Inclinations, ſhould place inſufficient Prelates in vacant Churches, rather by Intruſion than Canonical Election: At length, when the matter had been long and deliberately debated, the Archbiſhop ſent Two Clerks to the Legate then at *Burton* upon *Trent*, who, by Appealing to the Pope in the Archbiſhop's Name, prohibited him to pre-

ſume to inſtitute Prelates in his Province, to whom of Right it belonged to do it. But the Legate not valuing the Appeal, diſpatches *Pandulph* (now but a private Perſon) with the King's aſſent to the Court of *Rome*, that ſo he might defeat the purpoſe of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops; and when he came there, he did not a little blaſt the Credit of the Archbiſhop with the Pope, and ſo much extolled the King that he affirmed, *he never heard of a more humble and modeſt Prince*, So that he obtained great favour with the Pope: And tho' Maſter *Simon de Langton* the Archbiſhop's Brother was ſent by the Biſhops to oppoſe *Pandulph*, yet ſince he now brought over the King's Charters, containing the Subjection and Tribute of the Kingdom of *England* and Ireland, *Simon* could not be heard in what he offered againſt him. The ſame *Pandulph* alſo affirmed, that the Archbiſhop and Biſhops were too Rigid and Covetous in the exacting Reſtitution of what had been taken away in the time of the *Interdict*; and that they had beyond all Equity depreſſed the King himſelf, and the Liberties of the Kingdom; and thus for ſome time the deſigns of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops were put off.

The Legate diſpatches *Pandulf* to oppoſe their Appeal, ſo that it is not received by the Pope, who approves of what the K. and the Legate had done.

[3] *Id.* p. 248. The K. ſends Money to his Commanders in *Flanders*, who thereupon take ſeveral Towns and Caſtles in thoſe Parts.

[3] In the mean time the King had ſent a great Sum of Money to the Chief Commanders of the Forces in *Flanders*, that thereby they might be enabled to Invade and waſt *France* on that Side; which they did, and took ſeveral Towns and Caſtles, and much harraſſed the Country, waſting the Territories of *Lewis* the *French* King's Son in thoſe Parts.

[4] *Id. Ib.* The K. and Q. go over to *Rochel* with a great Army, where many of the Barons of *Poictou* ſwear Fealty to him. The K. by Letters gives his Juſtices in *England* notice of his good ſucceſſes, and of the taking many Places in thoſe Parts. And that the Earl of *Marche* and other Noblemen had done Homage and ſwore Fealty to him.

[4] And now the King having ſent Envoy's to *Rome* about taking off the *Interdict*, He with his Queen took Shipping at *Portſmouth* upon *Candlemas-day*, and within few Days after arrived with a great Army at *Rochel*, whither divers Barons of *Poictou* came, and ſwore Fealty to him: And preſently after his Landing, there were Surrendred to him many Caſtles then in poſſeſſion of his Enemies, of which he gave his Juſtices in *England* a large account by his Letters, and for them I refer the Reader to our Author; but the Deſign of them was, to let them know, that the Term of Truce which he had formerly granted to the Earls of *Marche* and *d' Augi* being expired, and not finding them diſpoſed to a perfect Peace, he had thereupon Invaded the Territories of *Geoffery de Lirenan*, (a great Lord of their Party) and taken his Caſtle of *Merevent*, and that after that, he had alſo beſieged another Caſtle of the ſaid *Geoffry*, called *Novent*, which having been battered for a while, both the Nobleman himſelf, and his Sons were forced to ſurrender it to the King's Mercy; and that being at *Parthenay* on *Trinity-Sunday*, there came to him the Earl of *Marche* and the Count *d' Augi* with *Geoffry de Lirenan*, who all did Homage, and ſwore Fealty to him; upon which he had alſo agreed to a Marriage between his Daughter *Joan* and the Son of the Earl of *Marche*. This Letter bears Date at *Parthenay* in the Sixteenth Year of his Reign: But his good Succeſs in theſe Parts was but ſhort, as you will find anon.

Another Letter of the K's. to *William* E. Mareſchal to the ſame effect.

In the mean time, I cannot here omit, that whilſt the King lay at *Rochel*, he alſo wrote another Letter to *William* Earl-Mareſchal, wherein he gave him a farther Account of his Succeſs in thoſe Parts, and that preſently after his Landing there were ſurrender'd and

quitted

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quitted to him Twenty ſix Caſtles and Fortreſſes; and whilſt he was beſieging *Milleſen-Caſtle*, there came to him one Friar *William* of *St. Owen*, with the Form of releaſing the *Interdict*, which he ſent to *Peter* Biſhop of *Winton*, his Juſticiary of *England*, with Inſtruction to the ſaid Earl-Mareſchal, and the reſt of the Earls, Barons, and Great Men of *England*, (who had alſo the like Letters ſent them) that they ſhould obſerve the Directions of the ſaid Juſticiary concerning this Affair of the Releaſe of the *Interdict*: This Letter bears date at *Rochel* the 8th of *March*, and was formerly only to be found among the Records in the *Tower*, but it is now publiſhed by Dr. *Brady* in his * *Appendix*.

Rot. Clauſ. 15 *Johan. parte prima. m.* 1. *Dorſ.* * N. 106.

[4] *M.P.* p. 249. The P. writes to his Legate, letting him know that the Commiſſioners on both ſides had all agreed, That the *Interdict* ſhould be Releaſed, and on what Conditions.

[4] About this time, the Pope wrote Letters to Cardinal *Nicholas* his Legate in *England*, concerning the aforeſaid Affair, in which he gave him an Account, that the King's Envoys, *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Robert de Maris*, Archdeacon of *Northumberland*, and one Mr. *Adam* a Clerk, had agreed with *Simon Langton* and certain other Clerks, Commiſſioners for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the reſt of the Biſhops, in the Pope's Preſence, that it was very much for the Advantage both of the Eccleſiaſticks, and Seculars, that the *Interdict* ſhould be releaſed; and then with all their Conſents appoints the Form of it, by which he order'd 40000 Marks to be paid to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, or their Aſſigns; but yet with a Diſcount of what they had received before; which being paid, and further Security given (as it was directed in the Form it ſelf) the Legate without any more ado was to releaſe the *Interdict*; yet Caution was given, that the King ſhould bind Himſelf by his Oath, and Letters Patents, with Six others, both Biſhops and Earls, as his *Fide-juſſors*, or *Sureties*, for the Payment of 12000 Marks a year, by equal Portions, until the 40000 Marks were fully diſcharged; Theſe Letters are dated at the *Lateran Palace* at *Rome*.

[5] *Id. ib.* The K. at his departure left the Legate and the Earl-Mareſchal his Commiſſioners to act for him. The Former Summons a Synod at St. *Pauls*, about releaſing the *Interdict*; and the Conditions of it.

[5] 'Tis true, that at the time when *Nicholas* the Legate received this Authentick Anſwer from the Pope, the King was himſelf beyond Sea, but at his departure from *England* he left him and *William* Earl-Mareſchal his Commiſſioners for this Buſineſs; Hereupon the Legate aſſembled a Great Council or Synod at St. *Paul's* in *London*, where the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, and others, were all aſſembled, about this Affair of the *Interdict*; and there he propounded to them the Form of Reſtitution for Damages, for what had been taken away from the Biſhops, *&c.* which had been drawn up by the Pope at *Rome*, with the Conſent of all Parties; alſo he commanded Certificates of what Money had been paid to the Biſhops and others; upon which it appear'd by a ſtated Account, that the Archbiſhop and Monks of *Canterbury*, with the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, had before their return into *England*, received by the Hands of *Pandolf* the late Legate, 12000 Marks *Sterling*; and in the Council held at *Reading*, on the 7th of *December*, after their return, That the ſame Biſhops and Monks had received 15000 Marks more, to be divided among them; ſo that there remained in Arrears only 13000 Marks; for the Payment of which, they had the King's Letters Patents, and the Securities of the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Norwich*,

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[1] *Id. ib.* The Sentence of *Interdict* releaſed, after above 6 years continuance.

[1] ſo that after the Stating and Agreeing all theſe Demands, the Legate on the Feaſt of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, publickly releaſed the Sentence of *Interdict*, after it had continued Six Years, Three Months and Fourteen Days. For this mighty Benefit *Te Deum* was ſolemnly Sung by the Clergy; and indeed, the whole Nation highly rejoyced, that they were now Reſtored to the Free and Publick Exerciſe of Religious Duties.

A great number of other Eccleſiaſtics require Satisfaction for their Loſſes, but go away without it.

The *Interdict* being thus releaſed, there came to the Legate a great Multitude of Abbots, Priors, *Knights-Templars*, and *Hoſpitallers*, Abbeſſes, and Clerks, all deſiring Satisfaction for the Damages and Injuries they had received from the King during the *Interdict*; but the Legate anſwered them all alike, that there was no mention made of their Damages and Injuries in the Pope's Letters, and therefore he neither could, nor ought to tranſgreſs the Bounds of his Authority; only he adviſed them to apply themſelves to the Pope, and Petition him to do them Juſtice concerning their Injuries and Loſſes. Upon which anſwer, this whole Body of Eccleſiaſtical Sufferers were forced to return Home hopeleſs of any other Relief, than what might be gain'd by Petitioning the Pope, which never came to any thing.

Thus none but the Rich Biſhops and ſome Abbies received any Benefit by this Agreement, whilſt the Poorer Monaſteries, and others of the Inferior Clergy, received no Satisfaction for all their Loſſes.

Dr. *Brady*'s Excuſe for the King's Violence and Injuſtice to the Religious Houſes, proved inſufficient.

Here Dr. *Brady* would fain excuſe the King, as if nothing had been due from him to thoſe Religious Houſes, becauſe he had before procured their Charters, teſtifying, That what he had taken from them was freely given: But the Doctor himſelf ſufficiently confutes this Excuſe, when he acknowledges from our Author (tho' under the former Year) that the King, by his ſubtilty, had extorted from thoſe Religious Houſes certain Charters, wherein they acknowledged they had given him *gratis* whatſoever Money he had violently wreſted from them; and the Doctor muſt needs know, That as well by the *Canon* as *Common* Law, *Dureſs* is always looked upon as a *Good Plea* againſt any Acts done thereby, eſpecially by Spiritual Corporations, who are always eſteem'd as in a ſtate of Minority; and therefore tho' in the *Patent* Roll of the 16th of this King, (which the Doctor has given us at large in his **Appendix*) this Diſcharge is entred in the Form of an *Acquittance* from all the Abbots and Convents, by which they acknowledged full Satisfaction, for what the King had received of them during the *Interdict*; yet this will not do the Buſineſs for which it is brought, but rather ſerves to make the Wrong more apparent, ſince if the King could extort that Money from them, he might likewiſe by the ſame Power exact what *Releaſes* he pleas'd for it: But it is time to look abroad, and ſee what Succeſs the King's Army now met with in Foreign Parts.

*N. 111.

[2] *M. P. Ib.* The K. marches with his Army into *Poictou*, and beſieges a ſtrong Caſtle.

[2] About this time the King marched his Army out of *Poictou* into *Bretaigne*, and beſieged the ſtrong Caſtle *de la Roche au Moine*, upon the River *Loir* between *Nants* and *Angiers*; whereupon Prince *Lewis*, the King of *France*'s Eldeſt Son, came with a great Army to Relieve it; but King *John* ſending forth his Scouts to diſcover their Numbers and Strength, they upon their return informed him, that they were inferior to him in Both, and perſuaded him to give them

Battel:

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But being ready to fight, he is deſerted by the Barons of *Poictou*, which proves the loſs of the Expedition.

Battel: Upon this he commanded his Soldiers to Arm, with a Reſolution to March and Fight the Prince; but the Barons of *Poictou* refus'd to follow the King, alledging, They were not then prepar'd for a Battel, which made him afraid of their accuſtomed Treachery; ſo that when he was juſt upon the Point of taking the Caſtle, he was forced to raiſe the Siege, and retreat. But *Lewis*, ſo ſoon as he heard the King was coming towards him, fearing to Engage, retired likewiſe; thus both Armies having ignominiouſly declined an Encounter, ſhamefully turn'd their Backs upon each other, without ever ſtriking a ſtroke.

The *Fr.* Hiſtorians relate this Action very partially on their ſide.

But the *French* Hiſtorians, (eſpecially *Rigord*, and others from him) report this Action very partially on their own ſide, for they ſay, That Prince *Lewis* aſſembled an Army at *Chinon* Caſtle, and ſet forward towards King *John*; but ſo ſoon as he heard they were within one Day's march of him, he fled, and left his Engines with which he had batter'd the Caſtle, behind him; and that *Lewis* afterwards took the Caſtles of *Beaufort* and *Moncenter*, waſted many rich Places belonging to the Viſcount of *Toars*, and demoliſhed the New Walls of *Angiers*, with which King *John* had encompaſſed it.

M. P. Id. ib. p. 251.

The Emp. *Otto* utterly defeated by K. *Philip* at the Battel of *Bovines*.

But this is more certain, that within leſs than a Month after, (that is to ſay) upon the 27th of *July*, the Famous Battel of *Bovines* was fought between *Tournay* and *Liſle* (in *Artois*). For at this time the Emperor *Otto*, the King of *England*, and Earl of *Flanders*, with the Dukes of *Lovain* and *Brabant*, had made a League againſt the King of *France*, and invaded his Kingdom, whilſt his Son *Lewis* was engaged in *Poictou* and *Bretaigne*, againſt King *John*; at this Battel, tho' the Emperor had infinitely the Odds in Men, and the Perſon of the King of *France* was in great Danger, having been thrown off his Horſe, and trod under Foot; yet at length his Enemies were all Vanquiſhed, the Emperor *Otto* being put to flight, his Standard, (which was a *Dragon*, under an *Imperial Eagle* all Guilt,) taken, and the Chariot that carried it, broken in pieces. There were alſo made Priſoners five Earls; Three whereof were *Ferrand* Earl of *Flanders*; *Reginald* Earl of *Boloigne*; and *William Longeſpe*, Baſe-Brother to King *John*; beſides 25 Noblemen that carried Banners: Earl *Ferrand* was impriſon'd in a Tower at *Paris*, and *Reginald* in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Perone* in *Picardy*, laden with Irons, and Chain'd to a great piece of Timber; but as for the Emperor, he was forced to flie away into his own Territories in *Saxony*, where he lived Privately all the reſt of his Days, having been not long before *Excommunicated* and *Depoſed* by the Pope, who had beſtowed the Empire upon *Fretheric* King of *Sicily*, and not long after he was Crown'd King of the *Romans*. This great Victory ſo advanced the *French* King's Affairs, that neither King *John*, nor any other Prince was able for the future to withſtand him.

[3] *Id. Ib.*

A Truce is at laſt concluded between King *Philip* and K. *John* for five years.

[3] But not long after this Victory, by the Procurement of *Ranulf* Earl of *Cheſter*, and the Mediation of *Robert* the Pope's Legate (ſaith *Rigord*) and of certain Religious Perſons, (as *Matt. Paris* relates) a Truce was concluded between King *Philip* and King *John*, as appears by thoſe Letters Patents, which our Author has put down at large; in which King *Philip* recites, That he had granted a Truce to *John* King of *England*, and his Subjects, from *Thurſday* after the Exaltation

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Exaltation of the Croſs in *September*, to laſt for *Five Years* compleat; and in the mean while, all Things and Perſons were to remain in the ſame ſtate as they were in at the time of the Truce made; which Truce being agreed to, King *John* return'd into *England* on the 19th of *October*: And this was the laſt Expedition that ever he made into Foreign Parts.

[4] *Id.* p 251. The Earls and Barons meet at *St. Edmunds-Bury*, to conſult how to re-obtain King *Henry* I. his Charter.

[4] About the ſame time, the Earls and Barons, under the Pretence of a Pilgrimage, but really for quite another Purpoſe, met at *St. Edmunds-Bury*; and when they had for a long while conſulted privately together, the Charter of King *Henry* the *Firſt* was produced, which the Barons had lately received from *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* at *London*, as was ſaid before; that contained the Laws and Liberties that K. *Edward* had granted to the Holy *Engliſh* Church, and the Great Men of the Kingdom, with ſome other Liberties, which King *Henry* had added himſelf. From whence we may obſerve, that the Laws of King *Edward*, and the Charter of King *Henry* the *Firſt*, were then looked upon to be the ſame in effect, excepting ſome few Additions; ſo likewiſe was that Charter which King *John* not long after granted, eſteemed to be the ſame in effect, as the above-mentioned Laws and Charter, only expreſſed more at large.

[5] *Id. ib.* They all ſwear at the High Altar never to deſiſt making War upon the King till he granted it.

[5] When theſe were all met at the Church of the Monaſtery of *St. Edmunds*, the Greater Barons began firſt to Swear at the High Altar, That if the King refuſed to grant them thoſe Liberties they demanded, they would make War upon him, and withdraw themſelves from their Obedience, until he ſhould by a Charter, Sealed with his Seal, reconfirm them; and they likewiſe unanimouſly agreed, That after *Chriſtmas* they would all go to the King in a Body, to demand his Confirmation of the Liberties above-mentioned; and in the mean time they would provide themſelves with Horſes and Arms, that if perchance the King ſhould ſtart from his own Oath, (as they believed by reaſon of his Double-dealing he would) they might then compel him to give them Satisfaction, by taking his Caſtles into their Cuſtody.

The Account the Annals of *Waverly* give of the Reaſons of this great Diſcontent of the Nobility at this Time.

The Annals of *Waverly* do alſo under this Year give us the Occaſion of this general Diſcontent of the *Engliſh* Nobility; affirming, That *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (being left the King's Juſticiary during his abſence) endeavouring by degrees to Subject the Great Men of the Kingdom to the King's Will, thro' the abuſe of his Power, did but increaſe their Diſpleaſure againſt his Maſter; inſomuch that their fury was not at all pacified when that Author wrote, which ſeems to be about the very time that theſe things happened; his words being, *Neque eſt ſedatus furor ille uſque adhuc.*

Nicholas, the Pope's Legate, is call'd home, upon which the K. becomes milder to the Clergy.

As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, this Year affords little more, but that (according to *Walter* of *Coventry*) *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, the Pope's Legate, was, not long after the King's Return out of *Poictou*, recalled to *Rome*, becauſe he was accuſed for having carried himſelf with leſs Honeſty and Courage than he ought to have done in behalf of the Church: wherefore, when the King found he was bereft of his Aſſiſtance, he became Milder, and ſhewed more Benignity to the Biſhops and Clergy, to whom he made larger Satisfaction for the Injuries he had done them; beſtowing on ſome,

Mannors;

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Mannors; on others, Immunities and Privileges for their Houſes; and on thoſe that were more Covetous, ready Money.

I can find nothing more Remarkable to have happened this Year, [1] only in *December William* King of *Scots* died in the Forty Ninth year of his Reign, and the Seventy Second of his Life; which I mention, becauſe it has been hitherto ſo rare among the Kings of that Nation, either to Live, or Reign ſo long.

[1] *C. M.* The Death of *William* K. of *Scots*, with his Character.

He was a Prince of great Valour and perſonal Worth, and being much lamented by his Subjects, was ſucceeded by Prince *Alexander* his Son, then a Youth of but Seventeen years of Age.

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And now I am come to the 17th Year of King *John*'s Reign, [2] when he kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Worceſter*, tho' it was but for One Day; and ſo haſtening from thence to *London*, took up his abode in the *New-Temple*, which ſtood where thoſe Inns-of-Court now called the *Inner* and *Middle-Temples* are ſince built: Thither the Great Men came to him in very pompous Military Accoutrements, and deſired that the Liberties and Laws of King *Edward*, with other Privileges granted to the Kingdom of *England*, and *Engliſh* Church, might be confirmed, as they were contained in the Charters of *Henry* the *Firſt*. Moreover they affirmed, That at the time of his Abſolution at *Wincheſter*, he promiſed to obſerve thoſe Laws and Liberties, and likewiſe bound his ſaid Promiſe with his Oath: The King hereupon perceiving the Earneſtneſs of the Barons, and their Preparations for War if he denied them, was much ſtartled; but in regard of the greatneſs and difficulty of the Matter, he deſired time to give them a poſitive Anſwer until the Cloſe of *Eaſter*: Many things were now propounded on both ſides, but at length the King (though unwillingly) found for his Sureties the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Ely* and *William* Earl-Mareſchal, that on the Day prefixed he would give them full and reaſonable Satisfaction, upon which all the Great Men return'd home.

[2] *M. P.* The K. preſently after *Chriſtmas* comes to *London*, where all the Great Men of the Kingdom reſort to him, to demand the Confirmation of K. *Henry*'s Charter.

The K. being afraid of the Barons, deſires ſome time to give them an Anſwer, and in the mean while gives Security to ſatisfie them.

About the ſame time alſo, the King granted a Charter under his Seal, for the Freedom of Elections to Biſhopricks, and Abbies, and all other Conventual Churches, to chuſe their Biſhops, Abbots, *&c.* without any Letters of Nomination or Recommendation of ſuch Perſons as were Faithful to him, *&c.* and this was contrary to the uſage of his Predeceſſors.

Id. p. 263.

This Privilege was not only confirmed by the firſt Clauſe of *Magna Charta*, but alſo not long after this preſent Charter, made by the Pope's, which you may find at large in our Author.

Id. Ib.

So that the antient Prerogative of Nominating to Abbies and Convents, and alſo to Deans and Chapters, fit Perſons to be Elected Biſhops, was never after this time fully reſtored to the Crown till the 25th of *Henry* VIII. when by a Statute made on purpoſe it was ordain'd, that together with the *Conge d'eſlire*, ſhould be alſo ſent down a Letter miſſive from his Majeſty, containing the Name of the Perſon, whom he would have choſen Archbiſhop or Biſhop; and if they fail'd to make their Election accordingly, then the King by his Letters Patents might Nominate whom he ſhould think fit.

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[3] *Id. ib.* The K. to ſecure himſelf, makes all Men do Homage, and ſwear Fealty to him, and then undertakes the *Cruſado*

[3] In the mean while, the King, the better (as he thought) to ſecure himſelf for the future, cauſed the Homages to be renewed throughout *England*, and all Men to be ſworn to himſelf againſt all others; and further ſtill to provide for his own Safety, upon *Candlemas-Day* he took upon him the *Cruſado, i.e.* Vowed an Expedition to the *Holy-Land*, tho' it was thought an Act rather of Fear than Devotion, that ſo thereby he might be more ſafe under the Protection of that Badge.

[4] *C. N. T.* Other Noblemen take the *Croſs* at the ſame time.

[4] At the ſame time alſo, that the King took the *Croſs* from the Hands of the Biſhop of *London*, the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Derby*, with other Noblemen did ſo likewiſe; But this Undertaking (if ever really intended) came to Nothing, the Civil Wars between the King and the Barons breaking out preſently after.

[5] *M. P. Ib.* The Nobility meet again at *Stanford.*

For in [5] *Eaſter* Week, the Great Men met at *Stanford* with Horſe and Arms, and had drawn almoſt the whole Nobility of *England* into their Party, ſo that they made up a very great Army; for upon their Muſter they were found to be no leſs than Two Thouſand Knights, beſides other Horſe and Footmen, armed with divers Weapons.

[1] *Id.* p.254. Who were the chief Inciters to this Undertaking.

To which the A.Bp was the Principal Adviſer.

[1] The Chief Inciters to this Undertaking, were, *Robert Fitz-Walter*, *Euſtace de Veſci*, *Richard de Percy*, *Robert de Roſs*, *Peter de Bruis*, *Nicholas de Stutevil*, *Saher*, Earl of *Wincheſter*; *Robert*, Earl of *Clare*; *Roger*, Earl *Bigod*; *William de Mumbray*, (alias *Mowbray*) *Roger de Creiſſy*, *Ranulph Fitz-Robert*, *Robert de Ver*; with other Barons, as well of *Norman* as *Engliſh* Extraction, whoſe Names being many, and needleſs to be repeated, I refer the Reader curious in ſuch Matters to the Author; and theſe were all Confederate, tho', under hand, *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was their Principal Adviſer.

[2] *Id. ib.* The K. being at *Oxford* ſends the A.Bp to the Barons, to know their Demands.

They ſend the K. their Demands in Writing.

At [2] this time the King was at *Oxford* in expectation of the coming of the Great Men; and on *Monday* after *Eaſter*, the abovementioned Barons rendevouzed at *Brackley* in *Northamptonſhire*; but ſo ſoon as the King heard of it, he ſent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William Mareſchal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and ſome other Wiſe Men, to know what the Liberties and Laws were, that they ſo earneſtly deſired: Upon which the Confederate Earls and Barons delivered to them a Schedule or Writing, which indeed for the moſt part, contained the Antient Cuſtoms of the Kingdom; affirming, That if the King would not forthwith Grant and Confirm them under his Seal, they would compell him, by ſeizing his Caſtles and Poſſeſſions, until ſuch time as he had given them Satisfaction.

The K. upon hearing them read, falls into a Paſſion, and refuſes to grant them.

The Commiſſioners returning to the King with the Schedule, read to him all the Articles therein contain'd; whereupon falling into a great Paſſion, he asked, *Why the Barons did not, together with theſe Exactions, demand of him the Kingdom alſo? They are all fooliſh things* (ſaid he) *and without colour of Reaſon*, and ſwore a great Oath, *That he would never grant ſuch Liberties as would make himſelf a Slave.*

The Annals of *Waverly* give their Account of the Original of the Barons War.

Thus began this Unhappy War by the Nobility's poſitively inſiſting upon, and the King's as obſtinately refuſing to confirm the Laws of King *Edward*, and the Liberties and Free Cuſtoms of other preceeding Kings, as the Writer of the Annals of *Waverly* here very judiciouſly obſerves: To which he alſo ſays, That thoſe Laws had been very much Corrupted and Infring'd, during this King's Father's

Reign; but chiefly in his Own, who had diſinherited divers of the Great Men without any Judgment of their Peers, and had Condemned others to cruel Deaths, and violated their Wives and Daughters; ſo that his Tyrannical Will was inſtead of a Law.

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To which we may add the further Teſtimony of the Abbot of *Dundrainand*, one of the Writers of the Chronicle of *Mailros*, who lived at that very time, and being a *Scotch-man*, may be ſuppoſed to write impartially concerning the Original of this Quarrel, of which under this Year he gives us this Relation.

Another large Account of it from the Chronicle of *Mailros*.

England (ſays he,) was now in a ſtrange Confuſion, ſo that 'tis wonderful to Relate it; and who hath ever heard the like? For the Body deſired to Rule the Head, the People would Govern their ‘King: yet divers Reaſons required it; for he perverted the antient approved Cuſtoms and Laws of this Kingdom, and did not Govern his People with Equity; but his Will was to him the only Law: He oppreſt his own Subjects, and preferred barbarous Mercenaries before them; He deſtroyed the Lawful Heirs that were delivered as Pledges to him, and Strangers enjoyed their Inheritances; and then proceeds to give an Account of the beginning and progreſs of this War, to the ſame effect with our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians.

I have been the more particular in this Account, to let the Reader underſtand, that it was not without cruel Oppreſſions and great Provocations, and after the King's refuſal to obſerve his own Oath and Engagements, that the greateſt part of the Nobility, Clergy, and People of *England* then took up Arms againſt Him.

[3] *Id. ib.* The A. Biſhop and Earl Mareſchal carry back the K's refuſal, whereupon the Bp's chuſe *R. Fitz-Walter* for their General, and then by meſſage defie the King and beſiege the Caſtle of *Northampton*, but cannot take it.

Walter of *Coventry* alſo Relates, that there were ſeveral Treaties between the King and the Barons, concerning this great Affair; and that the laſt was not far from *Brackley*, and agrees with *Matt. Paris*, that [3] When the Archbiſhop and *William Mareſchal* could not bring the King to conſent to the Barons demands, they returned to them, and gave them an account of what he had ſaid; the Barons hereupon by their Meſſengers defied the King, and renounced their Homages lately made him; and [4] then choſe the Lord *Robert Fitz-Walter* their General, calling him *the Mareſchal of the Army of God, and of Holy Church*; and preſently upon this they marched to *Northampton*, and beſieged that Caſtle Fifteen Days, tho' without ſucceſs for want of Engines to batter it; ſo that they were forced to raiſe the Siege, and went to *Bedford* Caſtle, where they were kindly Received by *William Beauchamp* its owner.

[4] *M. P* p. 254.

[5] *Id. Ib.* The Citizens of *London* invite the Barons thither, who immediately march up and ſeize the City.

[5] Thither came alſo to them Meſſengers from the City of *London*, giving them privately to underſtand, that if they would poſſeſs themſelves of that City they muſt make haſte; whereupon they preſently marched to *Ware*, and from thence in the Night to *London*, and on the 24th of *May*, early in the Morning, at the time of Maſs, without any noiſe entred the City at *Aldgate* by the favour of ſome of the rich Citizens, the poorer ſort not daring to oppoſe it. On the other Side, the King all this time acting only on the Defenſive part, ſtored his Caſtles with Men and Proviſions; having alſo ſent Meſſengers beyond Sea for foreign Aſſiſtance.

[1] *Id. Ib.* The Confederate Barons being now Maſters of the City, threaten thoſe of the King's party, that if they did not deſert him, they would treat them as Enemies

[1] The Barons having poſſeſſed themſelves of *London*, after they had placed their own Guards at every Gate, and taken Security of the

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the Citizens, diſpoſed of all things therein as they pleaſed; and having now got ready their Engines of Battery, they began to beſiege the Tower; and then ſent their Letters to the Earls, Barons, and Knights that really, or ſeemingly adhered to the King, threatning them, that if they would not deſert that *perjured King*, and faithfully cloſe with them in aſſerting their Liberties, they would proceed againſt them as publick Enemies, beat down their Caſtles, burn their Houſes, and deſtroy their Warrens, Parks, and Orchards.

[3] *Ib.* p. 255. The Names of the Earls and Barons who had not Confederated.

[2] The Earls and Barons who had not yet ſworn to maintain the Liberties before mentioned, were *William Mareſhcal* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, *H.* Earl of *Cornwall*, *William de Albiney*, *Robert de Vipont*, *Peter Fitz-Hubert*, *Brien de Liſle*, *G. de Lucy*, *G. de Furnival*, *Thomas Baſſet*, *H. de Braibroke*, *John de Baſſingborn*, *William de Cantilupe*, *Henry de Cornhulte*, *John Fitz-Hugh*, *Hugh de Nevile*, *Philip de Albiney*, *John Marſchal*, *William Brewere*, moſt of whom upon the Command of the Barons left the King, went to *London*, and Confederated with them: Here the Manuſcript Copy of *Roger* of *Wendover* (in the *Cottonian* Library) further adds, that now the Pleas of the *Exchequer* and thoſe of Sheriffs Ceaſed throughout *England*, becauſe there was ſcarce any Body to be found, who would pay the King his Revenues, or Obey him in any thing; from whence we may obſerve, how general this Defection was, not only of the Nobility, but amongſt the Common People too. *Walter* of *Coventry* alſo relates, that whilſt theſe things were Tranſacting in the *Southern* Parts, many Men being animated by the ſame Spirit, roſe in *Devon-ſhire*, and took and plundered the City of *Exeter*; but it ſeems not being able to keep the Field, they afterwards hid themſelves in the Woods; but thoſe who had poſſeſſed themſelves of *London*, being more Powerful, ſallied out in Troops, and ſpoiled the King's Houſes, and Parks, killing thoſe that offered to reſiſt them: Whilſt, in the mean time thoſe of the *Northern* Parts, drawing a great many either by fair means or foul into their Party, made an indifferent Army, and therewith took *Lincoln* in *Whitſun-Week*, and beſieged the Caſtle, but to little purpoſe.

upon which meſſage moſt of them leave the K. and join with the Barons.

The Pleas of the Exchequer and thoſe of Sheriffs now ceaſe.

Some riſe in the *Weſt*, and take *Exeter*, but cannot keep it; whilſt thoſe at *London* deſtroy the K's Houſes and Parks.

[2] *Id.* p. 255. The K. counterfeit Letters under the Seals of the B'ps. ſetting forth that the *Engliſh* were now become Apoſtates, and the King would beſtow their Eſtates on thoſe that would aſſiſt him.

[3] About this time the King, reſolving to conceal his ſecret hatred againſt the Barons, under a fair and plauſible appearance, cauſed the Seals of divers Biſhops to be Counterfeited, and Letters to be written in their Names to all foreign Nations, that the *Engliſh* were now become Apoſtates, and ought to be deteſted by all the World; for which reaſon the King, by the Conſent and Authority of the Pope, was reſolved to beſtow their Lands and Poſſeſſions on any that would aſſiſt him to puniſh their Infidelity and Rebellion. But when Foreigners had read theſe counterfeit Letters, they would give no Credit to them, becauſe they were well ſatiſfied, that the *Engliſh* were very good Chriſtians.

This paſſage, tho' it may ſeem improbable, yet I find it in *Matt. Paris*'s Additions to *Roger* of *Wendover*'s Chronicle, and it is not likely he would have inſerted it, had he not had ſome very good ground for it.

[4] *Id. Ib.* The K. ſeeing himſelf deſerted, is forced to agree to the Barons demands.

[4] And now the King ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken, and that he had ſcarce Seven Knights left him, and fearing leſt the Barons ſhould

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ſhould ſeize his Caſtles, when they found none able to reſiſt them; yet having conceived in his heart an implacable Hatred againſt them, he ſo far diſſembled as to make Peace with them for a time, in hopes that when he ſhould become ſtronger, He might be more ſeverely Revenged upon them ſeparately, with whom whilſt in a Body he found he was not able to Cope.

[5] *Id. Ib.* The K. ſends Commiſſioners to Treat with the Barons.

[5] Therefore ſending to them *William* Earl of *Pembroke* with other truſty Meſſengers, and making uſe of the Archbiſhop's mediation, in whom they much Confided, he let them know, he would grant them the Laws and Liberties they deſired, and ſent to them alſo to appoint a Day and Place for a meeting to put a final Concluſion to this Affair. Theſe Meſſengers coming up to *London*, faithfully related to the Barons what the King had (tho' deceitfully) charged them with, who being Tranſported with Joy, appointed a Meeting or Conference in a Meadow between *Staines* and *Windſor* called *Runnemede*; which, as *Matt. Weſtminſter* obſerves, ſignifies the Mead of *Council*, becauſe from antient Times Treaties concerning the Peace of the Kingdom had been often held there. So upon the 15th of *June*, at that Place the King and all the great Men of the Kingdom met, and both Parties (as *Rad. de Coggeſhul* relates) pitching their Tents aſunder in the ſaid Meadow, began to Treat concerning a Peace, and the Liberties above mentioned.

A meeting is appointed between the K. and them at *Runne Mead.*

where they meet, and Treat of Peace, with the Names of the Commiſſioners on either Side.

There appeared on the King's Part the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *Dublin*, with the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincolne*, *Bathe*, *Worceſter*, *Coventry* and *Rocheſter*, and Maſter *Pandulph* the Pope's Legate, and *Almeric* Maſter of the *Knights-Templars* in *England*; and of the Laiety, *William Mareſchal* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earls of *Saliſbury*, *Warren* and *Arundel*; with theſe Barons, *Alan de Galoway*, *William Fitz-Gerald*, *Peter* and *Matthew Fitz-Herbert*, *Thomas* and *Alan Baſſet*, *Hugh de Neville*, *Hubert de Burc*, Seneſchal of *Poictou*, *Robert de Roppeley*, *John Mareſchal*, and *Philip de Albiney*: But as for thoſe that appeared on the Baron's Side, they were not to be numbred, ſince the whole Nobility of *England*, being Collected into one Body, were not eaſie to be reduced under any certain Account.

[1] *Id. p.* 256, 257 where he agrees to grant the Great Charters of Liberties and Foreſts.

At length when they had variouſly Treated concerning the Articles, the King without any ſeeming difficulty granted them the Laws and Liberties in [1] two Charters, becauſe being ſo many, they could not be contained in one Schedule; the Firſt of them is called *Charta Communium Libertatum*, or *Magna Charta*, the Charter of Liberties, or the Great Charter; the Second is called the Charter of the Liberties and Cuſtoms of the Foreſts; both which being very long, you may find at the End of this King's Reign, ſince they properly belong to the Laws he made.

[2] *Id. ib* p. 262. The Names of the 25 Barons who were appointed by the reſt to ſee theſe Charters obſerved, and the large Power they had.

[2] Here alſo follow in our Author the Names of the Five and twenty Barons, who were choſen by the reſt to ſee the ſaid Charters faithfully obſerved: They were the Earls of *Clare*, *Albemarle*, *Glouceſter*, and *Wincheſter*, with divers other Earls and Barons, moſt of whom, being already named, I Omit. Theſe Five and twenty Barons took their Oaths by the King's conſent, that they would in every particular obſerve theſe Charters, and would compel the King (if he ſhould repent of it) to keep them: Then follow the Names of the reſt of the Earls and Barons, who ſwore to obey the

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Commands of the Twenty five above-mentioned, whoſe Names being numerous and of little moment to us at this Day, I refer the Reader, if Inquiſitive in the Hiſtory of Families, to our Author, for further ſatisfaction.

The ſtrange Diviſion of Families at this time, and how it came to be ſo.

For as *Walter* of *Coventry* here very well obſerves, many great Families became now divided in Intereſts, the Fathers and Elder ſort adhering to the King, whilſt their Sons and Nephews took part with the Barons, and others, either out of Reſpect to their Relations, or elſe in hopes of Advantage, often changed Sides: But *Alexander* King of *Scots* out of Emulation to King *John* and *Llewellin* Prince of *Wales*, hoping to make his Advantage of theſe Diſturbances, favoured the Barons, and when there was occaſion, they both openly aſſiſted them, as you will find hereafter. But this is only by the bye.

We ſhall now ſay ſomewhat more of the Priviledges granted to the Clergy as well as Laiety by this Charter, above-mentioned; but I refer the Reader to Dr. *Brady's Engliſh* Traſlation of it, which is inſerted at the End of this King's Reign.

[1] *M. P.* p. 262. The K. ſends his Writs to all Sheriffs, Commanding them to make all Men ſwear to obſerve the great Charter.

[5] Then about the ſame time, *viz. June* the 16th, King *John* ſent his Writs under the great Seal into all Parts of *England*, firmly enjoining all Sheriffs throughout the Kingdom to make all Men within their Bailywicks of whatſoever Condition, to Swear, that they would obſerve the Laws and Liberties contained in the abovementioned Charter, and that they would to the utmoſt compel the King to the performance of all things therein Contained, by the taking of his Caſtles, if he ſhould do to the contrary. This done, many Noblemen of the Kingdom came to the King, requiring Reſtitution to divers Lands, Poſſeſſions, and Cuſtodies of Caſtles, which they ſaid belonged to them by Hereditary Right; but the King deferr'd giving them a juſt Anſwer to theſe their Demands, until it could be proved by the Oaths of lawful Men, what rightly belonged to each of them; and for the better performance of this, he appointed them a Day being the 16th of *July*, to appear at *Weſtminſter*; nevertheleſs he reſtored to the Archbiſhop, the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, with ſome other things, which of antient Right belonged to his See; and ſo the aſſembly breaking up, the Barons Returned joyfully to the City of *London*.

Many Noblemen come to the K. and require Reſtitution of their Lands and Caſtles, whom the K. puts off for the preſent with a dilatory Anſwer.

Dr. *Brady* omits the former Writs to the Sheriffs, and gives us another of leſs moment, tho' upon Record, and the ſubſtance thereof.

Dr. *Brady* has for ſome Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, thought fit to omit making any mention of theſe Letters-Patents, tho' they are ſet down by *Matt. Paris*, and inſtead of them he has only given us the Subſtance of a Writ dated at *Runne-Mead* the 19th of *June*, whereby the King Signified to all Sheriffs, Foreſters, Warreners, Keepers of Rivers, and his other Bailiffs, or Officers, that there was a firm Peace made between him, the Barons and Freemen of his Kingdom, as appeared by his Charter which he Commanded publickly to be read in their Bailywicks, willing and ſtreightly Charging each Sheriff, that he ſhould cauſe all of his Bailywick according to the Form of the Charter to Swear to the Five and twenty Barons, or their Attorneys conſtituted by their Letters-Patents, at ſuch Day and Place as they ſhould appoint; and alſo willed and Commanded, that Twelve Knights ſhould be choſen in every County, at the next County (*i. e.* County-Court) which ſhould be holden after the recepit of theſe Letters, to enquire into the evil Cuſtoms or Practices of Sheriffs and their Miniſters, as alſo of Foreſters, Warreners, and Keepers of Rivers or River-banks, and Toll-gatherers towards the Repairs of Bridges and Banks, and to extirpate ſuch evil Cuſtoms or Exactions. This Writ is on * Record in the *Tower*, and is Printed at Large in *Dr. *Brady's* Appendix.

And there he has given us another Writ of this King's (likewiſe * on Record) bearing date the 27th of the ſame Month from *Wincheſter*, directed to the Sheriff of *Warwick-Shire*, and the Twelve Knights elected in the ſame County, to take away the evil Cuſtoms of Sheriffs and their Officers, and of Foreſters, with all other Officers in the former Writ mentioned; ſtreightly Commanding them, that without any delay, they ſhould ſeize the Lands, Tenements and Chattles of all thoſe in the County of *Warwick*, who refuſed to ſwear to the Twenty five Barons, or their Attorneys, and to detein them until they did thus Swear, ſince it was ſo provided by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Barons of his Kingdom.

* *Rot. Pat.* 17. *Johan. M.* 23. *Dorſ.*
* *No.* 118.
* *Appendix No.* 119.
* *Rot. Pat.* 7. *Johan. M.* 21.

Another Writ to the Sheriffs of Counties, Commanding them to ſeize the Lands and Goods of all thoſe that ſhall refuſe to ſwear to the ſaid Charters.

Yet notwithſtanding all theſe fair Conceſſions, the Barons would not truſt to Wax and Parchment alone, but alſo made the King engage, and put into their Poſſeſſion the City and Tower of *London*, and Covenant with *Robert Fitz-Walter*, Mareſchal of the Army of God, and of *Holy Church* in *England*; *Richard* Earl of *Clare*, *Geoffrey* Earl of *Eſſex* and *Glouceſter*, *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, *Saher* Earl of *Wincheſter*, *Robert* Earl of *Oxford*, *H.* Earl of *Hereford*, and the Barons following; *William Mareſchal* the Younger, *Euſtace de Veſcie*, *William de Mowbray*, *John Fitz-Robert*, *Roger de Monte Begon*, *William de Lanvalay*, with other Earls, Barons and Free-Men of the whole Kingdom, that they ſhould hold the City of *London* of the Livery of the King, until the 15th of *Auguſt* that Year; ſaving to him his Farms, Rents and clear Debts, and that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould hold the Tower in like manner, for the ſame Term; ſaving to the Citizens their Liberties and Free Cuſtoms, and ſaving to every one his Right in the Guard of the Tower of *London*, and ſo as the King ſhould not put any Ammunition or new Forces into the City or Tower in the mean time; and further, that within the ſaid Term, Oaths ſhould be given through all *England* to the 25 Barons, or their Attorneys, according to the ſaid Writs for chooſing Twelve Knights in every County, *&c.* and alſo that all things which the Earls, Barons, and other Free-Men did require of the King, which he owned proper to be Reſtored, or which ought by the Judgment of the Twenty five Barons or greater part of them, according to the Form of the ſaid Charter, ſhould be Reſtored accordingly; ſo that if theſe things were performed without any moleſtation or hindrance on the King's Part, within the ſaid Term, then the City and Tower of *London* ſhould be Re-delivered to him; but if they were not done, or that the King obſtructed the doing of them, then the Barons ſhould hold the City, and the Archbiſhop the Tower, until the Covenants were performed; and in the mean time all on both Parts, to repoſſeſs their Lands, Caſtles, and Towns, which they had in the beginning of the War, between the King and Barons.

The Barons will not truſt to the Charters alone, but make the K. engage to leave the City and Tower of *London* in their Hands, as a Caution for his true obſervance of them, with the ſubſtance of this Charter.

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Commands of the Twenty five above-mentioned, whoſe Names being numerous and of little moment to us at this Day, I refer the Reader, if Inquiſitive in the Hiſtory of Families, to our Author, for further ſatisfaction.

The ſtrange Diviſion of Families at this time, and how it came to be ſo.

For as *Walter* of *Coventry* here very well obſerves, many great Families became now divided in Intereſts, the Fathers and Elder ſort adhering to the King, whilſt their Sons and Nephews took part with the Barons, and others, either out of Reſpect to their Relations, or elſe in hopes of Advantage, often changed Sides: But *Alexander* King of *Scots* out of Emulation to King *John* and *Llewellin* Prince of *Wales*, hoping to make his Advantage of theſe Diſturbances, favoured the Barons, and when there was occaſion, they both openly aſſiſted them, as you will find hereafter. But this is only by the bye.

We ſhall now ſay ſomewhat more of the Priviledges granted to the Clergy as well as Laiety by this Charter, above-mentioned; but I refer the Reader to Dr. *Brady's Engliſh* Traſlation of it, which is inſerted at the End of this King's Reign.

[1] *M. P.* p. 262 The K. ſends his Writs to all Sheriffs, Commanding them to make all Men ſwear to obſerve the great Charter.

Many Noblemen come to the K. and require Reſtitution of their Lands and Caſtles, whom the K. puts off for the preſent with a dilatory Anſwer.

[5] Then about the ſame time, *viz.* *June* the 16th, King *John* ſent his Writs under the great Seal into all Parts of *England*, firmly enjoining all Sheriffs throughout the Kingdom to make all Men within their Bailywicks of whatſoever Condition, to Swear, that they would obſerve the Laws and Liberties contained in the abovementioned Charter, and that they would to the utmoſt compel the King to the performance of all things therein Contained, by the taking of his Caſtles, if he ſhould do to the contrary. This done, many Noblemen of the Kingdom came to the King, requiring Reſtitution to divers Lands, Poſſeſſions, and Cuſtodies of Caſtles, which they ſaid belonged to them by Hereditary Right; but the King deferr'd giving them a juſt Anſwer to theſe their Demands, until it could be proved by the Oaths of lawful Men, what rightly belonged to each of them; and for the better performance of this, he appointed them a Day being the 16th of *July*, to appear at *Weſtminſter*; nevertheleſs he reſtored to the Archbiſhop, the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, with ſome other things, which of antient Right belonged to his See; and ſo the aſſembly breaking up, the Barons Returned joyfully to the City of *London*.

Dr. *Brady* omits the former Writs to the Sheriffs, and gives us another of leſs moment, tho' upon Record, and the ſubſtance thereof.

Dr. *Brady* has for ſome Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, thought fit to omit making any mention of theſe Letters-Patents, tho' they are ſet down by *Matt. Paris*, and inſtead of them he has only given us the Subſtance of a Writ dated at *Runne-Mead* the 19th of *June*, whereby the King Signified to all Sheriffs, Foreſters, Warreners, Keepers of Rivers, and his other Bailiffs, or Officers, that there was a firm Peace made between him, the Barons and Freemen of his Kingdom, as appeared by his Charter which he Commanded publickly to be read in their Bailywicks, willing and ſtreightly Charging each Sheriff, that he ſhould cauſe all of his Bailywick according to the Form of the Charter to Swear to the Five and twenty Barons, or their Attorneys conſtituted by their Letters-Patents, at ſuch Day and Place as they ſhould appoint; and alſo willed and Commanded, that Twelve Knights ſhould be choſen in every County, at the next County (*i. e.* County-Court) which ſhould be holden after the recepit of theſe Letters, to enquire into the evil Cuſtoms or Practices of Sheriffs and their Miniſters, as alſo of Foreſters, Warreners, and Keepers of Rivers or River-banks, and Toll-gatherers towards the Repairs of Bridges and Banks, and to extirpate ſuch evil Cuſtoms or Exactions. This Writ is on * Record in the *Tower*, and is Printed at Large in *Dr. *Brady's* Appendix.

And there he has given us another Writ of this King's (likewiſe * on Record) bearing date the 27th of the ſame Month from *Wincheſter*, directed to the Sheriff of *Warwick-Shire*, and the Twelve Knights elected in the ſame County, to take away the evil Cuſtoms of Sheriffs and their Officers, and of Foreſters, with all other Officers in the former Writ mentioned; ſtreightly Commanding them, that without any delay, they ſhould ſeize the Lands, Tenements and Chattles of all thoſe in the County of *Warwick*, who refuſed to ſwear to the Twenty five Barons, or their Attorneys, and to detein them until they did thus Swear, ſince it was ſo provided by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Barons of his Kingdom.

Another Writ to the Sheriffs of Counties, Commanding them to ſeize the Lands and Goods of all thoſe that ſhall refuſe to ſwear to the ſaid Charters.

Yet notwithſtanding all theſe fair Conceſſions, the Barons would not truſt to Wax and Parchment alone, but alſo made the King engage, and put into their Poſſeſſion the City and Tower of *London*, and Covenant with *Robert Fitz-Walter*, Mareſchal of the Army of God, and of *Holy Church* in *England*; *Richard* Earl of *Clare*, *Geoffrey* Earl of *Eſſex* and *Glouceſter*, *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, *Saher* Earl of *Wincheſter*, *Robert* Earl of *Oxford*, *H.* Earl of *Hereford*, and the Barons following; *William Mareſchal* the Younger, *Euſtace de Veſcie*, *William de Mowbray*, *John Fitz-Robert*, *Roger de Monte Begon*, *William de Lanvalay*, with other Earls, Barons and Free-Men of the whole Kingdom, that they ſhould hold the City of *London* of the Livery of the King, until the 15th of *Auguſt* that Year; ſaving to him his Farms, Rents and clear Debts, and that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould hold the Tower in like manner, for the ſame Term; ſaving to the Citizens their Liberties and Free Cuſtoms, and ſaving to every one his Right in the Guard of the Tower of *London*, and ſo as the King ſhould not put any Ammunition or new Forces into the City or Tower in the mean time; and further, that within the ſaid Term, Oaths ſhould be given through all *England* to the 25 Barons, or their Attorneys, according to the ſaid Writs for chooſing Twelve Knights in every County, *&c.* and alſo that all things which the Earls, Barons, and other Free-Men did require of the King, which he owned proper to be Reſtored, or which ought by the Judgment of the Twenty five Barons or greater part of them, according to the Form of the ſaid Charter, ſhould be Reſtored accordingly; ſo that if theſe things were performed without any moleſtation or hindrance on the King's Part, within the ſaid Term, then the City and Tower of *London* ſhould be Re-delivered to him; but if they were not done, or that the King obſtructed the doing of them, then the Barons ſhould hold the City, and the Archbiſhop the Tower, until the Covenants were performed; and in the mean time all on both Parts, to repoſſeſs their Lands, Caſtles, and Towns, which they had in the beginning of the War, between the King and Barons.

The Barons will not truſt to the Charters alone, but make the K. engage to leave the City and Tower of *London* in their Hands, as a Caution for his true obſervance of them, with the ſubſtance of this Charter.

This

* *Rot. Pat.* 17. *Johan. M.* 23. *Dorſ.*

* *No.* 118.

* *Appendix No.* 119.

* *Rot. Pat.* 7. *Johan. M.* 21.

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**Rot.Claus.* 17 *Johan. M.* 21. *Dorſ. No.* 120.

This is the Subſtance of another very remarkable Covenant or Agreement, between the King and the Barons above-mentioned, which was only to be found upon Record in the Tower, but now is Printed in Dr. *B.* * Appendix.

[4]
M. P. p. 263.s. upon the K's. Agreement to all theſe things, there is for a while great hopes of better Times.

* *Ruptarij i. e. Brabanter* and other *Flemiſh* Horſemen.

But the King being perſwaded by his mercenary Officers, reſolves to take other meaſures.

[4] Theſe things being thus diſpatched, and ſeemingly approved of by both Parties, all Men rejoiced, hoping that God had touched the King's heart, and that *England* ſhould now be delivered from that *Egyptian* Servitude under which it had ſo long groan'd, and the People be in a much better Condition, being under the Protection of the *Roman* Church; but it fell out quite otherwiſe than was expected, for thoſe wicked * Mercenary Soldiers who always rather deſired War than Peace, were by their Leaders continually whiſpering in the King's Ears, that he was now no longer a King, but the ſcorn of other Princes, and that 'twere better not to be a King at all, than ſuch a one; thereby adding freſh fuel to the Flame; wherefore the King inclining too much to the falſe ſurmiſes of theſe ſort of Men, quite alienated his affection from his own natural Subjects, and confided wholly in them; ſo that immediately after this Agreement, He grew very reſerved and melancholy, walking alone, and giving divers Signs of inward Rage and Diſcontent.

[5]
Id. Ib. 264.
And thereupon writes to thoſe Foreigners who had the Cuſtody of his Caſtles to new Victual and Fortifie them.

[5] Therefore reſolving again to recover his loſt Power, he wrote Letters to *William Le Marc*, a *Poictovin* (then Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Nottingham*) as alſo to all other Foreigners, (on whom he chiefly relied) that they ſhould new Victual and Fortifie all the Caſtles and ſtrong Places in their Poſſeſſion, but yet ſo privately, that the Barons might not take Notice of it: But ſince there is ſcarce any thing, which at one time or other does not come to light, the Barons having heard an Inkling of it, ſent ſome of the Wiſeſt of their Number to ſound the King's mind concerning this matter; and if they found it as they had been informed, to labour by wholſome Advice to divert him from ſuch precipitate and ruinous Deſigns: But the King cunningly palliating his ſecret Intentions, Swore *by the Feet of God*, (his uſual Oath) that he thought no Evil againſt them. Nevertheleſs, tho this pacified them a little for the preſent, yet he could not ſo cloſely conceal it, but that they perceived his Heart was averſe to them; from whence they eaſily preſaged what was like to happen from a King, who, wanting Sincerity, had Subjected himſelf to the *Roman* See, only that he might have the ſurer means to make them Slaves; and ſo taking their leaves of him, they Returned Home.

[1]
Id. ib.
The K. retires to the Iſle of *Wight.*

And from thence ſends *Pandulf* to the Pope, to make void all that the Barons had done.

[1] After which, the King being left alone but with a very few Atttendance of his own Family, he ſpent that Night at *Windſor*, and the Day following took his Journey towards the Iſle of *Wight.* For it is certain he did not ſtay long at *Windſor*, in regard we find the above-mentioned Writ to the Sheriff of *Warwick-Shire*, to bear Date the 27th of *June* at *Wincheſter*, tho' he had not as yet pull'd off the Mask: But ſo ſoon as he arrived in the Iſle, being unmindful of the Oath he had ſo lately Sworn to the Barons, he was reſolved both by the Temporal as well as Spiritual Sword, to free himſelf from theſe Obligations; and that he might begin with the former, he ſent *Pandulph* with others to the Pope, that he

might by his *Apoſtolick* Authority, make void what the Barons had done, and fruſtrate all their Deſigns; he alſo ſent *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Chancellor of *England*, *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Richard de Mariſco* or *Maris*, *William Gernon*, and *Hugh de Boves* to all the Neighbouring Nations, with Letters under his Seal, to procure Foreign Aſſiſtance, promiſing ſuch as would Arm themſelves for him large Poſſeſſions and ſtore of Money; and if it were needful, they might make Deeds of Gift to ſuch as were willing to come, for their greater Security, of their military Stipends, appointing them to meet him at *Dover* on *Michaelmas-Day*, with as many as they could bring over; he ſent likewiſe to all his Caſtellans or Governors of his Caſtles, to Fortifie, Man, and Victual them, as if they were immediately beſieged; and then endeavoured to gain over the Seamen of the Cinque Ports to his Party.

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He ſends alſo the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Norwich* to procure foreign Aſſiſtance.

[2] Thus the King continued privately in the Iſland, ſometimes plying about the Sea-Coaſts, & converſing only with Sea-Men for near Three Months, without any Court or Regal State: In the mean while it was no wonder if his Subjects talked variouſly of this Retirement, and of the Reaſons of it; and indeed he only waited for the Return of his Meſſengers from the *Roman* Court, and for the Arrival of thoſe Mercenary Soldiers he had ſent for from Foreign Parts.

[2] *Id. Ib.*

The K. ſpends three Months in the Iſle of *Wight*, expecting foreign Forces.

But to give an impartial Account of the Cauſes of this unhappy Civil War, *Walter* of *Coventry* does not (as *Matt. Paris*) lay the whole fault of its breaking out afreſh at the King's Door, but ſays, that certain of the *Northern* Barons were much in fault; for they departing from this Aſſembly, under pretence that they had never given their Conſents, ſought ways and means how to break the Peace ſo lately made, and therefore ſtill exerciſed Plunderings, and other Hoſtilities; nor yet indeed did the King ever Confide in the Barons, or had they free Acceſs to him; wherefore ſome of them retired to *London*, whilſt others fell on Fortifying thoſe Caſtles which the King had lately delivered to them, or elſe, which they had in their Poſſeſſion before; and there were ſome who built new ones.

Walter of *Coventry* does not lay the whole fault at the K's door, but blames ſeveral of the *Northern* Barons.

And though the King had ſent Commiſſioners to Swear Men to the Obſervation of the late Charters, yet when he ſent his Officers, or Sheriffs to look after the Buſineſs of his Exchequer, in whatever Parts thoſe unquiet Barons prevailed, thoſe Officers were ſeized on, and abuſed; which, when the King heard, and ſuſpecting that this Oath for the Obſervation of the Charters was intended againſt himſelf, there being a Clauſe expreſly Inſerted, that he might be compelled by Force to obſerve them; he thereupon ſent Envoys to Foreign Nations (as *Matt. Paris* has already related) and in particular, *Richard de Mariſco* to the Pope, becauſe the General Council was now at hand, and for that he believed the Barons had conſpired his Deſtruction.

Alſo he endeavoured by large Promiſes to bring over the King of *France* to his Party, but all in vain; for the Barons had been there before hand, and prevented him, and beſides there had been from the beginning of the King's Reign too great Quarrels and Animoſities between them to be eaſily reconciled, tho' they ſeemed for the preſent skinn'd over by a Truce.

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[3] *Id. Ib.* The Barons reſolve to keep the City of *London.* And put off their Juſts for ſome longer time.

[3] In the mean time the Barons that were in *London* thinking the danger over, appointed to meet at a Torneament or Tryal of Feats at Arms at *Stanford*: Whereupon *Robert Fitz-Walter* and other Great Men wrote to *William de Albiney*, what great conveniency it was for them all to keep in the City of *London*, which was their Receptacle, and what Diſgrace and Damage it would be to them, if by their negligence it ſhould be loſt; and therefore by Common Advice they deferred the Juſts which were to be at *Stanford* on the *Monday* after the Feaſt of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* until *Monday* after the Octaves of that Feaſt: And that they ſhould be holden upon the Heath between *Staines* and *Hounſlowe*; and this they did for the Security of themſelves and the City. And therefore they ſent to, and required them diligently, that they ſhould come ſo well provided with Horſe and Arms to the Tilting, as they might receive Honour, and he that behaved himſelf beſt, ſhould have a Bear which a certain Lady ſhould ſend thither, which it ſeems was the Prize, (tho' a very homely one) they were then to contend for; thus they pleaſed themſelves with theſe idle ſports, being ignorant of the Snares that were preparing for them.

[4] *Id. Ib.* The K's Envoys complain to the Pope of the Affronts and Injuries of the Barons.

[4] About the ſame time the King's Envoys came unto the Pope, complaining of the Barons, what Affronts and Injuries their Maſter had received at their Hands, and what Rebellions they had raiſed againſt him, exacting from him ſuch wicked Laws and Liberties, as 'were not fit for his Royal Dignity to grant; and that after the 'Diſcord between them, when the King and Barons often met to 'Treat of Peace, he publickly proteſted before them, that the 'Kingdom of *England*, in reſpect of Dominion, belonged to the '*Roman* Church, and that without the Pope's conſent he could 'Ordain nothing New, or Change any thing in his Kingdom to 'his Prejudice; and therefore he had by Appealing, put Himſelf 'and all the Rights of his Kingdom, under the Protection of the '*Apoſtolick* See; yet that the Barons, taking no notice of this Appeal, had ſeized the City of *London*, being treacherouſly delivered, 'to them, and had Armed themſelves, and exacted the aforeſaid 'Liberties by Force; and that the King fearing their Strength, durſt 'not deny what they demanded of him. Then they delivered the Articles of the Charter in Writing to the Pope, which when he had diligently peruſed, he knit his Brows, and ſaid, *what! do the Barons of* England *endeavour to Dethrone a King, who hath taken upon him the Holy Croſs, and is under the Protection of the Apoſtolick See? and would they force him to transfer the Dominion of the* Roman *Church to Others?* By St. *Peter* this Injury we cannot paſs by unpuniſhed:

At the hearing of which, the Pope is highly diſpleaſed.

[5] *Id.* p. 266.

[5] Then deliberating with the Cardinals, he damned and Caſſated for ever, by a definitive Sentence, the Charter of Liberties ſo often mentioned; and ſent the King a Bull containing that Sentence, which you may alſo find at large in our Author.

But before we ſpeak farther of this matter, 'tis neceſſary to take notice of ſome precedent Records which this Bull refers to; and are not to be found in any of our Hiſtorians; for Dr. *Brady* whilſt he was keeper of the Records in the *Tower*, there found out ſome Letters and Declarations relating to the preſent Affair, which becauſe they ſerve very much to prove the Truth of the matters of Fact recited in the ſaid Bull, I ſhall make bold to Tranſcribe the Subſtance of, as they ſtand in the Dr's Hiſtory, tho' they are Printed at large in the *Appendix*.

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You are therefore to underſtand, that ſo ſoon as the Barons had appeared in a Warlike poſture before the King at *Chriſtmaſs*, (as hath been already related) and made their Demands of their Liberties, he gave the Pope notice of it, who upon the Nineteenth of *March* following * wrote two ſeveral Letters to the Archbiſhop and his Suffragans, (the Biſhops of his Province) and to all the Barons, that they had raiſed new Queſtions and Controverſies a‘gainſt the King, ſuch as were not heard of in the time of his ‘Father, or Brother, that they ſhould not enter into Conſpiracies ‘againſt him, but humbly and dutifully apply themſelves to him; ‘and perform their due and accuſtomed Services, as they had been ‘performed to him and his Anceſtors, upon which he would en‘join him for the Remiſſion of his Sins, to deal more mildly with ‘his Nobles, and admit their juſt Petitions.

The K. writes to the Pope, giving him notice of the Barons demands.

* *Pat.* 16 *Johan. parte prima. M.* 1 *Dors.* n. 3. *Vid.* Dr. B. *Appendix*, N. 122.

On the Tenth of *May* following, the King publiſhed a * De‘claration, that he would not take the Barons or their Men, (that ‘is, their Tenants) nor Diſſeiſe them, nor paſs upon them ‘by force of Arms, but by the Law of the Land, and Judg‘ment of their Peers in his Court, till things ſhould be determi‘ned by Four Perſons to be choſen on his Part, and Four by the ‘Barons, and the Pope to be Umpire between them; and for the ‘performance of this, he offered as Security the Biſhops of *Lon‘don*, *Worceſter*, *Cheſter*, and *Rocheſter*, with *William* Earl of *Warren*.

* *Pat.* 16 *Johan. parte prima. M.* 3. *Dors.* n. 2. *Append.* N. 124.

The K's Declaration concerning them and their Tenants.

On the Twenty ninth of *May*, King *John* * wrote to the Pope, ‘that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and his Suffragans had neglect‘ed his Commands, and that the Great Men and Barons altogether ‘refuſed to hear what he had wrote; and that in anſwer to what ‘the Barons had urged, he replied to them, that *England* was the Pa‘trimony of St. Peter, and that he held it as ſuch of the Pope, ‘and the Church of *Rome*: That he had taken upon him the *Cruſado*, ‘and required the Priviledge of ſuch who had Engaged themſelves ‘in that Expedition: Then after having recounted the ill effects of ‘his former Offers to the Barons and Biſhops from whom he could ‘obtein no Remedy, he refers himſelf to the Pope's Diſcretion to ‘Relieve him.

* *Clauſ.* 17 *Johan. M.* 24. *Dors. vid Pryns.* 2 Vol. of Papal Uſurpations, p. 342, 344, 345. *et* Dr. B's. *Ap.* N. 125.

The K's Letter to the Pope, complaining againſt the A. Bp. and B's. as alſo of the Barons dealing with him upon which Letter the Pope iſſues out his Bull, to annul the Charter of Liberties.

Upon Conſideration of theſe Offers and Declarations, &c which the Pope briefly recites in his above-mentioned Bull: He, by the Common Conſent of the Cardinals, damned the late Charter of Liberties, and all Obligations, and Cautions which the King had given, and entred into for the performance of it, and declared them Null and Void, as you have already heard.

[1] By Letters bearing the ſame Date with this Bull, the Pope wrote to the the Barons that they had not well conſidered their Oath of Fidelity, when they thus raſhly perſecuted their Lord the ‘King: That all Men deteſted their Proceedings, eſpecially in ſuch ‘a Cauſe, where they made themſelves both Parties and Judges; ‘when the King was ready to do them Juſtice by their Peers in his ‘Court, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, or ‘to proceed by Arbitrators choſen on both Sides, with a Reference

[1] *Id.* p. 267.

The Pope alſo writes to the Barons commanding them to deſiſt; and refer all their demands to himſelf, and the General Council.

‘ to himſelf, if they could not agree: And therefore Commands them to renounce that unlawful and unjuſt Compoſition they had extorted from him by Fear and Force, and ſatisfie him, and ſuch as adhered to him, for the Injuries they had done them, That by this means the King might be induced to grant whatſoever of Right ought to be granted to them; and further adviſed them to ſend their Procurators or Deputies to the next General Council, which he intended ſuddenly to call about the Buſineſs of the *Cruſado*; (where would be preſent the Archbiſhop, and other *Engliſh* Biſhops,) and there commit themſelves to his good Pleaſure; for by the Grace of God he intended ſo to determine things, as to take away all Oppreſſions and Abuſes in the Kingdom, that ſo the King being content with his own Right, and Honour, the whole Clergy and Laiety might enjoy their juſt Repoſe and Liberty.

[2] *Id. ib.*

The Barons will not deſiſt from what they had undertaken, notwithſtanding the Popes's Letters, but ſend for *William de Albiney*.

[2] But it ſeems the Pope's Letters had no effect with the Barons; for they purſued what they had undertaken, and ſent for *William de Albiney*, an Experienced Soldier, to their Aſſiſtance. 'Tis true, they ſent to him ſeveral times before he came; but at laſt, upon a chiding Letter, he having firſt ſecured the Caſtle of *Belvoir*, or *Beavoir*, (as we now call it) came to *London*, where he was received with great joy by the Barons; and their firſt Conſultation with him was, which way to Secure the City of *London* from being Beſieged; Upon which they reſolved to fortify all the Avenues leading to it, and then raiſing a more conſiderable Force, they and divers of their own number, together with *William de Albiney* went into *Rocheſter* Caſtle, of which he was then made Governor, under the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And it is to this Time, (whilſt the Barons carried all before them, and that the King lay ſtill without Action, expecting the arrival of the Foreign Forces, he had ſent for,) that we may refer what *Walter* of *Coventry* farther relates concerning this Affair, *viz.* That the Archbiſhop and Biſhops beheld with Grief the great Havock that the Barons had made of the King's Houſes, Parks and Foreſts, eſpecially in the *Northern* Parts, (tho' as yet they ſpared the Country, becauſe of the approaching Harveſt) wherefore the ſaid Biſhops began again to admoniſh ſometimes the Barons, and ſometimes the King, to maintain the Peace; which ſince both of them pretended (at leaſt in words) earneſtly to deſire, it was at laſt agreed, That a Treaty ſhould be held at *Oxford*, the day after our *Lady*'s Aſſumption, where the King appointed to meet the Biſhops as Mediators; the Barons met at *Brackley*, and from thence went to *Oxford* with a great Appearance; but the King did not come according to his promiſe, but ſent certain Meſſengers to excuſe himſelf, who ſaid, That he had reſigned up all things to them, ſo that he had ſcarce any Refuge left him; and that ſince the late Peace, he had received great Injuries from them without any Satisfaction, and they now appeared in ſuch mighty Numbers, that it was not thought ſafe for him to come to them thither.

The A.Bp and Bps mediate a Treaty between the K. and the Barons.

Which is agreed to be at *Oxford*; but the K. not appearing, nothing is done.

[3] *Id. ib.*

The K's Meſſengers produce the P's *Breve*, threatning all thoſe with *Excommunication* who ſhould reſiſt the King: But the Sentence is deferred for a Time.

[3] Then the Meſſengers produced the Pope's *Breve*, Threatning all thoſe with *Excommunication* who ſhould dare to reſiſt the King; ſo the Treaty being protracted for the ſpace of Three days, at laſt it was agreed between the Biſhops and the Barons, That the Sentence

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tence of *Excommunication* ſhould be put off for ſome time; and in the mean while, the Biſhops ſhould wait upon the King to ſee if they could prevail with him to Treat with the Barons at *London*, or elſe at *Staines* near *Windſor*. Thus they parted, the Barons returning to *London*, and the Biſhops ſetting forward in order to attend the King at *Portſmouth*, who being then juſt going to put to Sea, came again a-ſhore to meet them; But all they could obtain of him was, that he would ſend ſome of his Servants in the Company, and under the ſafe Conduct of the Biſhops, who ſhould in a publick Aſſembly of the Barons make Proteſtation, that it was not his fault, if the Peace lately concluded was not obſerved.

The Bps again attend the K. but can obtain no poſitive Anſwer from him.

[4] Wherefore about *Bartholomew-Tide*, the Biſhops and Barons meeting the King's Commiſſioners at the Town of *Staines*, after ſome deliberation, moſt of the Biſhops ſeeing the Danger that hung over their Heads from the Pope's Bull, publiſh'd the Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt all thoſe who ſhould preſume to diſturb the Peace of the King and Kingdom; yet this had little or no effect, moſt of the Barons turning this Sentence upon the King's own Head, who (as they affirm'd) was the chief Diſturber of it, and did by his own actions go about to expell himſelf: Wherefore the Barons return'd to *London* with great Pomp, and preſently diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom; the Government of *Eſſex* being committed to *Geoffry de Mandeville*; That of *Northampton*, to *Robert Fitz-Walter*; whilſt *Roger de Creſſey* undertook the Cuſtody of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; as *Saer de Quincy* did that of *Cambridge* and *Huntingtonſhires*; *William de Albiney* that of *Lincolnſhire*; and *Robert de Roſs* the Government of *Northumberland*; ſo that every one was to act as a Juſticiary over the * *Province* or County aſſign'd him, and to provide for the Peace of the Inhabitants.

[4] *Id. Ib* p 269. The K's Commiſſioners meet the Bps at *Staines*, where moſt of them agree to publiſh the ſaid Sentence of *Excommunication*, but it had no effect upon the Barons.

The Barons return to *London*, where they appoint Governors over ſeveral Counties.

* *Provincia.*

[5] But before the Barons had ſufficiently provided for their Defence, I mean, ſo well as they intended, the King after about three Months ſtay in the Iſle of *Wight*, ſailed from thence to *Dover*, where he met his Meſſengers whom he had ſent to fetch freſh Forces from *Poictou*, *Gaſcony*, *Brabant*, and *Flanders*; and theſe being now arrived, he preſently marched to beſiege the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*.

[5] *M.P.* P. 268. *W. C.* The K. leaves the Iſle of *Wight*, and comes to *Dover*; from whence (his Foreign Forces being now arrived) he marches to beſiege *Rocheſter-Caſtle*.

[1] The Barons had before ſworn to *William de Albiney*, That whenever the Caſtle ſhould happen to be Beſieged, they would uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to relieve it; ſo they marched as far as *Dartford*, but then finding themſelves too weak, they retreated to *London*, becauſe (as *Walter* of *Coventry* relates) the King had ſeized upon all the Avenues, and cauſed all the Bridges to be broken down that led thither; notwithſtanding which, the Gariſon defended themſelves with great Courage and Reſolution; but the King making uſe of his Engines of Battery, and they within not having Weapons ſufficient to withſtand them, at laſt, after near Three Months ſiege, were forced to yield at diſcretion; becauſe not only great part of the Walls were beaten down, but likewiſe becauſe they were in mighty want of Victuals.

[1] *Id.* p. 269.

[2] This Siege was very Troubleſome and Expenſive to the King, and many of his beſt Men were ſlain in it, for which Reaſons he would have Hanged all the Noblemen or Knights, that were then taken Priſoners, had it not been thro' the Perſuaſion of *Savery de Mal-*

[2] *Id.* p. 270. The K. being incenſed at the obſtinate Defence made by the Barons, would have hanged all that had been taken in it, but is hinder'd by *Savery de Malleon*, &c.

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leon, and ſome others; who told him the War might prove long, and ſome of his own Knights might be taken, and put to Death after the ſame manner; whereupon he ſent *William de Albiney*, *William de Lancaſter*, and *William de Emesford*, with divers others of the beſt Quality, cloſe Priſoners to *Corf-Caſtle*, and other Priſons; and all the Ordinary Soldiers, (except the Croſs-Bow-men) he cauſed to be Hanged.

[3] *W. C.*

[3] Whilſt the King was thus employed in the Siege of *Rocheſter*, the Barons in return Beſieged his Gariſons at *Oxford* and *Northampton*, having for this end ſent for Engineers out of *France*; but they did not meet with the like Succeſs as the King had at *Rocheſter*.

[4] *M.P.* p.268. *Hugh de Boves* with a great many Foreign Forces, is caſt away in a great Storm.

[4] But about this time, the King received a great Diſappointment in ſome of thoſe Foreign Succours he now expected; for *Hugh de Boves* (a Stout but Inſolent Commander) having Shipp'd himſelf with a great Number of Mercenary Soldiers at *Calice*, intending to Land at *Dover*, the Veſſels met with ſo great a Storm at Sea, that they were all Shipwrack'd in the Paſſage, and their dead Bodies moſt of them caſt on Shore near *Yarmouth*; at which News the King was ſo diſturbed, that he would not eat a Bit of Bread all that Day till Night. But to ſay ſomewhat of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

[5] *Id.* p. 270. The Pope having declared the Barons *Excommunicated*, commits the Execution of the Sentence to the Biſhop of *Winchſter*, and others.

[5] The Pope upon notice that the Barons ſtill perſiſted in the Proſecution of the War againſt the King, had ſome time before declared them all *Excommunicated*, (as you have already heard) and he now committed the Execution of this Sentence to *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Abbot of *Reading*, and *Pandulph* his late Legate; in which Bull of *Excommunication*, he enjoyned the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, by virtue of their Obedience, *That they ſhould cauſe the Sentence to be publiſhed every Lord's Day and Holyday, and that with ringing of Bells, and lighting of Candles, throughout all* England, *untill the Barons ſatiſfied the King for the Injuries done to him, and returned to their Obedience.*

[1] *Id.* p.271. The ſaid Bp and *Pandulf* attend the A Bp of *Canterbury*, commanding him to direct his Suffragans to publiſh this Sentence, which he defers to do. Upon which they ſuſpend him, and publiſh the Sentence themſelves.

[1] Then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Pandulph*, perſonally attended the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and, in the Name of the Pope, Commanded him to give directions to the Biſhops of his Province to publiſh this Sentence againſt the Barons: But he was then ready to take Shipping to go to the Council at *Rome*, and therefore deſired reſpite until he ſpake with the Pope; affirming, the Sentence had been obtained by concealing *Truth*; and for that Reaſon he ſhould by no means publiſh it, till upon diſcourſe with his Holineſs he knew his Mind concerning it. But the Biſhop and *Pandulph*, when they found the Archbiſhop diſobedient to the Pope's Command, *Suſpended* him from entering the Church, and celebrating Divine Service.

At the ſame time likewiſe, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* declared all the Barons that had endeavoured to drive the King out of the Kingdom, *Excommunicated*, and continued to do ſo every Lord's Day, and on every Feſtival: But they, becauſe not particularly named in the Pope's *Brief*, valued not the Sentence, reputing it Null and Void: And thus the Pope, when he had ſubdued the King, and brought him to his own Terms, to make him amends, joined with him to eſtabliſh his Abſolute, Arbitrary Power over the Nation.

[2] *Id.* p.272,273. The K's Procurators accuſe the A.B. of *Canterbury* in the Council at *Rome*, of holding Intelligence with the Barons.

[2] In the General Council now held at *Rome*, the Procurators or Commiſſioners for the King, That is to ſay, *John* Abbot of *Beaulieu*.

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lieu, with *Thomas de Huntingdon* and *Godfrey de Craucomb*, Knights, appeared againſt *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and accuſed him of holding a Criminal Correſpondence with the Barons, and that by his Favour and Aſſiſtance they endeavoured to Dethrone the King; and that when he received the Pope's Commands to reſtrain the Barons from perſecuting the King by Eccleſiaſtick Cenſures, upon his refuſing to do it, he had been *Suſpended*. But the Archbiſhop being confounded with theſe Accuſations, ſaid nothing for himſelf, only deſired to be Abſolved from his *Suſpenſion*: To which the Pope in Anger Swore by *St. Peter*, That he ſhould not ſo eaſily obtain the Benefit of Abſolution, who had offered ſo many Affronts, not only to the King of *England*, but alſo to the *Roman* Church. Then upon Conſultation with the Cardinals they all Subſcribed, and he confirm'd the late Sentence of *Suſpenſion* againſt the Archbiſhop; which was dated the Fourth of *November*, and ſent to all the Clerks and Laicks of that Province, to let them know, they had ratified what the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and *Pandulph* the Legate had done, commanding ready Obedience to it, as appears by the Pope's *Brief*, which you may find at large in our Author.

Whereupon the Pope confirms his *Suſpenſion*.

[3] *Id.* p. 271. The Chapter of *York* chuſe *Simon Langton* A.Bp. but he being refuſed by the Pope, the Bp of *Worceſter* is recommended to them, who pays the Pope 10000 *l.* for his Pall.

[3] About this time the Canons of *York* having lately choſe *Simon Langton*, (Brother to *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *York*) preſented him to the Pope for his Confirmation; but inſtead of that he Null'd the Election, and recommended to them *Walter de Gray*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, upon the Account that he was reputed a Pure Virgin ever ſince he was born, whom they accordingly choſe; and he at the receipt of his Pall obliged himſelf to pay Ten thouſand Pounds *Sterling* to the Court of *Rome*: From which Relation we may make theſe Obſervations: *Firſt*, What a rare Virtue Continence was then thought to be amongſt the Clergy, when a Biſhop, (who was very Illiterate) ſhould be thus advanced to an Archbiſhoprick, only becauſe he was not known to have had any Unlawful Communication with Women; which it ſeems was very frequent in that Age to Men of his Order.

You may alſo, *Secondly*, See what vaſt Sums of Money the Pope in thoſe Days extorted out of *England*, and what great Riches the Clergy poſſeſs'd, when this Archbiſhop was to pay the Pope ſuch a Sum as would be equal at this Day to above 40000 *l.*

[4] *Id.* p. 274. The K. goes to the Abbey of *St. Albans*, and there cauſes the Sentence againſt the A.Bp of *Canterbury* to be publiſhed.

By this time, [4] the King having received the late Sentence againſt the Archbiſhop, went to the Monaſtery of *St. Albans*, and there cauſed it to be Publiſhed by that Abbot; and from thence it was ſent to all Cathedral and Conventual Churches throughout *England* for the ſame Purpoſe. So ſoon as this was granted by the Convent, he went out of the Chapter-Houſe into the Cloiſters, and there adviſed with thoſe few Councellors he had about him, how he might confound thoſe Great Men who were his Enemies, and provide Pay for that Army of Mercenary Foreigners, that were lately arrived: Upon which it was there agreed, That the King ſhould form two Armies, One of which was to repreſs the Excurſions of the Barons, who then held *London*, whilſt he marched forward to ſubdue the *Northern* Counties. Theſe Reſolutions were taken at *St. Albans*, the Twentieth of *December*.

He alſo conſults with his Great Men how to carry on the War.

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[5] *Id. Ib.* He appoints his Brother the Earl of *Salisbury* with certain Foreigners Commanders of the Forces he left behind. And then marches toward the *North*, taking along with him great ſtore of Foreign Officers, and Soldiers.

At the ſame time, [5] the King made his Brother, the Earl of *Saliſbury*, (who was now releaſed out of Priſon in *France* by exchange) and *Fawkes de Brent* a cruel Man (who, tho' of mean Birth, had raiſed himſelf by his military Services to the Degree of a Baron) with *Savery de Malleon*, another of the ſame ſort, *William de Briwere* and *Walter Buck*, Commanders of thoſe Forces he left behind; *Savery* Commanding the *Poictovins*, and *Walter* the *Flemmings* and *Brabanters*, who were then noted for all kind of villanies; which done, the King marched from thence toward the *North*, taking along with him *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, *Philip de Albiney* and *John* the *Mareſchal*; and of the Foreigners, *Gerard de Sotinie*, and one *Godeſchal* with his *Flemmings* and Croſs-Bow-men, with others of divers Nations, who neither fear'd God, nor regarded Man.

[1] *Id. Ib.* The K's Forces in their march plunder and deſtroy the Country.

[1] In his march the King lodging one Night at *Dunſtable*, ſet forward the next Morning before Day towards *Northampton*, and detaching divers Parties, burnt the Houſes of the Barons by the way, plundering and deſtroying the whole Country before them; and all Perſons of whatſoever Age or Condition (who not having taken refuge in a Church or Church-yard) that the Soldiers met with, were cruelly tormented, till they had ranſomed themſelves by Money; So true (ſays my Author) is that Verſe of the antient Poet, *Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi.*

Then the *Chaſtellans*, who kept the Barons Caſtles, when they heard of the King's coming, quitted their Commands, and fled to places of Safety; and the King putting Governors into thoſe places, marched with all ſpeed to *Nottingham*.

[2] *Id. Ib.* p.275. The Earl of *Salisbury &c.* put ſtrong Gariſons into *Windſor Caſtle*, *Hertford*, *&c.* to curb the Barons, and ſtreighten the City of *London*. And marching into the adjacent Counties, ſpoil the Barons Eſtates. All which the Barons bear with great Patience.

[2] In the mean time *William* Earl of *Salisbury* and *Fawkes de Brent*, with the Forces left under their Command at St. *Albans*, after they had put very ſtrong Garriſons into the Caſtles of *Windſor*, *Hertford* and *Berkamſted*, as well to bridle the Barons in *London*, as to hinder Victuals from being carried into the City, they marched into the Counties of *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Hertford*, *Cambridge* and *Huntingtonſhires*, where they made the like Waſte upon the Barons Eſtates, as the King did *Northward*, and further deſtroyed their Parks and Warrens, cutting down their Orchards, *&c.* and at laſt they came ſo near *London* that they ſet Fire on the Suburbs, and carried off much Plunder: Yet for all this, when the Barons heard their Towns and Houſes were burnt, and their Wives and Children taken and expoſed to Infamy, they bore it patiently, only ſaying, *theſe things are done by this dear Son of the Pope, who defends his Vaſſal in thus enſlaving a Free and Noble Kingdom.*

[3] *Id. Ib.* *Fawkes de Brent* takes divers ſtrong Caſtles.

[3] About the ſame time, *Fawkes de Brent* burnt the Caſtle of *Hanſlape*, in *Bucks* belonging to *William Maudit*, and demoliſhed it; alſo the ſame Day the ſtrong Caſtle of the Earl of *Clare's* at *Tunbridge* was taken by the Garriſon of *Rocheſter*, and *Fawkes* likewiſe took the Caſtle of *Bedford*, having no Relief from *William de Beauchamp* the Owner of it. Then the King, to recompence this *Fawkes* for his Services, gave him that Caſtle, and a Noble young Lady, one *Margaret de Rivers*, in marriage, with all her Eſtate; as alſo the Lands of divers Barons of *England*, all which did but ſerve to exaſperate them the more againſt the King.

[4] For

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[4] *M. W.* The Barons in return plunder *Cambridge, Norwich*, and other Towns.

[4] For in Return of the Outrages committed upon them, a ſtrong Party of the Barons that were at *London*, ſallyed out, and marching into *Cambridge-ſhire*, ſpoiled that Country, and took the Caſtle of that Town without any difficulty, ſending thoſe that kept it, Priſoners to *London*; and then paſſing through the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, they plundred thoſe Inhabitants, and made the Citizens of *Norwich* redeem themſelves: The like they did at *Yarmouth* and *Ipſwich*, and the Neighbouring Towns, and in their Return they took the Caſtle of *Colcheſter*, and ſome time after this, thoſe of *Hertford* and *Berkhamſted*, with other Places adjacent.

[1] *M. P. Id* p. 272. The Pope in the General Council at *Rome*, renews the *Cruſado*, and gives largely to it, out of other Peoples Purſes.

[5] As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, this Year affords none in *England* (except what has been already mentioned;) but the Pope held a General Council at *Rome*, which was chiefly called to renew the *Cruſado*, for the Recovery of the *Holy Land*; to which he himſelf then gave Thirty thouſand Marks, which remained in his Hands of the Alms of certain pious Perſons; He alſo promiſed for himſelf and his Cardinals to pay the Tenth part of their Eccleſiaſtical Revenues for Three Years, and Taxed all Archbiſhops, Biſhops and other Clergymen a Twentieth part of theirs for the like time.

At this Council appeared no leſs than Four hundred and Twelve Biſhops, with the Two Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople* and *Jeruſalem*, beſides the Ambaſſadors of the *Greek* and *Roman* Emperors, together with thoſe of *France* and *England*, and the reſt of the King and Princes of Chriſtendom.

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[1] *Id.* The K. after he had kept *Chriſtmaſs-day* at *Nottingham*; ſummons *Belvoir Caſtle*, which is ſurrendred to him at Diſcretion.

[1] This being the laſt Year of King *John's* Reign, he kept *Chriſtmaſs-Day* at the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, and the Day after, he ſent and ſummoned *Belvoir*-Caſtle, threatning to ſtarve *William de Albiney* (the Lord of it) to death, if it were not ſurrendred without Capitulation. Upon which the Governors, for the ſafety of their Maſter carried the Keys thereof to the King, being then at *Langor*; yet upon Condition, that he ſhould deal mercifully with him, and that they themſelves ſhould remain in ſafety with their Horſes and Arms. Accordingly the King took poſſeſſion of it on St. *John*'s Day, and gave them that were in it his Letters Patents of Indemnity, for the Enjoyment of all their Goods, having firſt taken an Oath of Fidelity and Obedience from them.

[2] *Id.* p. 275. The K. Commands *Deventon Caſtle* to be razed. And his Army make great havock in the *North*.

our Author's Character of their Mercenaries.

[2] In the mean time ſome of the King's Army came to *Deventon*, a Caſtle of *John de Lacyes*, and finding it deſerted, the King Commanded it to be Razed to the Ground. Here our Author, (not *Matt. Paris*, but *Roger* of *Wendover*, who wrote before him,) proceeds to Relate, that the King paſſing through the *North* Parts, divided his Army into ſeveral Bodies, which every where in their march plundered and burnt the Houſes of the Barons, driving away their Cattle, and deſtroying all things before them with Fire and Sword: And here the Monk is very ſharp againſt theſe cruel Mercenaries, calling them *the Guards of Satan, and Miniſters of the Devil*; and indeed not without cauſe, if they were guilty of thoſe barbarous Cruelties he charges them with; which, ſince they would be tedious and perhaps unpleaſant to Relate at large, I ſhall only give you this brief account of them; as that they ſpared neither Age, nor

Sex;

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A brief Account of their Cruelties.

Sex; neither Women, Children nor old decrepit People eſcaping their Cruelties: He farther relates, that they took Prieſts from the very Altar, with the conſecrated Hoſts in their Hands, and then tortured, robbed and wounded them; and that to extort Money from Gentlemen and thoſe of meaner Condition, they hanged Some up by the Middle, Others by their Legs and Feet; Some by their Arms, Hands, or Thumbs, ſpitting into their Eyes Salt mixt with Vinegar; Others they laid upon Trivets and Grid-irons over burning Coales, then put their broiled Bodies under Ice to cool them: So that now all Commerce ceaſed, and there were no Markets held any where but in Church-Yards.

Dr. *Brady* endeavours to make theſe Accounts the falſe repreſentations of the Monks; but his Reaſons ſeem not ſufficient.

Dr. *Brady* and Others who Write in favour of King *John*, would fain ſuppoſe that theſe things were invented by the Monkiſh Writers of theſe times, purely to blacken his Memory, and one might believe ſo, if there were only One or Two who wrote this; but *Radulph* Abbot of *Coggeſhal* gives us the ſame Account (tho' in fewer words) of theſe Cruelties; and if we muſt not believe theſe Authors, who wrote of things in their own time, becauſe they were Monks and Enemies to King *John*; we may as well for the ſame Reaſon not give them Credit in any thing elſe: whereas what they relate was done within the memories of divers then alive, who muſt needs have cryed out on them for notorious lyars, had the matters been otherwiſe than as they related them; but I ſhall produce a foreign Writer to juſtifie the ſame paſſages by and by.

The King commits the Cuſtody of the *Northern* Counties to *Hugh de Bailiol*, and others.

[3] * *Ro'. Pat.* 18. *Joan. M.* 7. *Dors.* n. 66.

And the Caſtles in the *South*, to the Earl of *Albemarle* and others.

Thus, whilſt the Barons lay quiet at *London*, the King got poſſeſſion of almoſt all their Caſtles and Eſtates from the *South* to the *Northern* Sea; which with the Lands lying between the River *Teyſe* and *Scotland*, he committed to *Hugh de Bailiol* and *Philip de Hulecotes*, with ſufficient Soldiers to defend that Country, as appears by a [3] Writ which Dr. *Brady* cites from the *Tower* Records. The Caſtles and Lands in *York-ſhire* were commited to *Robert de Vipont*, *Brien de Liſle*, and *Geoffry de Lucy*, with Forces requiſite for their Defence; to *William* Earl of *Albemarle* he committed the Caſtle of *Rockingham* and *Bitham*; to *Fawkes de Brent*, he gave the Cuſtody of the Caſtles of *Oxford*, *Northampton*, *Bedford* and *Cambridge*; with the Caſtle of *Hereford* he entruſted *Walter de Godardvil*, a Knight, Retainer of *Fawkes de Brent*; and to *Ranulph* the *German* the Caſtle of *Berkamſted*; with commands to all of them, that as they loved their Bodies and all they had, they ſhould deſtroy all things that belonged to the Barons, their Caſtles, Houſes, Towns, Parks, Warrens, *&c.* and what could the moſt Barbarous foreign Enemy have done more!

The K. of *Scots* invades *England*.

About this time (as the *Scottiſh* Hiſtorians *Buchanan* and others relate, their) Young King *Alexander*, being Invited by the *Engliſh* Clergy and Barons, who were Enemies to King *John*, Invaded *England*; and *Norham* Caſtle being ſurrenderd to him upon Articles, he marched further into the Country, doing what miſchief he could to thoſe of the King's Party.

[4] *C. M.*

[4] When the *Scottiſh* King was returned home, after he had taken the Homages of the Barons of *Northumberland*, (which he then laid claim to) King *John* with his Army of Mercenaries marched toward *Scotland*; at what time the Barons of *York-ſhire*, who had alſo Confederated againſt him, hearing of his coming, fled to the

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King of *Scots* for Refuge, and did him Homage at the Abbey of *Mailroſs*. But the King of *England* preſently following them, deſtroyed their Towns and Poſſeſſions with Fire and Sword; tho' ſome of thoſe Barons to prevent him, ſet fire themſelves to their own Houſes, together with their Corn, leſt they might prove ſerviceable to the King; ſo that the greateſt part of the Country was laid waſte.

K. John ſpoils the eſtates of the Barons in *York-ſhire*.

Then advancing farther, about the beginning of *January* the Towns of *Werk*, *Alnwick*, and *Morpeth* were alſo burnt; nor did the King ſtop here, but marching into *Scotland*, in the ſame Month he burnt *Roxburgh*, with divers Towns and Villages, and about that time likewiſe took the ſtrong Town and Caſtle of *Berwick*, which was till then thought impregnable.

K. *John* burns divers Towns in *Northumberland*, and entring *Scotland*; burns *Roxburgh*, and takes *Berwick*.

Here, as the Writer of the Chronicle of *Mailroſs* (who then lived) relates, the King's Mercenaries exerciſed moſt inhumane Cruelties upon all they could meet with of both Sexes; for hanging up ſome by their Hands, and others by their Feet, they tormented them after a moſt terrible manner, to ſqueeze Money from them: And thus you have another impartial Witneſs of the ſtrange Inhumanity of theſe mercenary Forces in *Scotland* as well as in *England*; which ſince the King did not reſtrain by any good Diſcipline, it may be juſtly imputed to his Order or Connivance at leaſt.

A farther Account of the Cruelties of K. *John*'s mercenary Army.

From hence the King marching to *Hadington*, burnt it, and *Dunbar*, with other Towns in thoſe Parts. Alſo theſe Soldiers or Miniſters of *Satan*, (as my Author calls them) plundered the Abbey of *Coldingham*, and then burnt and deſerted the Town of *Berwick*; the King himſelf giving the example, who (as it is reported) with his own Hands ſet Fire to the Houſe in which he lay.

King *John* marches farther into *Scotland*, burning ſeveral Towns.

On the other Side, in the Month of *February* following, the King of *Scots* raiſing a powerful Army, marched againſt King *John*, but he being afraid to meet him, retreated towards *England*; therefore *Alexander* in Revenge burnt and deſtroyed all the Country as far as *Carliſle*, and then leading them quite through *Northumberland*, (as *Buchanan* relates) came as far as *Richmond*; but King *John* preventing his overtaking him by long marches, *Alexander* returned back through *Weſtmorland* into his own Kingdom, and ſo concluded his Expedition with ſufficient Honour.

The K. of *Scots* raiſes an Army, and marches againſt K. *John*, who thereupon retreats, and returns into *England*.

But notwithſtanding King *John* now loſt whatever he had got in *Scotland*, yet this Expedition proved of great advantage to him, ſince beſides the miſchief he did the *Scots*, [5] he alſo reduced the *Northern* Counties to his Obedience, ſo that there did not remain any more than Two Caſtles belonging to the Barons in thoſe Parts: Theſe Countries being thus ſubdued, the King returned home by the Borders of *Wales*; where he likewiſe treated thoſe that reſiſted him very Cruelly, and took divers Caſtles belonging to his Enemies, ſome of which he pulled down, and others he new-Gariſoned with his own Soldiers.

[5] *M. P.* p. 276.

But it is fit we give ſome Account of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs that were tranſacted this Summer, ſince they had now ſo great an Influence on the Civil.

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[1] *Id. ib.* The Pope *Excommunicates* the Chiefeſt of the Barons who were againſt the K. by Name.

As alſo divers Citizens of *London*, and puts the whole City under an *Interdict*.

[1] The Pope having had notice from the King, that the Barons valued not his general *Excommunication*, he therefore proceeded to *Excommunicate* the Chiefeſt of them by Name, and committed the Execution of his *Breve* to the Abbot of *Abbendun*, the Archdeacon of *Poictou*, and Maſter *Robert*, Official of *Norwich*, by which he not only *Anathematized* all the Barons with their Aſſiſtants and Favourers, who perſecuted the Illuſtrious King *John*, Vaſſal to the *Roman* Church, but further, he *Excommunicated* and *Anathematized* all thoſe who helped them to Invade and Poſſeſs the Kingdom, or hindered any Perſon from going to, and aſſiſting the King; and put all the Barons Lands under *Interdict*; He alſo *Excommmuicated* the Citizens of *London*, that were principal Actors againſt the King, and One and Thirty Others, by Name, with all their Accomplices, and put the City of *London* under Eccleſiaſtical *Interdict*, and all this without remedy of Appeal. This *Brief* bears date the 27th of the Kalends of *January*, being *December* the 16th, 1215.

[2] *Id.* p. 277. The Pope's Delegates here write to all Cathedral and Conventual Churches, to publiſh this Sentence.

* See their Names in our Author.

[2] The Pope's Commiſſioners, or Delegates, upon the receipt of this *Brief*, wrote to all Cathedral and Conventual Churches, enjoining them to publiſh this Brief of *Excommunication* againſt the Barons *therein named, and to order it to be publiſhed in the Pariſh Churches, within their ſeveral Juriſdictions, upon all Lord's Days and Feſtivals, and enjoined them to publiſh Thirty other Barons by name *Excommunicated*, which were contained in the Sentence drawn up by *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Pandulph*, and the Abbot of *Reading*, for whoſe Names I refer you to our Author.

[3] *Id.* p. 278. The City of *London*, and the Barons deſpiſe the Sentence, and their Reaſons for it.

[3] Upon the Publication of this Sentence, the City of *London* ſtood contumacious, and deſpiſed it; and the Barons reſolved not to obſerve it, nor did the Biſhops much urge it; For it was generally ſaid, that thoſe Briefs were obtained by falſe Suggeſtions, and therefore were of no value; and for this alſo more eſpecially, that it did not belong to the Pope to direct and govern in Lay-matters; becauſe only the Power and Diſpoſition of Eccleſiaſtick Affairs was committed by God to *Peter* the Apoſtle, and his Succeſſors; ‘Why therefore ſhould the inſatiable Covetouſneſs and Ambition of the *Roman* Court oblige them? Behold (ſaid they) the Succeſſors of *Conſtantine*, not *Peter*; who do not the Works of *Peter*, nor are they at all like him in Authority: And then after many Invectives againſt the Pope's Uſurers and Simoniacal Miniſters, our Monk concludes with this Exclamation, *How unlike to* Peter, *are thoſe who Uſurpe to themſelves ſo large a ſhare of his Power!*

[4] *Id. Ib.* *Walter Buck* Seizes and Plunders the Iſle of *Ely*.

**i.e.* The ſtation of the Army, and was the Old Fortification where the Conqueror's Army lay.

[4] About the ſame time *Walter Buck* with his *Brabanters* enter'd the Iſle of *Ely* by *Audery*'s Cauſe-way; or, as our Author words it, he enter'd it on that ſide towards **Hereby*, while *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Faulks* and *Savarie de Malleon*, paſſing over the Ice, got into it on the other ſide by *Stuntney-Bridge*, and waſted and plundered the whole Iſle; and many that fled thither, as to a Place of Safety, were taken Priſoners, and put to Ranſom: The Cathedral was redeemed from Fire by the Prior, for ſomewhat more than an Hundred Marks of Silver; ſo that theſe *Mercenaries* made no diſtinction between Perſons, or Places, Sacred or Prophane.

[5] *Id. Ib.*

[5] The Barons having now loſt all they had, and being reduced to Deſperation, knew not what courſe to take to recover their Loſ-

ſes;

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ſes; but for the preſent all the Remedy they had was to curſe the King's Falſhood and Inconſtancy, and ſo fell into very ſharp Invectives againſt him, for ſubjecting his Kingdom to the Pope; Nor ſpared they his Holineſs himſelf, for thus joining with the King to Oppreſs and Enſlave the Nation; which (tho' added by *Matt. Paris* to *Roger* of *Wendover*'s Hiſtory, yet) ſeems very likely to have been the General Complaint of the Kingdom at that time.

The Barons curſe the K's Falſhood, and rail againſt the Pope.

But to come to the Matter, [1] The Barons when they had vented their Spleen, after much Conſultation, at laſt reſolved, that the only way they had left to recover their loſt Eſtates, was, to chuſe ſome powerful Prince for their King, ſuppoſing that None could be more Severe and Tyrannical than King *John*; nor could they (as they believed) be in a much worſe Condition, let what would befall them: The main Queſtion was, whom they ſhould make choice of; which being for ſome time debated, at laſt they agreed to ſet *Lewis*, Eldeſt Son to *Philip* King of *France*, upon the *Engliſh* Throne, and one of their chief Reaſons was, becauſe that moſt part of the Forces (which were King *John*'s greateſt Strength) came out of his Territories; ſo that he would be thereby deprived of their Aſſiſtance, and left as it were to their Mercy, This generally pleaſed them; and thereupon they ſent *Saher* Earl of *Winton*, and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, to King *Philip*, and *Lewis* his Son, with Letters ſealed with the Baron's Seal, earneſtly imploring the Father to ſend his Son to be King of *England*; and no leſs importunately requeſting the Son, that he would forthwith come and receive the Crown.

[1] *Id.* p. 279.

And agree to make *Lewis*, Son to K. *Philip*, their King, and the Reaſons of it.

They ſend Ambaſſadors into *France* to invite him over.

The King of *France* having peruſed the Barons Letters, told their Commiſſioners, he ſhould not ſend his Son, till, for his greater Security, he had received Twenty four Hoſtages or Pledges, of the moſt Noble Perſons of the Kingdom; whereupon the Barons, having no other Remedy, ſent to him ſo many Hoſtages as he required; and ſo ſoon as they were received and put into ſafe Cuſtody, *Lewis* prepared himſelf for the Expedition, which he deſired above all things; but becauſe his coming over could not be immediately, he ſent before him into *England* the *Caſtellans* of *St. Omars* and *Arras*, *Hugh Chacun*, *Euſtace de Neville*, *Giles de Melun*, and divers other Noblemen of *France*, with a great Number of Soldiers, to encourage the Barons, who came up the *Thames* to *London*, and were received with great Joy on the 27th of *February*.

The *French* K. requires Hoſtages for his Son's Security if he came, which is granted.

Prince *Lewis* ſends ſeveral of his Great Men, and a great many Soldiers over before him.

But to intermix now ſomewhat of Eccleſiaſtical Matters; [2] About the ſame time *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, having given caution at *Rome*, that he would ſtand to the Judgment and Determination of the Pope concerning the Things before expreſſed, was abſolved from the Sentence of *Suſpenſion*, upon condition that he ſhould not return into *England*, untill there was a firm Peace eſtabliſhed between the King and his Barons.

[2] *Id. ib.*

The A B. of *Canterbury*'s Suſpenſion taken off, on Condition he would not return into *England* till Peace was made.

To this time I muſt alſo refer what *Rad. de Coggeſhal* relates, that in *Mid-Lent*, the King with a great Army beſieged the Caſtle of *Colcheſter*, which within a few Days was ſurrender'd upon theſe Terms, That all the *French* Men (who it ſeems were the greater Number) might freely return home with their whole Baggage, while the *Engliſh* were to be diſmiſs'd, but upon Ranſom; which Agreement, tho' the Earl of *Salisbury* had confirm'd with an Oath on the

Colcheſter Caſtle taken by K. *John*, where the *French* are diſmiſs'd, but the *Engliſh* kept Priſoners contrary to their Articles.

The *French* like to be Hanged by the Barons.

King's behalf; yet he ſet none but the *French* at Liberty, keeping all the *Engliſh* not only cloſe Priſoners, but alſo in Fetters, under pretence that he could not endure the Breach of their Fidelity: But ſo ſoon as theſe *Frenchmen* came to *London*, they were like to be Hanged by the Barons, becauſe they had given up and betray'd their Fellow-Soldiers: But at laſt by the Advice of one Wiſer and more Merciful than the reſt, this ſevere Execution was remitted, and they were to be kept in Priſon till the arrival of Prince *Lewis*, who was now ſuddenly expected.

[3] *Id. Ib.* The King beſtows great Donatives on his *Mercenaries* to encourage them to beſiege *London*; but the Citizens, in Contempt of them, ſet open their Gates.

[3] Sometime after this, when the King had taken the Caſtle of *Hidingham*, belonging to *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, he diſtributed great Donatives to his *Mercenaries*, that ſo he might thereby encourage them to beſiege *London*; which when the *Londoners* heard, they were ſo far from being afraid of them, that they preſently ſet the Gates of their City wide open, to ſhew they were ready to Encounter the King, if he ſhould offer to ſet upon them; but he perceiving their Courage, and the Multitude of Combatants, thought fit to retreat, without putting it to the Tryal. Yet *Savory de Malleon* approaching too near the Town, fell into an Ambuſcade of the *Londoners*, and loſt a great many of his Men, while he himſelf being grievouſly wounded, had much ado to eſcape.

[4] *Id. ib.* The *Londoners* take 65 Sail of Pyrates that block'd up the River of *Thames*.

[4] About the ſame time alſo, the *Londoners* Ships took and deſtroyed Sixty Five ſail of Pyrate Veſſels, which then block'd up the Mouth of the River *Thames*, killing and taking Priſoners moſt of the Seamen that were in them; From whence we may Judge of the great Power and Strength of this City, by Sea and Land, in thoſe Days, which could thus ſupport it ſelf againſt the King's *Mercenary* Forces, who had then over-run all the reſt of *England*.

[5] *Id. ib.* The *Northern* Barons not being able to take *York*, accept of Money from the Citizens to march off.

[5] Alſo about this time the *Northern* Barons taking freſh Courage, gathered together an Army, and beſieged *York*; and tho' they were not able to take it, yet they received more than a Thouſand Marks from the Citizens to march off, which they did for the preſent.

In the mean while, there were cruel Plunderings and Burnings committed in that Province by the King's Soldiers, whilſt the Barons committed the like Devaſtations upon the Lands of their Adverſaries; but when the King heard that Prince *Lewis* was now reſolved to paſs over into *England*, he ſent *Philip* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *William Mareſchal* the Elder, and ſome others, Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to perſuade him to hinder his Son from this Deſign: But the King ſent them away without ſo much as vouchſafing them an Audience.

K. *John* ſends Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to hinder his Son *Lewis* from coming over, but without any Effect.

When King *John* ſaw there was no good to be done with *France* by fair means, he preſently viſited the Sea-Coaſts, and putting Gariſons into the ſtrongeſt Places, obliged the *Cinque-Ports* by freſh Oaths and Pledges to be Faithful to him; then gathering together a great Fleet of Ships from *Yarmouth*, *Lyn*, *Donwich*, and other Ports, and having Mann'd them very well, he reſolv'd to Engage the *French* in their Paſſage: But a mighty Tempeſt ariſing from the *North*, broke to Pieces, or Sunk, the moſt part of this Fleet, by which ſad Accident the King was fruſtrated of his hopes of doing any good by Sea.

Whereupon the K. viſits the Sea-Coaſts, and putting Gariſons into the ſtrongeſt Places, ſets out a great Fleet.

Moſt part of which is caſt away by a Storm.

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But now let us look back to Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and ſee what the Spiritual Sword acted all this while in *England*.

[1] About *Eaſter* the Abbot of *Abbendun*, and his Fellow Commiſſioners, finding the Contumacy of the Barons and City of *London* ſtill to continue, wrote to all the Conventual Churches, or Monaſteries of *England* commanding them to publiſh the Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt the Deans of St. *Pauls* and St. *Martins*, and the Convent of *Holy Trinity*, for their Contempt to the Pope, in not publiſhing his Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt the ſaid City and Barons, as Enemies to the King; and alſo Commanded them to *Excommunicate* the Caſtellan of St. *Omar*, with all his Company, that came to Invade and Poſſeſs the Kingdom of *England*, together with all Canons and Clerks within the City of *London*, upon pain of falling under the Pope's high Diſpleaſure. The Reader may find theſe Letters at large in our Author.

[1] *M. P.* p. 279. The Pope's Commiſſioners write to all the Conventual Churches to publiſh the Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt the Deans of St. *Pauls*, and St. *Martins*, *London*, for their Contempt in not publiſhing his Sentence.

[2] At this time alſo Prince *Lewis* wrote to the Barons and Citizens of *London* a very kind Letter, wherein he returned them thanks for their valiant Behaviour in his Cauſe, with an Exhortation to them to perſevere in the ſame Courſe, and a Promiſe that he would be at *Calais* by *Eaſter* following, in order to come over into *England*. Not long after, ſome of the *Engliſh* Barons holding a great Tournament with thoſe Noblemen that came lately out of *France*, One of them with his Spear mortally wounded *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, Earl of *Eſſex*, who died within a few Days after, to the great Grief of thoſe of his Party.

[2] *Id.* p. 280. Prince *Lewis* writes to the Barons, and Citizens, to encourage them to take his Part.

Geoffrey Earl of *Eſſex* is wounded at a Tournament, and Dies.

[3] In the mean while the Pope ſent *Wallo*, or *Guallo* his Legate, into *France*, to prevent the Expedition of Prince *Lewis* into *England*, who delivered to King *Philip* his Maſter's Letters, by which he endeavoured to perſuade him, not to permit his Son to invade *England*, nor diſturb the King, but rather to Protect and Defend him, as being a Vaſſal of the *Roman* Church, and whoſe Dominions belonged unto it. To which the King of *France* immediately replied, ‘That the Kingdom of *England* never was, nor ever ſhould be the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, for King *John* having ſeveral years endeavoured to Dethrone his Brother *Richard*, he was accuſed of Treaſon, and convicted in that King's Court, *Hugh de Pudſey*, Biſhop of *Durham*, having pronounced the Sentence againſt him; and therefore either he never was a Lawful King, and ſo could not give away his Kingdom; or if he ever were ſuch, yet he had been already Condemn'd in the Court or Parliament at *Paris*, for the Death of his Nephew *Arthur*, and for this Fact continued ſtill Sentenced. Laſtly, That no King, or Prince, could diſpoſe of his Kingdom without the aſſent of the Barons, who are bound to defend it: And if the Pope would take upon him to maintain this Error, it would prove a Pernicious Example to all Civil States. Then likewiſe all the Great Men of *France* unanimouſly declared, that they would maintain this Point even to Death, *That no King, or Prince, by his ſingle Authority, had Power to give away, or make over his Kingdom, and thereby enſlave his Nobility*. Theſe things were acted at *Lyons* about Fifteen Days after *Eaſter*.

[3] *Id. ib.* The Pope ſends his Legate to K. *Philip*, to hinder his Son's coming into *England*.

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From which Relation we may obſerve, That the King and Nobility of *France* did not believe, that King *John* had ever ſurrender'd his Kingdom to the Pope by the Conſent of his Barons, tho' it be otherwiſe recited in that King's Charter, concerning which I ſhall ſay no more, having already ſpoken ſomewhat of it in my *Introduction* to this Volume.

We may likewiſe obſerve from this Unanimous Judgment of the *French Nobility*, that they did not ſuppoſe their own King, nor any other Prince in Chriſtendom was ſo Abſolute, as to have a Power veſted in him of diſpoſing of his Kingdom without their Conſents.

[4] *Id. ib.* 280, 281. An Account of the Pleadings on both ſides between the Pope's Legate, and the Proctor or Advocate of Prince *Lewis*.

[4] The next Day, by means of the King of *France*, Prince *Lewis* was preſent at the Conference, where the Legate began to diſſuade him from Invading *England*, as being the Patrimony of the *Roman* Church; and alſo again applyed himſelf to his Father, according to the Effect of the Pope's Letter; to whom the King ſaid, 'He always was much devoted to the Pope, and the *Roman* Church, 'and always effectually promoted their Affairs; nor ſhould his 'Son now, by his advice or aſſiſtance, attempt any thing againſt 'them; but if he challenged any Right to the Kingdom of *England*, 'he ought to be heard, and what was juſt ſhould be allowed him: Upon which words a Knight ſtood up and argued for his Maſter Prince *Lewis*, againſt King *John* and the Pope's Title, alledging, (as King *Philip* had done before)

The Reaſons of Pr. *Lewis's* Advocate againſt the Pope's and K. *John's* Title.

Firſt, That King *John* had deſtroyed his Nephew *Arthur*, and was therefore condemn'd to Death by his Peers of *France*.

Secondly, That afterwards, for many Murthers Manſlaughters, and other Enormities committed in *England*, he had been Depoſed by the Barons, from Reigning over them.

Thirdly, That without the Conſent of his Barons he had made over the Kingdom of *England* to the Pope and Church of *Rome*, to take it again and hold it of them under the Annual Tribute of a Thouſand Marks.

Fourthly, That ſuppoſing he had given away the Crown of *England* without the Conſent of the Barons, and had quitted and reſigned his Right to it, yet ſo ſoon as he had done it, he thereby immediately Unking'd himſelf, and the Throne becoming vacant, it could not be fill'd, without the Conſent of thoſe Barons; who had now choſen Prince *Lewis* in right of his Wife, whoſe Mother (the Queen of *Caſtile*) was the only Child then living of all the Sons and Daughters of *Henry* the late King of *England*.

Theſe were the Arguments uſed by *Lewis* his Advocate, againſt the Titles of the Pope.

[5] *Id. ib.* The Legate's Reply to the Reaſons brought by *Lewis's* Advocate.

[5] For all this the Legate ſtill urged, That King *John* was ſigned with the *Croſs*, (that is, had undertaken the *Cruſado*) and therefore according to a Conſtitution of the late General Council, ought to be free from any Diſturbance for Four Years, being under the Protection of the *Apoſtolick* See; To this *Lewis* his Advocate replied, That King *John*, before ever he was ſigned with the *Croſs*, had made War upon his Maſter, and taken his Caſtles, and waſted his Countries with Fire and Sword; and had made many Knights and others Priſoners, whom he ſtill detained, and was even now in actual

War againſt his Maſter, and therefore the War he intended againſt him was juſt, according to the Law of Retaliation.

[1] The Legate hereupon, not ſatisfied with theſe Reaſons, forbad Prince *Lewis* under pain of *Excommunication* to enter *England*, and the King his Father to permit him to do it. But yet *Lewis* begged of his Father not to hinder his Deſign for declaring his Right; ſince he reſolved to hazard his Life to obtain his Wife's Inheritance, and ſo departed from the Conference. Then the Legate deſired a ſafe Paſſage from the King of *France* to the Sea ſide, which was readily granted him through his own Territories; bnt he would not undertake to ſecure him if he ſhould fall into the hands of his Son *Lewis* his Friends, that guarded the Sea; at which the Legate being much diſpleaſed, departed from Court.

[1] *Id. ib.*

The Legate not ſatisfied with *Lewis*'s Reaſons, forbids him entering *England* on pain of *Excommunication*, who regarded not thoſe Threats.

The Legate deſires leave to depart.

[2] Prince *Lewis* on the Morrow after St. *Mark*'s Day, went to his Father, being then at *Melun*, and once more earneſtly beſeeched him not to hinder his Deſign: But tho' the King durſt not openly encourage it, yet he privately permitted him to go, and diſmiſſed him with his Bleſſing; After this the Prince ſent his Envoys to the *Roman* Court, to declare to the Pope his Right to the Kingdom of *England*, and then with all ſpeed came to *Calais*, with the Earls, Barons, Knights, and others that had ſworn to go along with him in this Expedition, that ſo he might come into *England* before the Legate. At that Port they found ready to receive them Six hundred Ships, and Fourſcore *Cogs*, a ſort of ſmall Tranſport-Veſſels, which *Euſtace*, Sirnam'd the *Monk*, had gathered together; [3] in which they Embarked with all the ſpeed they could, and Landed at *Stanhore* in the Iſle of *Thanet*, not far from *Sandwich*, upon the 21ſt of *May*.

[2] *Id. Ib.*

Prince *Lewis* renews his requeſt to his Father, not to hinder his going over into *England*, which he privately permitted.

Lewis ſends Envoys to *Rome* to ſet forth his Right to the Kingdom of *England*.

[3] *Ib.* p. 282.

* Coll 1868.

He arrives and Lands in the Iſle of *Thanet*.

But Prince *Lewis*, after his arrival in *England*, having heard that *Alexander*, Abbot of St. *Auguſtin*'s at *Canterbury*, had, amongſt other Prelates, received Orders from the Pope to proceed againſt him by Eccleſiaſtical *Cenſure*, or *Excommunication*; to prevent this he wrote a Letter to the ſaid Abbot, (ſtill extant in **William Thorn*'s Hiſtory of that Abbey, 'wherein he claims an Hereditary Right to the Kingdom of *England*, by *John*, (then Earl of *Mortaign*,) his Condemnation for High Treaſon againſt his Brother King *Richard*, (as hath been already mentioned) and that by Virtue of this Attainder, all the Right to the Crown of *England* had devolv'd upon *Eleanor* Queen of *Caſtile* his Siſter, and her Heirs, whoſe Eldeſt Daughter he the ſaid *Lewis* had Married; and that this Queen had made over to himſelf and her ſaid Daughter, all her Right to the ſaid Kingdom; and further ſets forth, that Archbiſhop *Hubert* late deceaſed, did, at the time of King *John*'s Coronation, publickly in a Speech made for that purpoſe, declare, that he ſucceeded to the Crown, not by *Succeſſion*, but by *Election*; which, as alſo his ſubſequent Coronation, having been perform'd by Power or Force, ought not to prejudice the Right of him the ſaid *Lewis*. And he therein further ſays, 'That King *John* having been ſolemnly Condemned in his Father's Court for the Murther of his Nephew *Arthur*, had thereby loſt his Right to the Crown, and had alſo forfeited it, by making it over to the Pope contrary to his Coronation-Oath, whereby he ſwore to maintain all the Rights and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, and that this was done without the Con-

And preſently writes to the Abbot of St. *Auguſtin*'s.

The Contents of that Letter.

'ſent of the Barons; and he moreover ſets forth his great Violence and Injuſtice in breaking the Charter he had made to them, and in making War upon them without cauſe; and therefore in the concluſion of this Letter, he deſires the Abbot, (notwithſtanding the Evil Suggeſtions of *Guallo* the Pope's Legate,) to conſider that he was come over to reſtore the Liberties of the Church and Kingdom of *England*, and for the Common-Weal and Benefit thereof; in the procurement of which, if the ſaid Abbot would be any ways aſſiſting to him, he ſhould then look upon him as his Friend, and would be no ways forgetful of it hereafter.

I have been the more exact in reciting the Contents of this Letter, becauſe you will here ſee, on what weak Grounds this Prince founds his Title, which certainly could be none at all in Right of his Wife, there being divers Others who had a Precedent, and conſequently a much better Right, as you will find more at large hereafter. But to return to our Hiſtory.

[4] *Id. ib.*

K. *John*, tho' he lay at *Dover*, yet could not hinder the *French* from Landing, and the Reaſon of it.

Lewis ſubdues all *Kent*, except *Dover* Caſtle, and is then joyfully received into *London*.

Where he receives the Homages and Fealties of the Barons and Citizens.

[4] In the mean while, King *John* lay at *Dover* with his Army, which conſiſted of Strangers, and therefore he durſt not attempt to hinder the Landing of the *French*, leſt his Men ſhould deſert him, and go over to *Lewis*; From thence he went (leaving *Hubert de Burgh* Governor of *Dover-Caſtle*) to *Guilford*, and ſo on to *Wincheſter*, whilſt *Lewis* himſelf Landed near *Sandwich*, and finding no body to reſiſt him, preſently ſubdued all the Country, except *Dover-Caſtle*; but in his march he took that of *Rocheſter*; then coming up to *London*, was there received by the Barons with all outward demonſtrations of Joy, receiving at the ſame time the Homages and Fealties of all the Barons, and Citizens; and he likewiſe ſwore upon the *Holy Goſpels*, that he would reſtore to all of them good Laws, as alſo their Loſt Inheritances; which Paſſage Dr. *Brady* omits in his Hiſtory, and places inſtead of it a Paſſage of King *John* and the Barons at *Runnemead*, which is not to be found in that Author, or any where elſe, that I know of; but this by the By.

[5] *M. P. Ib.*

Having got Poſſeſſion of great part of the Kingdom, he Summons the K. of *Scots* and all the Great Men of *England* to come and do him Homage, upon which many of them come in to him, and their Names.

Lewis makes Mr. *Simon Langton* his Chancellor.

Thus [5] by the 14th of *June* Prince *Lewis* had got poſſeſſion of ſo much of the Kingdom, that he ſummoned the King of *Scots*, and all the Great Men of *England* to come and do him Homage, or forthwith to depart the Nation; and with great ſpeed upon this his Proclamation, there came in to him *William* Earl *Warren*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, the King's Half-Brother, *William Mareſchal* the Younger, and many others, who deſerted King *John*, upon a firm Belief, that *Lewis* would now obtain the Kingdom of *England*; or (which is more likely) becauſe King *John* was now grown Odious, even to his beſt Friends and neareſt Relations. At the ſame time alſo, Prince *Lewis* made Maſter *Simon Langton*, Brother to the Archbiſhop, his Chancellor, who being before incenſed againſt the Pope by his late diſappointment of the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, did now by his Preaching perſuade all the Barons and Citizens of *London* to be preſent at *Divine Service*, and alſo made Prince *Lewis* to give conſent to it. Thus you ſee, when the Clergy and People grew once Unanimous, the Pope's *Excommunication* ſignified nothing.

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[1] *Guallo* the Legate followed Prince *Lewis* into *England* with all ſpeed, and got ſafe to King *John*, who was then at *Gloceſter*; and there calling together as many Biſhops, Abbots, and Clerks as he could, *Excommunicated* Prince *Lewis* by Name, with all his Accomplices and Favourers, and eſpecially *Simon de Langton*; commanding all the Biſhops and Others to publiſh the Sentence againſt them every Lord's Day and Feſtival. But *Simon de Langton*, and *Gervaſe de Hobrugge*, Præcentor of St. *Pauls* in *London*, alledged, that they appealed for the Right and Title of Prince *Lewis*, and therefore the Sentence was Null and Void. At this time alſo moſt of the Knights, and Ordinary Soldiers of *Flanders*, and other Tranſmarine Countries, left King *John*, (except the *Poictovins*, and ſome went over to *Lewis*, and others returned home. From whence we may obſerve, that this Unfortunate King could not depend even upon thoſe very *Mercenaries* he had Hired, and kept in Pay; but whether for Fear of *Lewis*, or out of Hatred to King *John*, our Author does not tell us.

[1] *Id. ib.* The Pope's Legate follows *Lewis* into *England*, and *Excommunicates* him with all his Adherents.

Simon Langton, and *Gervaſe* appeal to the Pope on the Prince's behalf.

Moſt of the Foreign Mercenaries deſert King *John*.

[2] Sometime after this, Prince *Lewis* leaving *London*, marched into *Kent*, and totally ſubdued it, except *Dover* Caſtle; then going into *Suſſex*, he took in that Country, with the Towns and Fortreſſes belonging to it; and afterwards paſſing into *Hampſhire*, took the City of *Wincheſter* with the Caſtle, None withſtanding him, except one Brave young Gentleman, *William de Colingham*, who defied *Lewis*; and refuſing to ſwear Fealty to him, with a Thouſand Archers during the time of Hoſtility kept himſelf in the Woods and Faſtneſſes of *Suſſex*, and killed ſeveral Thouſands of the *French*: *Hugh de Neville* came to *Lewis* at *Wincheſter*, and doing him Homage there, delivered the Caſtle of *Marlborough* into his Hands; So that he was now poſſeſſed of all the *Southern*-Parts of the Nation, except the Caſtles of *Dover* and *Windſor*, which were well Mann'd and Fortified and prepared to receive him. At the ſame time alſo, *William de Mandevil*, *Robert Fitz-Walter*, and *William de Huntingfield*, by Force brought under his Obedience the Counties of *Eſſex*, and moſt part of *Suffolk*.

[2] *Id. Ib.* *Lewis* leaves *London*, and marches into *Kent*, and reduces it all except *Dover-Caſtle*.

And takes *Wincheſter*, none reſiſting him except *William de Colingham*.

Hugh de Neville delivers up the Caſtle of *Marborough* to *Lewis*, and is thereupon poſſeſs'd of all the *South* of *England*, except two Places *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*.

In the mean while, King *John* took care to Furniſh and Strengthen, as well as he could, with Men, Victuals, and Ammunition, ſeveral Caſtles in the *Weſtern*-Parts, as *Wallingford*, *Corf*, *Warham*, *Briſtol*, with the *Deviſes*, and others.

K. *John* furniſhes his Garriſons in the *Weſt* with Victuals, and Ammunition.

[3] In the midſt of theſe Succeſſes, Prince *Lewis* received an Account from the Meſſengers he had ſent to the Pope, that upon their Application to him, and preſenting his Complement, he told them, *Their Maſter was not worthy the return of his Salutation*; to which they replied, ‘When his *Holineſs* had heard his Reaſons and Apology, they doubted not but he ſhould find him a True Catholick ‘Prince, and highly devoted to him and the *Roman* Church; Inſomuch that at length, after many Addreſſes, they found him Wavering and Fluctuating between his Affection to Prince *Lewis*, and his Inclination to King *John*, and indeed he well conſidered his Intereſt on both ſides, and what Inconveniencies he might receive, whether the King, or the Prince got the better.

[3] *Id* p. 283. *Lewis* receives an Account from his Ambaſſadors at *Rome* of their Proceedings there.

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[4] *Id. Ib.*

The Reaſons of the Ambaſſadors, with the Pope's Anſwers.

[4] Then the Envoys proceeded to ſet forth at large the Reaſons and Arguments preſented to the Pope on behalf of Prince *Lewis* againſt King *John*; the Sum of which were,

Firſt, That the King was adjudged to Death by his Peers for the Murther of his Nephew *Arthur*; to which the Pope anſwered, That the Barons of *France* could not Judge him, becauſe he was an Anointed King, and their Superior; and beſides, it was againſt the Canons to Judge an Abſent Perſon, unheard, unconvicted, and who had not confeſſed his Crime: To this the Envoys of *Lewis* returned, that according to the Law or Cuſtom in the Kingdom of *France*, their King had all Juriſdiction whatſoever over King *John* his Liege-Man, as an Earl and Duke; therefore tho' he was a King Anointed in *England*, yet as he was but an Earl and Duke of *France*, he was under the Juriſdiction of their Lord the King; ſo that if ſuch an Earl or Duke, committed a Crime in that Kingdom, he might and ought to be judged by his Peers there: Nay, if he were neither Duke nor Earl, nor Liege-man of the King of *France*, but had committed ſuch a Crime in that Kingdom, even then, becauſe the Crime was committed there, the Barons might Judge him to Death; otherwiſe, if the King of *England*, becauſe he was an Anointed King, could not be Condemn'd as a Peer of *France*, he might then without any controul enter the Kingdom of *France*, and deſtroy the Barons of that Kingdom, as well as he had done his Nephew *Arthur*; to [5] which the Pope reply'd, That many Emperors and Kings of *France* are reported in Hiſtories to have deſtroyed ſeveral Innocent Perſons, yet we do not read that any of them were ever condemn'd to Death; and ſeeing *Arthur* had done Homage and Allegiance to his Uncle King *John*, and was afterwards taken Priſoner, fighting againſt him, he might juſtly be put to Death, as a Traytor to his Lord the King: So little Senſe the Pope then had of Duke *Arthur*'s Right to the Crown, or of the Horridneſs of the Murther committed upon him.

[5] *Id.* p. 284.

[1] *Id. Ib.*

[1] *Secondly*, 'Twas objected againſt King *John*, that tho' he was often cited to the Court of the King of *France*, yet he neither appeared Perſonally himſelf, nor ſent any one to do it for him; to which the Pope anſwered, That this was but a Contumacy at moſt, and not a Mortal Crime, and was otherwiſe to be puniſhed; and therefore the Barons could not Judge him to Death: But *Lewis* his Meſſengers replied, That it was the Cuſtom of *France*, if any one was accuſed of Murther, and appeared not, but ſent his Excuſe, he was adjudged as if he were Convicted in all points, and his Iſſue barred from Inheriting: To this the Pope anſwered again, That ſuppoſing King *John* had been judged to Death, and his Iſſue barred (which could only be for his Territories in *France*) yet did it not follow, that *Blanche*, the Wife of *Lewis*, ought therefore to ſucceed; but either the Siſter of *Arthur*, or elſe *Otto*, Son of *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, by King *John*'s Eldeſt Siſter; or if it be ſuppoſed that the Queen of *Caſtile* ought to ſucceed, or her Daughter *Blanche* in her Right, that is a Miſtake, becauſe the Male-Iſſue, *viz.* the King of *Caſtile* her Brother, or elſe the Queen of *Leon* her Eldeſt *Siſter*: To this *Lewis* his Envoys rejoin'd, That their Miſtreſs had a colourable Title, which was to hold good, until ſome other more Rightful

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plainly appeared, and if any nearer to it afterwards claimed, their Maſter then might do what he thought fit, or what he ought.

[2] *Id.* p.285.

[2] Then the Pope urged, That the Kingdom of *England* was his Property, and that *Lewis* ought not to deprive King *John* of it, who held it as his Feudatary; To this *Lewis* his Commiſſioners anſwered, That the War was begun before the Pope could pretend to it, for *William Longeſpee*, Earl of *Salisbury*, had long ſince invaded Prince *Lewis* his Territories with an Army, and therefore his War was juſt againſt the King of *England* that ſent them. To this the Pope anſwered, That *Lewis* ought not to make War for what his Vaſſal had done, but to make his Complaint to himſelf, as his Superior Lord; To which *Lewis* his Commiſſioners replied, That it was the Cuſtom of *France*, when ever any Vaſſal made War upon another, by authority of his Lord, he might make War upon him again, without complaining to his Lord. Then the Pope urged further, That the *Engliſh* Barons were *Excommunicated*, with all their Adherents, by which means *Lewis* would incur the Pain of *Excommunication* too, if he joined with them: To this his Commiſſioners ſaid, He did not favour the Barons of *England*, but only proſecuted his own Right; and that he believed neither the Pope, nor Council, would *Excommunicate* any Man Unjuſtly, ſince at the time of declaring the Sentence, they knew not what Right their Maſter might have to the Kingdom of *England*.

Upon hearing the whole Matter, the Pope ſaid, he would then determine nothing concerning it, untill he heard from his Legate *Guallo*. This was the Sum of the Diſcourſe between the Pope and Prince *Lewis*'s Envoys, with their mutual Objections, Anſwers and Replies, which tho' long, and perhaps may ſeem tedious to ſome, yet ſince it contains the clear ſtate of this Controverſie, and many curious Points in the *Feudal* Law of that Age, I thought fit to ſet it down here at large.

[3] *Id.* p. 285. Prince *Lewis* makes an Incurſion into *Eſſex*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, and puts a Gariſon into *Norwich-Caſtle*.

[3] In the mean while, Prince *Lewis* made a great Incurſion into the Eaſt of *England*, *viz.* the Counties of *Eſſex*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, and miſerably waſted them, putting a Gariſon into the Caſtle of *Norwich*, which *Thomas de Burgh* had deſerted: This done, the *French* returned with great Booty and Spoils to *London*; where *Gilbert de Gant* came in to *Lewis*, and by him was girt with the Sword of the County of *Lincoln*, and made Earl thereof; and then was ſent to block up the King's Forces in the Caſtles of *Nottingham* and *Newark*, for they had burnt all the Great Houſes of the Barons in thoſe Parts.

[4] *Id. Ib.* Several Barons reduce *Yorkſhire* and *Lincolnſhire* to Prince *Lewis*'s Obedience.

[4] At the ſame time, *Robert de Ros*, *Peter de Bruis*, and *Richard de Percie*, reduced the City and County of *York* to Prince *Lewis*'s Obedience; whilſt *Gilbert de Gant*, and *Robert de Ropelley* took the City of *Lincoln*, with the County round about, except the Caſtle, and put them under Contribution: They alſo plundered *Holland*, and made it Tributary.

[5] *C. M.* The King of *Scots* again invades *England*, and takes *Carliſle*, but not the Caſtle.

[5] In *July* the King of *Scots* invaded *England* afreſh with his whole Army, and beſieged the City of *Carliſle*, and took it about the beginning of *Auguſt*, all but the Caſtle, which he could not make himſelf Maſter of at that time.

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[1] *M P.* p.286. Then marches into *Northumberland*, and ſubdues it for Prince *Lewis*.

[1] Then marching forward into *Northumberland*, he ſubdued the whole County for Prince *Lewis*, excepting ſome Caſtles which *Hugh de Baliol* and *Philip de Hulecotes* Manfully defended; ſo that all theſe Counties were now become Subject, and had ſworn Fealty to the Prince.

[2] *Id. ib.* *Lewis* being reproved by his Father for not taking *Dover-Caſtle*, he marches again to beſiege it.

[2] About the Nativity of St. *John Baptiſt*, Prince *Lewis* being reproved by his Father, as if he were Unskilful in matters of War, becauſe he had hitherto left *Dover*-Caſtle untouch'd, (being then accounted one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes in the Kingdom) he therefore marched with a ſtrong Force to beſiege it, having before ſent to his Father for a great Engine, (which the *French* called a *Mal-voiſin*) to caſt Stones, with which, as well as with other Engines, the *French* were inceſſantly battering the Walls. But *Hubert de Burgh* with about an Hundred and Forty Knights and their Eſquires, defended the Place with ſo much Courage, that they deſtroyed many of their Enemies, until the *Frenchmen* being ſenſible of their Loſs, were forced to retreat to a further Diſtance. But Prince *Lewis* being cruelly vex'd at this Repulſe, ſwore, That he would never quit the Siege till he had taken it, and Hanged all thoſe that Defended it; and therefore blocking it up built great ſtore of Huts before it, hoping to do that by *Famine*, which he was not able to compaſs downright by *Force*.

But it was ſo well defended by *Hugh de Burgh*, that he could not take it.

And therefore blocks it up.

[3] *Id. Ib.* The Barons make an Excurſion, take *Cambridge*, and Plunder *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*.

[3] At the ſame time a Party of the Barons made an Excurſion into *Cambridgeſhire*, waſted the whole Countrey, and took the Caſtle of *Cambridge*; and from thence they marched into *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and plundered them, with all the Churches, and forced the Towns of *Yarmouth*, *Dunwich*, and *Ipſwich*, to moſt grievous Ranſoms; and going back by *Colcheſter* they committed the like Outrages, and ſo returned to *London*, their old Retreat.

And then beſiege *Windſor-Caſtle*, but could not take it.

Some time after this, the Barons gathered together a great Force, under the Command of the Count of *Nevers*, and beſieged *Windſor* Caſtle, wherein were Sixty Knights with their Followers; at which time the *French* applied their Battering Engines againſt the Walls, whilſt the Beſieged endeavoured to beat them off.

[4] *Id. ib.* The K. upon the Barons beſieging *Windſor-Caſtle*, marches about the Countrey, and deſtroys their Eſtates.

[4] Our Author farther relates, That ſo ſoon as King *John* knew *Dover* and *Windſor* Caſtles were beſieged by the Barons, he, to divert them from it, drew out of his Garriſons a great Army, with which he marched furiouſly up and down the Countries for a Month together, Waſting their Lands, Burning their Houſes, and Deſtroying all their Fruit and Corn: Inſomuch, that at length he made an Incurſion into the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and there laid waſt the Eſtates of the Earl of *Arundel*, *Roger Bigod*, *William de Huntingfield*, and other Great Men.

The Barons raiſe the Siege of *Windſor-Caſtle*, and march towards *Cambridge* to ſurprize the K. who thereupon returns to *Stamford*, and from thence towards *Lincoln*.

Upon this the Barons perceiving they could not make any great Advance in the Siege of *Windſor* Caſtle, quitted it in the Night, and leaving their Tents and Engines behind them, marched with all the haſte they could towards *Cambridge*, in order to ſhut up, and ſurprize the King, who was then harraſſing the Country about the Sea-Coaſt of *Suffolk*; but he receiving Intelligence by his Scouts of their coming, went back again to *Stamford*, and from thence marched in great haſte towards *Lincoln*, the Caſtle whereof was then beſieged by *Gilbert de Gant*; but upon his approach, he fled with all his Forces as faſt as he could.

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The Barons having thus miſſed the King, plundered and waſted the Country, and returned to *London* with their Spoils; and there leaving a ſtrong Gariſon, they marched to Prince *Lewis*, who was then employed in the Siege of *Dover*-Caſtle, whither [5] *Alexander* King of *Scots*, paſſing through *England* with his whole Army, came to wait upon him, and there did him Homage for the Lands he held in *England*, in the ſame Form as the Barons of *England* had done before; and then Prince *Lewis*, as well as the other Barons, Swore, That they would never make Peace with King *John*, without the King of *Scot*'s conſent: But to this Oath they were no Slaves, as you will find hereafter.

The Barons having plundered the Countrey, return to *London*, and thence march to the Siege of *Dover-Caſtle*.

[5] C.M. P.287.

Where *Alexander*, K. of *Scots* meets Pr. *Lewis*, and does him Homage.

[1] For about this time, the Viſcount of *Melun*, a *French* Nobleman that came into *England* before Prince *Lewis*, fell ſick in the City of *London*, and when he found he had not long to live, he called to him ſome of the *Engliſh* Barons, that were poſted there for the Security of the City; and told them, he was ſorry for the Deſtruction and Ruine that was coming upon them, which they underſtood not, but he would reveal the Secret; and then acquainted them, That Prince *Lewis* with Sixteen Earls and Barons of *France* had ſworn, That when he had Conquer'd *England*, and was Crown'd, he would for ever Baniſh all thoſe that fought for him, and perſecuted King *John*, as *Traytors to the Realm*, and would likewiſe deſtroy all their Poſterity; and that they might not doubt the Truth of it, he affirmed upon the Word of a Dying Man, and as he hoped for Salvation, that he himſelf was One of thoſe that had ſworn with *Lewis*; yet he deſired them not to make any Diſcovery of what he had ſaid, but provide for their Safety as well as they could; and ſo preſently after Died.

[1] *M. P. Ib.* The Viſcount of *Melun* upon his Death-Bed, diſcovers to the Barons Prince *Lewis*'s Deſign to ruine them.

[2] When theſe Things were whiſper'd amongſt the Barons, they were highly Incenſed, and not without Reaſon: For if this Relation were true, (as there was no great cauſe to diſtruſt the words of a Dying Man) there cannot be an Inſtance of greater Falſhood and Ingratitude, than this of Prince *Lewis* and his *French* Lords; and may ſerve as a *Laſting Warning* how the *Engliſh* ever call in too great a Number of *Foreigners* (eſpecially *French*) be their Neceſſities never ſo Urgent; ſince it has been (I will not ſay always) the Cuſtom of that Nation, not only to take a Pride in their own Chains, but in reducing their Neighbours to the ſame Condition with themſelves; and indeed the Barons might very well have gueſs'd at Prince *Lewis*'s Intentions, when he put *French* Governors into all the ſtrong Places he took.

[2] *Id. Ib.* Upon which the Barons are highly incenſed.

But that which grieved them moſt, was, that he had ſtigmatized them with the odious Character of *Traytors*; and it added not a little to their Affliction that they were *Excommunicated*. Some of theſe reflecting upon their miſerable Condition, thought of returning to their old Obedience: and tho' divers of them were afraid they had ſo highly provoked King *John*, that he would never accept of their Return; Yet the ſame Author relates, that no leſs than Forty of the Barons were about to quit Prince *Lewis*, and be reconciled to King *John*, not long before his Death.

Walter

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Lewis's Affairs but in a bad Poſture before King *John*'s Death, and the Reaſon.

Walter of *Coventry* repreſents Prince *Lewis*'s Affairs to have been in no very good Circumſtances at the time of King *John*'s Death; ſo that he ſeemed not well pleaſed with his coming over into *England*, becauſe he found things in a much different Poſture than what he expected: for the Caſtles in the King's Power were many, and thoſe well Fortified, and the greateſt Part of the Kingdom was ſtill under his Dominion; and tho' the King of *Scots* and the Barons of the *North* were for Prince *Lewis*, yet they were ſo divided from the Reſt of their Party, that they could neither help them, nor receive any Aſſiſtance from them; inſomuch that thoſe who ſtill adher'd to the King in thoſe Parts, ſpoil'd their Eſtates at their Pleaſure: Beſides, the Prince found the *Engliſh* Fickle and Mutable, and that the *French* he had brought over with him were too few to Gariſon, and Secure ſo great a Kingdom.

This was the true Reaſon, why he ſtill kept himſelf near the Sea-Coaſts, ſo that if any unexpected Diſaſter ſhould happen, he might find the eaſier Paſſage back again. And thus ſtood Affairs till the ſudden News of the King's Death raiſed the Spirits of thoſe of *Lewis*'s Party, as you will find anon; and therefore *Matt. Paris* alſo adds, That about this time, the Barons ſeeing themſelves *Excommunicated*, and like to be deprived of their Honours and Eſtates, grew very Melancholly and Diſcontented; ſo that ſeveral of them thought of returning to their Allegiance to the King; and had actually done it, had they not believed the King's Temper to be ſo implacable as never to pardon them.

Dr. *Brady*'s exact Account of the King's ſeveral Gifts during the reſt of his Reign, and Life.

But it is high time to return to the ſmall Remainder of this Unfortunate Prince's Reign, and of which it muſt be confeſs'd Dr. *Brady* gives us the beſt Light from the * *Patent-Rolls* of this Year; That King *John* was buſied in the *Weſt* all this Summer, from almoſt the Beginning of *May* to the Beginning of *September*; yet by the Grants, Protections, and other things he then ſigned, we find he was in perpetual Motion, and very ſeldom ſtayed more than Two or Three Days in a Place; as appears by the *Teſte*'s of theſe Patents, where the Place of his Abode is always expreſſed.

He ſpends moſt part of the Summer in the *Weſt*.

At the beginning of the Summer he was at *Wincheſter*, at the *Deviſes*, at *Briſtol*, *Wells*, *Shirborn*, *Warham*, *Corf-Caſtle*, *Lutgarſhal*, *Berkeley-Caſtle*, and many other Places in the *Weſt*: And whilſt he was there, *Lyn* in *Norfolk* ſerved as a Place of Retreat or Defence to the Barons of his Party in thoſe Countries; and there alſo without doubt he ſecur'd his Treaſure, Crown, and all his Portable *Regalia*, as appears by the ſequel of the Story.

And then coming to *Oxford*, paſſes thence thro' *Berkſhire*, *Bucks* &c. as far as *Lin*.

And from thence in *October* arrives at *Newark*.

We are likewiſe beholding to Doctor *Brady* for the exact Diſcovery of this King's *Gifts*, during his frequent Removes from Place to Place, all the reſt of the Summer, and the Autumn following, when he left the *Weſt* and came to *Oxford*; where after a ſhort ſtay he went from thence in *September*, and paſſing through the Counties of *Berkſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and *Lincolnſhire*, return'd to *Lyn*, which he had made before his Head-Quarters. Yet there he tarried not long neither, but going from thence by *Wisbitch* and *Sleford*, he arrived at *Newark*-Caſtle before the middle of *October*, as the Doctor alſo proves by the Patent-Rolls of this Year; ſome of which are mentioned in his Hiſtory, and recited

* *Rot. Pat.* 18 *Johan.*

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cited at large in the * *Appendix* to it. But they not being very material to our purpoſe, I refer the Inquiſitive Reader to the Book it ſelf, and will proceed to finiſh the ſhort Remainder of this King's Reign.

* No. 137.

The K.s Giſts in Autumn.

'Tis very probable, that (as *Matt. Paris* reports) the Barons might riſe from before *Windſor*-Caſtle about the Middle of *September*, and march after the King, from *Cambridge* to *Clare*; and from thence to *Clivam*, and ſo to *Bocking* in *Eſſex*, where he was on *September* the Twenty Firſt; and that Day he might go croſs the Countrey to *Royſton*, and ſo to *Huntington* and *Stamford*, and from thence to *Lincoln*.

The K. comes to *Lin*.

The next Day, when he underſtood that the Barons had been withdrawn to *London*, and from thence to *Dover* to meet Prince *Lewis*; he came to *Spalding*, and ſo over the *Waſhes* to *Lin*, to fetch his Carriages and Treaſure which he had laid up there, and to recruit his Army with ſuch of his People that had fled thither.

Our Author tells us further, That whilſt *Lewis* in vain beſieged *Dover*-Caſtle, King *John* came into the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and miſerably waſted them; and going by *Peterburgh* and *Croyland*, plundered thoſe Abbies; and at length, in his paſſage toward the *North*, he took his way through *Lin*: tho' this doth no ways agree with the Patent-Rolls, which ſay, He was at *Grimsby* in *Lincolnſhire* upon the Fourth of *October*; at *Spalding* in the ſame County upon the Seventh; at *Lin* on the Ninth and Eleventh; and at *Wisbetch* on the Twelfth; from whence he went back to *Lin*, and went over the *Waſhes* on the Fourteenth of *October*, to *Swines-head-Abbey*; and this indeed agrees with the latter Part of the Story in *Matt. Paris*, and the Patent-Rolls alſo.

[3] *Id. Ib.*

The K. leaves *Lin* to march into the *North*.

And loſes all his Carriages and Treaſure in paſſing over the Waſhes in *Lincolnſhire*.

[3] The King coming to *Lin* was received with great Joy by the Inhabitants there; but after a few Days ſtay he went away toward the *North*, and by the way loſt all his Waggons, and Sumpter-Horſes, with their Lading, and all his Treaſure, and his Portable *Regalia*, which are called by *Rad. de Coggeſhal*, his Moveable Chapel, (*i.e.*) the Furniture of it, with many Sacred Relicts, in the River called *Well-ſtream*: Where (ſays *Matt. Paris*) the Earth opened in the midſt of the Floods, and they ſunk down into the Gulf, both Men, Horſes, and Carriages, only the King with his Army going before eſcaped: But notwithſtanding this Monk's Tragical Deſcription of this ſad Accident, whereby he would make it a kind of a Miraculous Judgment; Yet in truth it was no more than that King *John* paſſing with his Carriages over the *Waſhes*, between a Place called the *Croſs-Keys* in the Marſhland of *Norfolk*, and *Forſdike* in *Holland* in *Lincolnſhire*, his Carriages being overtaken by the Tide, were loſt in the Waters and Quickſands, as it is more truly related by the Abbot of *Coggeſhal*.

[4] *M. P. Ib.*

The K. comes to *Swines-head-Abbey*, and there falls ſick of a Feaver.

And at *Newark*. Dies.

[4] The King that Night got ſafe to *Swines-head-Abbey*, and there Lodged; But with grief and anguiſh of Mind for the Loſs of his Carriages, he fell into a Feaver, which was much heightned that Night, by his Eating too many Peaches, and Drinking New Ale or Bracket: the next Morning he went from thence, but not being able to ride, he was carried in a Litter to *Sleford*-Caſtle, from whence he proceeded in like manner with great Difficulty as far as *Newark*, where

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where falling alſo into a Flux, and his Feaver ſtill increaſing, he Died on the Eighteenth of *October*, being St. *Luke*'s Day.

Not Poyſon'd, as ſome relate.

I cannot here omit letting the Reader know, that ſome of our Writers give a far different Account of the Manner of this King's coming to his End, which they will needs have to have been by Poyſon: *Caxton* (our old Chronicler) is the firſt who in *Engliſh* hath told us this Story, and from him our more Modern ones, ſuch as *Speed* and *Baker* have borrowed it, to this Effect; That this King, being at *Swines-head-Abbey*, and hearing it ſpoken how cheap Corn then was, ſhould ſay, *He would e'er long make it to be dearer, ſo that a Penny Loaf ſhould be ſold for a Shilling:* At this Speech a Monk there preſent took ſuch Indignation, that he went and put the Poyſon of a *Toad* into a Cup of Wine, and brought it to the King, telling him, There was ſuch a rare Cup of Wine, as he had never drunk in all his Life; and therewithal took the Aſſay of it himſelf, which made the King drink the more boldly of it: but finding himſelf preſently very ill upon it, he asked for the Monk, and when it was told him he was dead; *Then* (ſaid the King) *God have mercy upon me, I doubted as much.*

This is a very improbable Story, for a Man to Poyſon himſelf only to be revenged of another: But *Walter Hemingford* tells it a different way, *viz.* That the Abbot perſuaded the Monk to Poyſon the King, becauſe he would have lain with his Siſter; and that he did it by a Diſh of *Pears* which he Poyſon'd, all, except Three, and then making a Preſent of them to the King he bid him firſt taſte them himſelf, which he did, eating only thoſe Three, that he had marked; and ſo the King, eating heartily of the reſt, was Poyſon'd, and the Monk eſcaped. From whence you may obſerve, by the different way of telling this Story, that there was at firſt no other ground for it than an uncertain Tradition, or Report; for beſides the improbability of Poyſoning a whole Diſh of *Pears*, ſo as not to be taſted nor perceived; I ſay, beſides this, not one of the Hiſtorians, that lived and wrote within Sixty years of that time, mention any ſuch thing; for *Thomas Wikes* is the firſt who in his Chronicle relates it, and that too only as a Report, without ſaying any thing of the manner how, which *Walter Hemingford* firſt related at large, and which *Ranulph Higden* in his *Polychronicon*, and *Henry de Knyghton* copied from thence.

I ſhould not have dwelt ſo long upon this Subject, had not ſuch noted Writers, as [5] *Mr. *Fox* and Mr. *Pryn* inſerted it in their Hiſtories; who do both make great uſe of this Story to render the Monks as odious for their Treachery, as for their other Vices: But it is not my deſign to load any ſort of Men more than I think they truly deſerve.

[5] *Vid.* Acts, and Monuments, Vol. 1. p. 256.

Pryn's Hiſtory of Papal Uſurpations.

But let the manner of his Death be how it would, moſt of the Hiſtorians agree, That before his Deceaſe he by his Teſtament appointed *Henry* his Eldeſt Son (then a Child) to ſucceed him; and ordered his Body to be buried in the Cathedral Church at *Worceſter*, which was done accordingly, tho' with little Funeral Pomp. His Tomb with his Image upon it is ſtill to be ſeen in the *Choir* of that Church, notwithſtanding the late *Civil Wars*, which have elſewhere deſtroyed ſo many Noble Monuments of that kind.

Thus

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Thus died this Unhappy Prince after Seventeen Years, Five Months, and Four Days Reign: Which, tho' not very long, yet muſt needs ſeem tedious enough to thoſe that lived under it, who were never without continual Vexations either from Foreign or Domeſtick Wars; beſides other great Grievances, proceeding from his frequent and arbitrary Taxes and Oppreſſions: Yet notwithſtanding all theſe, he loſt more Territories in Two or Three years, than all his Succeſſors ever did in thrice that time; which might be well enough excuſed, had not thoſe Miſfortunes chiefly proceeded from his own want of Courage and Conduct, he ſcarce ever undertaking any Enterprize in due time, or purſuing it with that Diligence and Application which was requiſite: but it would be well if this were the worſt that could be ſaid of this Prince; who (beſides a comely Outſide) had very few good Qualities to recommend him to the Affections of his Subjects, or the Admiration of future times.

His Character

I ſhall therefore give you his Character from [1] Sir *Richard Baker*, as being the ſhorteſt, and neareſt the Truth, of any I can find, which is to this Effect; Concerning his Conditions it may be ſaid, That his Nature and Fortune did not very well agree; for he Naturally loved his Eaſe, yet his Fortune was to be ever in Action; He vanquiſhed more of his Enemies by Surprizes than by Battles; He was never ſo true to his word, as when he threaten'd, becauſe he meant always as cruelly as he ſpoke, tho' not always ſo graciouſly as he promiſed; and he that would have known what it was he never meant to perform, muſt have conſidered what he promiſed: He was neither fit for Proſperity, nor Adverſity, for the One made him Inſolent, the Other Dejected; ſo that a Middle Fortune would have ſuited beſt with his Temper: He was all things by fits, ſometimes very Religious, as appears by his building a Monaſtery at a Place called *Beau-lieu* in the *New-Foreſt*, for *Ciſtercian* Monks; at other times ſcarce a *Chriſtian*, as appears by divers prophane Speeches related of him, amongſt which I ſhall mention but this One; that having been a Hunting, at the opening of the Buck, he ſaid, *See how fat this Deer is, and yet I dare ſwear, he never heard Maſs.* I ſhould not have taken notice of this Story, had it not been cited by [2] Mr. *Fox* in his Book of *Martyrs*, as a very commendable Expreſſion; as if it were a good Character in a Prince or any other Perſon to ridicule the Religion he profeſs'd. I ſhall paſs by divers other Stories of the like kind, and go on to the farther Character of him: He was extreme greedy of Money, and tho' it was got with much ill will and clamour from his Subjects, yet it was commonly ſpent in ſilence, without any Honour to himſelf, or Benefit to the Nation: He was very intemperate in his Pleaſures, exceeding his Father in his Luſt, not ſparing the Wives of Men of the beſt Condition; not that I give credit to all Relations of this Kind, ſome of which may be invented out of Malice; as that in particular, of his intending to Debauch the Wife of *Euſtace de Veſci*, by means of a Ring he borrowed of him; which tho' it be related in *Walter de Hemingford*'s Chronicle, and is borrowed from him by *Henry de Knighton*, yet beſides that it is not men-

[1] Vid. *Baker*'s Chronicle.

[2] *Acts and Mon* Vol. 1. p. 256.

tioned by any Hiſtorian who lived near that time, the very Circumſtances of the Story, render it incredible.

To conclude therefore; all I can ſay for him, is, that beſides his own perſonal Failings, he had alſo the Misfortune to Reign at a time, when his Great Adverſary, King *Philip* of *France*, was Wiſe, Valiant, and Succeſsful. The Pope, whom he had chiefly to do with throughout his Reign, was *Innocent* the *Third*, a Prelate of a High and Ambitious Spirit; and who, by the Means of the King of *France*, had humbled not only this King, but *Otto* the Emperor, as you have already heard; and perhaps his Barons, with many of the Biſhops, Clergy and People, were not only provoked by his conſtant Oppreſſions and Illegal *Taxations* of them, but being alſo ſenſible from his Carriage both in War and Peace, of how mean and unconſtant a Spirit he was, they were from thence the more Emboldened to demand the Confirmation of thoſe Antient Privileges and Liberties, which perhaps they would never preſume to have done, had his Brother King *Richard* been ſtill alive: and tho' the Monkiſh Writers of his Life and Reign may be too ſevere upon him, as to ſome particular Paſſages, yet we may be pretty well aſſur'd, that the Character we have now given of him is true in the main, as being founded upon clear and indiſputable Matters of Fact.

Of King John's *Wives, and Iſſue.*

AS for the Wives of this King, you may remember that his firſt was *Hawis*, or *Avis*, Daughter and Heir to the Earl of *Gloceſter*; but being divorced from Her, he then married *Iſabel*, Daughter to the Earl of *Angoleſme*, by whom he had Iſſue, [3] *Henry*, the Eldeſt Son, afterwards King *Henry the Third*, who was born on Saint *Remigius*'s Day, (that is, the Firſt of *October*) in the year 1207.

[3] *M. P.* p. 225.

[4] *Richard*, his Second Son, who was afterwards King of the *Romans*, and Earl of *Poictiers* and *Cornwal*, was born in the year 1208.

[4] *Id.* p. 226.

As for his Daughters, [5] *Joane*, the Eldeſt, was married to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, in the Fifth Year of her Brother King *Henry*'s Reign, *Anno Dom.* 1221. as all the Hiſtorians both *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* agree.

[5] *Rot. Pat.* 10 *Hen.* 3. *M.* 5. *Dorſ.*

[1] *Eleanor*, his Second Daughter, married *William Mareſchal* the Younger, who died without Iſſue, *Anno Dom.* 1231. and ſhe was then a Second time married to *Simon Montfort*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, on the Morrow after *Epiphany*, *Anno Dom.* 1238.

[1] *M.P.* p. 465.

[2] *Iſabel*, his Third and Youngeſt Daughter, was married to *Frederic* the Second, Emperor of *Germany*, at the Age of One and Twenty, on the 27th of *February*, *Anno Dom.* 1235.

[2] *Id.* p 414.

His Baſe Iſſue.

HE had alſo by divers Miſtreſſes ſeveral Baſe Children, whoſe Mothers are not particularly mention'd; *Richard* the Eldeſt, is no where taken notice of (as I know) unleſs by [3] *Matt. Paris.* As for the Second called [4] *Geoffrey Fitz-Roy,* I refer you for him to *Sanford*'s Genealogical Hiſtory; as I do alſo for *Joane* his Baſe-Daughter, that was married to *Llewellin*, Prince of *North-Wales.*

Dr. *Brady* has alſo diſcovered Two other Sons of his, not mention'd by any other Authors, as he proves from the Records in the *Tower*, (*Viz.*) *Osbert* mention'd as King *John*'s Son, in *Rot. Pat.* 17 *Johan. Part* 2. *M.*16; as alſo *Oliver* mention'd as ſuch, in *Rot. Clauſ.* 1 *Hen.*3. *Part* 2. *M.*23. and again as King *Henry*'s Brother in *Rot. Clauſ.* 2 *Hen.*3. *Part* 1. *M.*9.

[3] P. 298. N.40.

[4] Vid. *Sanford's* Gen. Hiſt. p. 87.

His Taxes.

AS for his Taxations, and Ways of raiſing Money, they were ſo many, ſo various, and ſo arbitrary, that it may be almoſt ſaid, his whole Reign was but one continued Taxation and Oppreſſion of his Subjects: But ſince Doctor *Brady* has given us a more exact Account of them, both from our Hiſtorians and Records, then any other Author, I ſhall make bold to tranſcribe his.

Soon after his firſt Coronation, which was on the Seven and Twentieth of *May*, *Anno Dom.* 1199. he had a *Scutage-Tax* of Two Marks of every Knight's Fee.

The next Year he had of every *Plough-Land* in *England*, Three Shillings.

In the Year 1201. he had Two Marks of every Knight's Fee, for *Scutage-Service*, of ſuch as had his Licenſe to ſtay at home, upon Summons to paſs beyond Sea with him.

In the Year 1203. he took a Seventh Part of all the Earls and Baron's Goods that left him in *Normandy.*

In the Year 1204. in a Parliament at *Oxford*, there was granted to him a *Scutage-Tax* of Two Marks, and Half of every Knight's Fee.

In the Year 1205. he Levied of the Earls and Barons, that would not follow him beyond Sea, according to their Tenures, a vaſt Sum of Money.

In the Year 1207. he took a Thirteenth Part of all the Moveables and other Things, as well of Laicks, as of Eccleſiaſticks and Prelates; all of them murmuring, but none daring to contradict it.

In the Year 1210. he forced from the Abbots, Priors, Abbeſſes, *Templars*, *Hoſpitallers*, *&c.* One hundred thouſand Pound, and from the *White-Monks*, or *Ciſtercians*, Forty thouſand Pound more.

In the Year 1211. he had Two Marks *Scutage-Service* of every Knight's Fee, which furniſhed not out that Service to the Expedition of *Wales*.

In the Year 1214. he took of every Knight's Fee, of thoſe that went not with him into *Poictou*, as well of Biſhopricks in his hands, as of Wards and Eſcheats, Three Marks.

His Laws and Ordinances.

As for the Laws and Ordinances made and enacted by him, ſince they are the beſt Actions of his Reign, they are by no means to be paſſed by.

* Fol. 208.

The firſt Ordinance we find of this King, is in * *Matt. Paris*, under the Year 1202, when he cauſed to be proclaimed a Legal Aſſiſe of Bread, to be inviolably obſerved under pain of *Pillory*, as it was to be Tryed and Approved by the Baker of *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter*, Juſticiary of *England*, and the Baker of *R. de Turnham*; it was to be ſo made, as that the *Bakers* might gain in every Quarter Three Pence, beſides the Bran and Two Loaves at the Oven, with ſome ſmall allowances for Servants, Salt, Yeſt, Fewel, and other Neceſſaries for the making it up, amounting in all to about Seven Pence: And according to this following Gain and Allowance, when Wheat was at Six Shillings the Quarter, a Farthing White Loaf well Baked, was to weigh Sixteen Shillings; and a Farthing Loaf of the whole Grain, that is Bran and all, as it came from the Mill, was to weigh Twenty Four Shillings: when Wheat was at Eighteen-pence the Quarter, then a Farthing White Loaf was to weigh Sixty Four Shillings; and a Farthing Loaf of the whole Griſt, as it came from the Mill, was to weigh Ninety Six Shillings. This is the Higheſt and Loweſt Price of Wheat mention'd in this Hiſtorian; and the Intermediate Price of Wheat, and the Aſſiſe did riſe and fall, according as the Price of Wheat did, after the Rate of Sixpence in every Quarter; and this Aſſiſe was proclaimed through the whole Kingdom. This is Dr. *Brady*'s Obſervation, and deſerves to be taken notice of, becauſe from the Dearneſs and Cheapneſs of Bread-Corn, the Prices of all other Proviſions do commonly depend.

The Reader is to take notice, ſo that he might have a right Notion of theſe Weights, mention'd in this Aſſiſe, that Silver being then but at Twenty-Pence an Ounce, every Pound, (being indeed a Pound weight) was then at the Value of Three Pound *Sterling* at this Day.

His favour to the City of *London*. Vid. *Fabian*'s Chronicle.

* Coll. 2424.

He firſt granted to the *Cinque-Ports* their Privileges.

He was alſo in the beginning of his Reign very favourable to the * City of *London*, and gave it the Liberty of altering their Mayor and Sheriffs every Year, which before continued during Life: He alſo gave them leave to chuſe a *Common Council* of the moſt Subſtantial Citizens; and likewiſe, as * *Henry de Knighton* relates, he was the Firſt King of *England*, who granted to the *Cinque-Ports* the Privileges and Cuſtoms which they now enjoy, and then held, on conſideration that they obliged Themſelves and their

Heirs, to provide the King upon reaſonable Summons Fourſcore able Veſſels at their own Charges, for the ſpace of *Forty Days*, and after that to receive Wages of the King; but the Original Cauſe of this Grant, was, the great Neceſſity the King had of Shipping to paſs into *Normandy* that Year he loſt it, which was the Fourth of his Reign.

He Eſtabliſh'd the *Engliſh* Laws in *Ireland.*

He alſo cauſed the *Engliſh* Laws and Cuſtoms to be Eſtabliſhed in *Ireland*, and placed Sheriffs and other Officers in divers Parts of that Nation, who ſhould Govern and Judge the People according to thoſe Laws; and made *John Gray*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, Juſticiary there, who made the Money of *Ireland* of the ſame Weight with that in *England*, for the Conveniency of Traffick between the two Nations, as has been already taken Notice of in the Hiſtory of his Reign.

His *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſta.*

But the moſt conſiderable Law made by this King, was, that of the *Great Charter of Liberties and Foreſts*, which I have reſerved for this Place, and have here tranſcribed Dr. *Brady*'s Tranſlation of it into *Engliſh*: only having added in the Margin ſuch Additions as the Doctor hath made, which are not in the Latin Original; and whatſoever is printed in an *Italian* Character, and between theſe Marks [ ] are ſuch Clauſes as not being thought very Material, were omitted in the Great Charter of *Nono Henry* the *Third*, and all that follow'd: For though *Matt. Paris* aſſures us, that they were altogether the ſame, yet certainly he ſaid this without due Conſideration, for they differ'd in divers Particulars, as any one may obſerve, that will but take the Pains to compare them together. But I ſhall here give you the Charter it ſelf at large, as it is Tranſlated by Dr. *Brady* in his * *Appendix.*

* *Append.* p. 126

King

King *John*'s Great Charter,

As 'tis to be found in * Matt. Paris, *and divided into Chapters.*

* Fol. 255.

JOHN, By the Grace of GOD, King of *England*, &c. To the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* Know Ye that We, in the Preſence of God, and for the Health of our Soul, and the Souls of all my Anceſtors and Heirs, and to the Honour of God, and the Exaltation of *Holy Church*, and Amendment of our Kingdom, by Advice of our Venerable Fathers, *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Cardinal of the Holy *Roman* Church; *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *William* Biſhop of *London*, *Peter* of *Wincheſter*, *Jocelin* of *Bath* and *Glaſtonbury*, *Hugh* of *Lincoln*, *Walter* of *Worceſter*, *William* of *Coventry*, *Benedict* of *Rocheſter*, Biſhops; and Maſter *Pandulph* the Pope's Sub-Deacon, and antient Servant, Brother to the Maſter of the Temple in *England*, and the Noble Perſons *William* the *Mareſchal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *Alan de Galoway*, Conſtable of *Scotland*, *Warin Fitz-Gerard*, *Peter Fitz-Herbert*, and *Hugo de Burgh*, * Seneſchal of *Poictou*; *Hugo de Nevil*, *Matthew Fitz-Herbert*, *Thomas Baſſet*, *Alan Baſſet*, *Philip de Albiney*, *Robert de Ropeſle*, *John Mareſchal*, *John Fitz-Hugh*, and Others, our Liegemen; have firſt of all granted to God, and by this our preſent Charter confirmed for Us and our Heirs for Ever.

* *i.e.* Steward.

This Clauſe is wanting in *Henry* the *Third*'s Charter.

I. That the *Engliſh* Church ſhall be Free, and Enjoy her whole Rights and Liberties unhurt; [*and We will have them to be ſo obſerved, ſo as it may appear that the Freedom of Elections, which was reputed moſt neceſſary for the* Engliſh *Church, which we granted and confirmed by our Charter, and obtained the Confirmation of it from* Pope Innocent *the* Third, *before the Diſcord between Us and our Barons, was of our meer Free Will; which Charter of Freedom we ſhall obſerve, and do will it to be faithfully obſerved by our Heirs for Ever.*]

II. We have alſo granted to all our Freemen of the Kingdom of *England*, for Us and our Heirs for Ever, all the Under-written Liberties, to have and to hold to Them and their Heirs of Us and our Heirs.

III. If any of our Earls, or Barons, or Others, who hold of us in chief by Military Service ſhall die, and at the time of his Death his Heir ſhall be of full Age, and owe a Relief, he ſhall have his Inheritance or Eſtate by the antient Relief; that is to ſay, the Heir or Heirs of an Earl, for a whole Earl's Barony, an Hundred Pounds; the Heir or Heirs of a Baron, for a whole Barony, an Hundred

Marks; The Heir or Heirs of a Knight for a whole Knight's Fee, an Hundred Shillings; and he that oweth leſs, ſhall give leſs, according to the antient Cuſtom of Fees.

IV. But if the Heir of any ſuch ſhall be under Age, and ſhall be in Ward, his Lord ſhall not have the Wardſhip of him, nor his Land, before he hath received his Homage; and after ſuch Heir ſhall be in Ward, and ſhall attain to the Age of One and Twenty Years, he ſhall have his Inheritance without Relief, or without Fine: Yet ſo, that if he be made a Knight while he is under Age, nevertheleſs the Land ſhall remain in the Cuſtody, or Guardianſhip of the Lord, until the aforeſaid time.

V. The Warden, or Guardian of the Land of ſuch Heir, who ſhall be under Age, ſhall take of the Land of the Heir, only reaſonable Iſſues or Profits, reaſonable Cuſtoms, and reaſonable Services; and theſe without the deſtruction, or waſte of the *Tenents, or things upon the Eſtate: And if we ſhall commit the Guardianſhip of thoſe Lands to the Sheriff, or any Other, that ought to anſwer to us for the Iſſues or Profits of the Land, and he ſhall make deſtruction and waſte upon the Ward-Lands, We will force him to give Satisfaction, and the Land ſhall be committed to Lawful and Diſcreet Tenants of that Fee, who in like manner ſhall be anſwerable to us, as hath been ſaid.

** Hominum.*

VI. But the Warden, ſo long as he ſhall have the Wardſhip of the Land, ſhall uphold and maintain the Houſes, Parks, Warrens, Pools, Mills, and other things belonging to the Land, with the Profits of the ſame Land, and ſhall reſtore to the Heir, when he comes of full Age, his whole Land ſtocked with Ploughs and all other things, at leaſt whatever he received; and all theſe things ſhall be obſerved in the Cuſtody, or Wardſhip belonging to vacant Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Abbies, Priories, Churches, and Dignities which do belong to us; except that theſe Wardſhips ought not to be ſold.

VII. Heirs ſhall be Married without Diſparagement; [* *ſo that before Matrimony ſhall be contracted, Thoſe who are neareſt to him in Blood ſhall be acquainted with it.*]

* This is wanting in *Henry* the *Third's* Charter.

VIII. A Widow, after the Death of her Husband, ſhall forthwith, and without any difficulty, have her Marriage-Goods, and her Eſtate of Inheritance; nor ſhall ſhe give any thing for her *Dower [*or Marriage-Goods*] and Inheritance, which her Husband and ſhe held at the day of his Death: and ſhe may remain in the Capital Meſſuage, or Manſion-Houſe of her Husband, by the ſpace of Forty Days after his Death; in which time her Dower ſhall be Aſſigned, if it was not Aſſigned before, unleſs the Houſe ſhall be a Caſtle; and if ſhe departs from the Caſtle, there ſhall be forthwith a Competent Dwelling provided for her, in which ſhe may decently remain until her Dower be Aſſigned, as hath been ſaid; and ſhe ſhall have her reaſonable Eſtovers [i.e. *competent Proviſion or Maintenance*]

** Maritagium.*

tenance] in the mean time out of the Common Stock or whole Revenue; and there ſhall be Aſſigned to her for her Dower the Third Part of the whole Land of her Husband, which was his in his Life time, except ſhe was Endowed with leſs at the Church-Door.

IX. No Widow ſhall be diſtreined (i.e. *compelled by taking her Goods*) to Marry her ſelf, ſo long as ſhe will live without an Husband; yet ſo as ſhe ſhall give Security that ſhe will not Marry without our Conſent, if ſhe holds of us; or without the Conſent of the Lord of whom ſhe holds, if ſhe hold of another Perſon.

X. But We, or our Bayliffs, will not ſeize any Land or Rent for any Debt, ſo long as there ſhall be Chattels (i.e. *Goods*) of the Debtors upon the Premiſes, ſufficient to Diſcharge it, and that the Debtor be ready and willing to ſatisfie it: Nor ſhall the Sureties of the Debtor be diſtreined, ſo long as the Capital Debtor be able to pay the Debt.

XI. And if the Principal, or Chief Debtor makes default in payment of the Debt, not having wherewithal to ſatisfie it, or will not ſatisfie it when he is able; then the Pledges or Sureties ſhall anſwer it, and they ſhall have the Lands and Rents of the Debtor, until they ſhall be ſatisfied for the Debt they paid for him; unleſs the chief Debtor can ſhew himſelf diſcharged thereof, againſt thoſe Pledges.

Theſe two Chapters concerning Debts to the *Jews* are omitted in *Henry* the *Third*'s Charter.

XII. [*If any one have borrowed any thing of the* Jews, *more or leſs, and dies before the Debt be paid, there ſhall be no Uſe paid for that Debt, ſo long as the Heir is under Age, of whomſoever he holds: And if the Debt falls into our Hands, we will take only the Chattle contained in the Charter or Inſtrument.*]

XIII. [*If any one ſhall die indebted to the* Jews, *his Wife ſhall have her Dower, and pay nothing of that Debt; and if the Deceaſed left Children under Age, they ſhall have Neceſſaries provided for them according to the Tenement (i.e.* the Real Eſtate*) of the Deceaſed, and with the Reſidue or Overplus the Debt ſhall be paid; ſaving the Service of the Lords on whom this Tenement is holden: In like manner the Debts due to other Perſons than* Jews *ſhall be ſatisfied.*]

XIV. I will not impoſe or levy any Scutage or Aid in our Kingdom, without the *Common Advice* or *Council* of our Kingdom, unleſs to redeem our Body, and to make our Eldeſt Son Knight, and once to marry our Eldeſt Daughter; and for this there ſhall only be paid a reaſonable Aid.

This is not in *Henry* the *Third*'s Charter.

XV. [*In like manner it ſhall be concerning the Aids of the City of* London; *and*] the City of *London* ſhall have all its Antient Liberties and Free Cuſtoms, as well by Land as by Water.

XVI. Furthermore, We Will and Grant, that all other Cities and Burghs, and Towns, and Barons of the *Cinque* (or *Five*) Ports, and all other Ports, ſhall have all their Liberties and Free Cuſtoms: and ſhall have the Common Council, or Advice of the Kingdom concerning the Aſſeſſment of their Aids, [* i.e. *ſhall ſend their Repreſentatives or Commiſſioners to the Common Council of the Kingdom*] otherwiſe than in the three Caſes aforeſaid.

* Note, This is Dr. *Brady*'s Paraphraſe upon this Clauſe.

XVII. [*And for the Aſſeſſing of* Scutages, *we ſhall cauſe to be Summoned the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and great Barons of the Kingdom, ſingly and perſonally by our Letters,* (i.e. *Writs.*)]

XVIII. [*And furthermore, We ſhall cauſe to be Summon'd in general by our Sheriffs and Bayliffs, all Others who hold of us* In Capite, *at a certain Day, that is to ſay, Forty Days* (*i.e.* before their Meeting) *at leaſt, to a certain Place; and in all Writs of ſuch Summons, we will declare the Cauſe of it.*]

XIX. [*And Summons being thus made, the Buſineſs mentioned in them ſhall proceed, according to the Advice of ſuch as ſhall be preſent, although all that were Summon'd come not.*]

These three next Chapters concerning Aſſeſſing *Scutages*, and Summoning the Tenents *in Capite*, are omitted in the Charter above mentioned.

XX. We will not for the future Grant to any One, that he may take Aid of his own Free-Tenents, unleſs to * redeem his Body, and to make his Eldeſt Son a Knight, and once to marry his Eldeſt Daughter, and for this there ſhall only be paid a reaſonable Aid.

* i.e. *Being taken Priſoner.*

XXI. No Man ſhall be diſtreined to perform more ſervice for a Knight's Fee, or other Free Tenement, than what is due from it.

XXII. Common Pleas ſhall not follow our Court, but ſhall be holden in ſome certain Place: * Tryals upon the Writs of *Novel Diſſeiſin*, Death of the Anceſtor, and of laſt Preſentment [*to Benefices*] ſhall not be brought but in their * proper Counties, and after this manner: We, or (if we ſhall be out of the Kingdom) our Capital or Chief Juſticiary, ſhall ſend our Juſticiaries through every County once in a Year, who with the Knights of the Counties ſhall hold the aforeſaid Aſſizes in thoſe Counties.

* *Recognitiones.*

* *In Civitatibus ſuis*, ſays *Matt. Paris*; but falſly.

XXIII. And thoſe things, which, at the coming of the Juſtices ſo ſent into the Counties, to take or hold the ſaid Aſſizes, cannot be determined, ſhall not be determined otherwiſe in their Circuit or *Iter*: And thoſe things which for the difficulty of ſome Articles, cannot be determined by thoſe Juſtices, ſhall be referred to our Juſtices of the Bench.

XXIV. Aſſizes of the laſt Preſentation of Churches ſhall always be taken before the Juſtices of the Bench, and there determined.

XXV. A Freeman ſhall not be amerced for a ſmall Fault, but according to the manner of the Fault, and for a great Crime, according to the Heinouſneſs of it, * *Saving his Contenement*, (*or Livelihood*) and after the ſame manner a Merchant, ſaving his Ability to Trade or Merchandize.

* *Salvo Contenemento ſuo.*

XXVI. And a Villain [i.e. *a Ruſtick or Husbandman*] of any other then our own, ſhall be amerced after the ſame manner, ſaving his *Wainage*, [i.e. *his Carts and Implements*] to Till his Land, if he falls under our Mercy; and none of the aforeſaid *Amerciaments ſhall be ſet, but by the Oath of Twelve Knowing and Lawful Men of the *Vicinage*, of the County.

* *Miſericordiarum.*

XXVII. Earls and Barons, ſhall not be amerced but by their Peers, and only according to the Quality of the Crime or Offence.

XXVIII. No Eccleſiaſtick Perſon ſhall be amerced according to the Quantity of his Benefice, but according to his Lay-Tenement, and the Greatneſs of his Offence.

XXIX. Neither a Town, nor any particular Perſon ſhall be diſtreined to make Bridges *over Rivers, unleſs that Antiently and of Right they ought to do it.

* *Ad Riparias.*

XXX. No River for the future ſhall be imbanked [i.e. *kept in with Banks*] but what was imbanked in the time of King *Henry* our *Grandfather*.

XXXI. No Sheriff, Conſtable, Coroner, or other **Officer* of ours ſhall hold Pleas of the Crown.

* *Balivi.*

XXXII. [*All Counties, Hundreds, Wapentachs and Tythings, ſhall ſtand at the old Farm, without any Increaſe, except in our* Demeſne *Lands.*]

Omitted in *Henry* the *Third's* Charter.

XXXIII. If any one that holds of us a Lay-Fee dies, and the Sheriff, or our Bailiff, ſhew our Letters Patents of Summons concerning the Debt due to us from the Deceaſed, it ſhall be Lawful for the Sheriff, or our Bailiff, to Attach and Regiſter the Chattels of the Deceaſed found upon his Lay-Fee, to the value of the Debt by the view of Lawful Men, ſo as nothing be removed, untill our whole Debt be paid, and the reſt ſhall be left to the Executors, to fulfill the Will of the Deceaſed; and if there be nothing due from him to us, all the Chattels ſhall remain to the *Deceaſed, ſaving to his Wife and Children their reaſonable Shares.

* *i.e.* His Executors or Adminiſtrators, as appears by the next Clauſe.

XXXIV. [*If any Freeman dies Inteſtate, his Chattels ſhall be diſtributed by the hands of his neareſt Relations and Friends by view of the Church,* [i.e. *the Ordinary*] *ſaving to every one his Debts, which the Deceaſed owed.*]

Omitted in the Charter laſt mention'd

XXXV. No *Conſtable or Bailiff of ours, ſhall take Grain, or other Chattels of any Man, who is not of the Town where the Caſtle is, unleſs he preſently gives him Money for it, or hath reſpite of Payment from the Seller: But if he be of the ſame Town, he ſhall pay him within Forty days.

* *i.e.* Of a Caſtle, by what follows.

XXXVI. No Conſtable ſhall diſtrein any Knight to give Money for *Caſtle-Guard*, if he will perform it in his own Perſon, or by another able Man, if he be hindered by any reaſonable Cauſe.

XXXVII. And if we ſhall lead him, or if We ſhall ſend him into the Army, he ſhall be free from *Caſtle-Guard*, according to the time he ſhall be in the Army, by our Command, for the Fee, for which he performed his Service in the Army.

XXXVIII. No Bailiff of ours, or Sheriff, or other, ſhall take Horſes or Carts of any one to convey our Goods, unleſs he ſhall pay according to the Rate antiently appointed; That is to ſay, for a Cart and Two Horſes Ten Pence a Day; and for a Cart with Three Horſes Fourteen Pence a Day.

XXXIX. No Demeſne Cart of an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, or a Knight, or Lady, ſhall be taken by our Officers; neither ſhall We or our Officers, or Others, take any other Man's Timber or Wood for our Caſtles, or other uſes, unleſs by the conſent of the Owner.

XL. We will retain the Land of thoſe that are convicted of Felony but one Year and one Day, and then they ſhall be render'd to the Lord of the Fee.

XLI. All * *Weres* for the future ſhall be demoliſhed in the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, and through all *England*, unleſs upon the Sea-Coaſt.

* *Kidells.*

XLII. The Writ, which is called *Præcipe*, for the future ſhall not be granted to any one of any Tenement, whereby a Freeman may loſe his Cauſe.

XLIII. There ſhall be one Meaſure of Wine and Ale through our whole Kingdom, and one Meaſure of Grain; that is to ſay, the *London*-Quarter; and one Breadth of died Cloaths, and Ruſſets, and * Haberjets; That is to ſay, Two Ells within the Liſt; and the Weights ſhall be as the Meaſures.

* A ſort of Coarſe Cloath.

XLIV. Nothing ſhall be given or taken for the future, for a Writ of *Inquiſition*, from him that deſires an *Inquiſition* of Life or Limbs, but ſhall be granted *gratis*, and not denied.

XLV. If any one holds of us by *Fee-Farm*, *Soccage*, or *Burgage*, and holds Lands of another by *Military Service*, We will not have the Wardſhip of the Heir or Land, which belongs to another Man's Fee, by reaſon of what he holds of us in *Fee-Farm*, *Soccage*, or *Burgage*: Nor will We have the Wardſhip, or Cuſtody of the *Fee-Farm*, *Soccage*, or *Burgage*, unleſs the *Fee-Farm* is bound to perform *Military Service*.

XLVI. We will not hold the Wardſhip of an Heir, nor any Land, which he holds of another by *Military Service*, by reaſon of any *Petit*, or ſmall *Serjeanty*, he holds of us, as by the Service of giving us Daggers, Arrows, or the like.

XLVII. No Bailiff, or Officer for the future, ſhall bring any Man under the Sentence of the Law, nor to his Oath, (i.e. *Canonical Purgation by his Oath*) upon his ſingle Accuſation or Teſtimony, without credible and honeſt Witneſſes produced to prove it.

XLVIII. No Freeman ſhall be taken, or impriſon'd, or diſſeiſed of his Free-Tenement, or Liberties, or Free Cuſtoms; or Outlaw'd, or Baniſhed, or any way deſtroy'd; nor will we paſs upon him, or commit him to Priſon, unleſs by the Legal Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land, (i.e. *by Legal Proceſs*, &c.)

XLIX. We will not ſell to any Man, we will not deny any Man, or delay Right, or Juſtice.

L. All Merchants, unleſs they be publickly prohibited, ſhall have ſafe and ſecure Conduct to go out of, and come into *England*, and to ſtay there, and to paſs as well by Land as by Water, to buy and ſell by the antient and allowed Cuſtoms, without any Maletolts, (i.e. *Illegal Exactions*) except in time of War, or when they ſhall be of any Nation in War with us.

LI. And if there be found ſuch [*Merchants*] in our Land in the beginning of a War, they ſhall be attached or ſecured, without damage to their Bodies or Goods, untill it may be known to us, or our chief Juſticiary, how our Merchants are dealt with in that Nation in War with us; and if Ours be ſafe there, they ſhall be ſafe in our Land.

This Chapter is omitted in *Henry* the *Third*'s Charter.

LII. [*It ſhall be Lawful for any one for the future to go out of our Kingdom, and return ſafely and ſecurely by Land or by Water, ſaving his Faith or Allegiance to us; unleſs in time of War by ſome ſhort ſpace for the common Profit of the Kingdom; except Priſoners and* Out-Laws, *(according to the Law of the Land) and People in War with us, and Merchants who ſhall be in ſuch condition as aforeſaid.*]

LIII. If any Man holds by any Eſcheat, as of the Honour of *Wallingford*, *Bologne*, *Lancaſter*, *Nottingham*, or by other Eſcheats, which are in our hands, and are Baronies, and dies, his Heir ſhall not give any other Relief, or perform any other Service to us, than he did to the Baron, if the Barony had been in poſſeſſion of the Baron; and We will hold it after the ſame manner the Baron held it; nor will we by reaſon of ſuch Barony, or Eſcheat, have any Eſcheat, or Wardſhip of any of our Men, unleſs he that held the Barony or Eſcheat, held of us *in Capite* in another Place.

This and the next Chapter are omitted in *Henry* the *Third*'s Charter.

LIV. [*Thoſe Men who dwell without the* Foreſt, *for the future ſhall not come before our Juſtices of the* Foreſt *upon common Summons, but ſuch as were concern'd in the Controverſie, or were Pledges for any that were attached for ſomething concerning the* Foreſt.]

LV. [*All Woods that were taken into the* Foreſt *by King* Richard *our Brother, ſhall forthwith be laid out again, unleſs they were our Demeſne Woods.*]

LVI. No Freeman for the future ſhall give or ſell any more of his Land, but ſo that out of the Reſidue, the Service due to the Lord of the Fee may be ſufficiently perform'd.

LVII. All Patrons of Abbies, who have Charters of the Kings of *England* of the Advowſon, or by any antient Tenure or Poſſeſſion, may have the Cuſtody of them when void as they ought to have, and as was declared before.

LVIII. No Man ſhall be taken or impriſon'd upon the Appeal of a Woman for the Death of any other Man, than her Husband.

LIX. No County-Court for the future ſhall be holden, but from Month to Month; and where there uſed to be a greater ſpace let it be ſo continued.

LX. Neither any Sheriff, nor his Bailiff ſhall keep his *Torne* oftner than Twice in a Year, and only in the accuſtomed Place; That is to ſay, once after *Eaſter*, and once after *Michaelmas*; and the View of *Franc-Pledges*, (or Sureties for the Peace of the Freemen one for another) ſhall be held after *Michaelmas*, * without Oppreſſion, and ſo that every one ſhall have his Liberties, which he had and was wont to have in the time of King *Henry* our *Grandfather*, or ſuch as he obtained afterwards.

* *Sine Occaſione.*

LXI. But the View of *Franc-Pledge* ſhall be ſo made, that our Peace may be kept, and that the *Tything* be whole and full, as it wont to be.

LXII. And that the Sheriff ſhall not * ſeek cauſes to oppreſs any Man, but he ſhall be content with what the Sheriff was wont to have for making his View in the time of King *Henry* our *Grandfather.*

* *Non quærat.*

LXIII. For the future it ſhall not be Lawful for any Man to give his Land to a Religious Houſe, ſo as to take it again, and hold it of that Houſe.

LXIV. Nor ſhall it be Lawful for any Religious Houſe to receive Land, ſo as to grant it to him again of whom they received it, to hold of Him. If any Man for the future ſhall ſo give his Land to a Religious Houſe, and be convicted thereof, his Gift ſhall be void, and the Land ſhall be forfeit to the Lord of the Fee.

LXV. *Scutage* for the future ſhall be taken as it was uſed to be taken in the time of King *Henry* our *Grandfather*; and that the Sheriff ſhall vex no Man, but be content with what he was wont to receive.

LXVI. All the aforeſaid Cuſtoms and Liberties, which We have granted to be holden in our Kingdom, as much as belongs to us towards our Men of the Kingdom, Our Clerks and Laicks we ſhall obſerve, as much as it ſhall belong to Us, towards all the Men of our Kingdom.

LXVII. Saving to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Templars, Hoſpitallers Earls, Barons, Knights, and all Others, as well Eccleſiaſticks, as Seculars the Liberties and Free Cuſtoms, which they had before; Theſe being Witneſſes, *&c.*

King *John*'s Charter of *Foreſts*,

As it is to be found in Matt. Paris, *Folio* 250. *Tranſlated and Divided into Articles or Chapters, from Dr.* Brady's *Tranſlation in his Appendix,* N°.113. p.141.

JOHN, By the Grace of GOD, King of *England, &c.* Know ye that for the Honour of God, and the Health of our Soul, and the Souls of our Anceſtors and Succeſſors, and for the Exaltation of Holy Church, and the Amendment of our Kingdom, we have of our Free and Good Will given and granted for Us and our Heirs, theſe Liberties underwritten, to be had and obſerved in our Kingdom of *England* for ever.

I. Firſt of all, Whatſoever Foreſts our Grandfather King *Henry* made Foreſt or Afforeſted, ſhall be viewed by Knowing and Lawful Men; and if he turned any other than his own proper Wood into Foreſt, to the Damage of him whoſe Wood it was, it ſhall forthwith be laid out again and disforeſted: And if he turned his own Woods into Foreſt, they ſhall remain ſo, ſaving the Common of Herbage in the ſame Foreſt to thoſe who were formerly wont to have it.

II. They who dwell without the Foreſt for the time to come, ſhall not upon Common Summons appear before our Juſtices of the Foreſt, unleſs they ſhall *be impleaded, or are Pledges or Sureties, for ſuch as are attached or arreſted for any matter concerning the Foreſt: But all Woods that were turned into Foreſt by our Brother King *Richard*, ſhall be forthwith disforeſted, unleſs they are our own Demeſns.

* *Sint in Placito.*

III. The Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Free Tenants, who have Woods in any Foreſt, ſhall have their Woods as they had them at the time of the firſt Coronation of our ſaid Grandfather King *Henry*, ſo as they ſhall be diſcharged

charged for ever of all **Purpreſtures*, Waſtes, and †Aſſarts, made in thoſe Woods, after that time, to the beginning of the Second year of our Coronation, and thoſe who for the time to come ſhall make Waſte, Purpreſture or Aſſart in thoſe Woods, without our Licenſe, ſhall anſwer for them.

* *i.e.* Encroachments upon the Kings Lands or Highways.

† *i.e.* Grubbing up Wood and turning it into Arable Land without Licenſe.

IV. Our Regarders or Viewers, ſhall go through the Foreſts to make a View or Regard, as it was wont to be at the time of the firſt Coronation of our ſaid Grandfather King *Henry*, and not otherwiſe.

V. The Inquiſition or View for *Lawing of Dogs, which are kept within the Foreſt, for the future ſhall be when the Regard is made, that is, every three Years, and then it ſhall be done by the View and Teſtimony of Lawful Men, and not otherwiſe; and he whoſe Dog at ſuch time ſhall be found Unlawed, ſhall be puniſhed Three Shillings; and for the future no Oxe ſhall be taken for Lawing, and ſuch Lawing ſhall be according to the Common Aſſiſe or Eſtabliſhment, ſo as therefore the Claws of the Dog's Foot ſhall be cut off, or the Ball of his Foot cut out. And for the future Dogs ſhall not be Lawed, unleſs in ſuch Places where they were wont to be Lawed in the time of King *Henry* our Grandfather.

* Called in Latin *Expeditatio*.

VI. No Foreſter or *Bedell for the time to come ſhall make any †Ale-ſhots, or Collect Sheafs of Corn, or Oats, Wheat, or Lambs or Pigs, nor ſhall make any gathering or impoſition whatſoever, but by the view and Oath of Twelve Regarders; and when they make their Regard or View, ſo many Foreſters ſhall be appointed to keep the Foteſts as they ſhall reaſonably think ſufficient.

* *i.e.* Bayliff in a Foreſt.

† *Scotallum.*

VII. No *Swainmote* for the time to come ſhall be holden in our Kingdom oftner than thrice in one Year; That is to ſay, in the beginning of Fifteen days before St. *Michael*, when the Agiſters come to agiſt the Demeſne Woods, and about the Feaſt of St. *Martin*, when our Agiſters ought to receive their *Pannage, and in thoſe two *Swainmotes*, the Foreſters, Verderers, and Agiſters ſhall meet, and no other by compulſion or diſtreſs; and the third *Swainmote* ſhall be holden in the beginning of the Fifteen days before the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt*, concerning the Fawning of our Does, and at this *Swainmote* ſhall meet the Foreſters and Verderers, and no others ſhall be compell'd to be there.

* *i.e.* Money for the feeding of Hogs with Maſt in the King's Foreſts.

VIII. And furthermore every Forty days throughout the whole Year, the Verderers and Foreſters ſhall meet to view the Attachments of the Foreſt, as well of *Vert, as Veniſon, by preſentment of the Foreſters themſelves; and they who committed the Offences, ſhall be forced to appear before them: But the aforeſaid *Swainmotes* ſhall be holden but in ſuch Counties as they were wont to be holden.

* *i.e.* The Offences that have been committed in cutting of Wood or killing Deer.

IX. Every Freeman ſhall *Agiſt his Wood in the Foreſt at his pleaſure, and ſhall receive his Pannage.

* *i.e.* Shall take in Agiſtments of his Neighbour's Cattle.

X. We grant alſo, That every Freeman may drive his Hogs through our Demeſne Woods, freely and without impediment, and may agiſt them in his own proper Woods, or otherwhere as he will; and if the Hogs of any Freeman ſhall remain one Night in our Foreſt, he ſhall not be troubled for it, ſo as to loſe any thing, (*i.e.* Pay any thing) for it.

* *i.e.* Fined.

XI. No Man for the time to come ſhall loſe Life or Limb for taking our Veniſon; but if any one be ſeized and convicted of taking Veniſon, he ſhall be grievouſly * Puniſhed, if he hath where-withal; and if he have not, he ſhall lie in our Priſon a Year and a Day: And if after that Time he can find Sureties, he ſhall be releaſed; if not, he ſhall abjure our Kingdom of *England*.

XII. Every Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Earl, or Baron, coming to us at our Command, and paſſing through our Foreſt, may Lawfully take one or two Deer by view of the Foreſter if preſent; if not, he ſhall cauſe a Horn to be ſounded leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſteal them; alſo in their return, they may Lawfully do the ſame thing.

XIII. Every Freeman for the time to come may erect a Mill in his own Wood, or upon his own Land, which he hath in the Foreſt; or make a Warren, Pool or Pond, a Marl-pit, or Ditch, or turn ſome of it into Arable, without the Covert in the Arable Land, ſo as it be not to the Nuſance of his Neighbour.

XIV. Every Freeman may have his Woods, the Ayries of Hawks, of Spar-Hawks, Falcons, Eagles, and Herons; and they ſhall likewiſe have the Honey which ſhall be found in their Woods.

* *i.e.* Money for paſſing through the Foreſts.

XV. No Foreſter for the future, who is not a Foreſter in Fee, paying us Rent for his Office, ſhall take * *Chiminage*; That is to ſay, for every Cart Two Pence for half a Year, and for the other half Year Two Pence; and for a Horſe that carries Burthens, for half a Year One Halfpenny; and then only of thoſe, who come as Buyers out of their Bayliwick, or Liberty, to buy Underwood, Timber, Bark, or Char-coal, to carry it to ſell in other Places, where they will: And for the future there ſhall be no *Chiminage* taken for any other Cart, or Horſe-load, unleſs in thoſe Places, where antiently it was wont, and ought to be taken; but they who carry Wood, Bark, or Coal, upon their Backs to ſell, although they get a Livelihood by it, ſhall for the time to come pay no *Chiminage*: But for Paſſage through the Woods of other Men, no *Chiminage* ſhall be given to our Foreſters; but only in or from our own Woods.

XVI. All Perſons Outlaw'd for Offences committed in our Foreſts from the time of King *Henry* our Grandfather, untill our firſt Coronation, may Reverſe their Out-Lawries without Impediment, but ſhall find Pledges that for the time to come they will not forfeit to us, (*i.e.* Commit any Offence) in our Foreſt.

* *i.e* May ſeize the Body or Goods of the Offenders to make them appear.

XVII. No Caſtellan, or Conſtable of a Caſtle, or other Perſon, ſhall hold Pleas of the Foreſt, whether Vert or Veniſon: But every Foreſter in Fee ſhall * Attach Pleas of the Foreſt, as well concerning

Vert as Veniſon, and ſhall preſent the Pleas or Offences to the Verderers of the ſeveral Counties, and when they ſhall be inrolled, and wrapped in Wax, under the Seals of the Verderers, they ſhall be preſented to the Chief Foreſter, when he ſhall come into thoſe Parts, to hold Pleas of the Foreſt, and ſhall be determined before him.

XVIII. And all the Cuſtoms and Liberties aforeſaid, which we have granted to be holden in our Kingdom; as much as it belongs to us towards *our Subjects or Vaſſals, all our Kingdom, as well Laicks as Clercs, ſhall obſerve as much as it appertains to them, towards *their Tenents or Vaſſals.

* *Noſtros.*

* *Suos.*

There are alſo ſeveral other Clauſes properly belonging to this Charter, which are only to be found in the Originals, in the *Cottonian* Library, and in the Archives of the Dean and Chapter of *Saliſbury*, or elſe in ſome antient Copies, as that in the Lord Archbiſhop's Library at *Lambeth*; all which being only temporary, were left out in all the Confirmations of the Great Charter by King *Henry* III. and were either never ſeen, or elſe were not thought by *Matt. Paris* worth the inſerting into his Copy of King *John*'s Charter; and for that Reaſon I have alſo omitted them in this Tranſlation: But in the Appendix to this Volume, I have printed this Charter at large from the above-mentioned Original, that the more Learned and Curious Readers may ſee the great difference between this of King *John*, and thoſe granted by his Son; notwithſtanding * *Matt. Paris*, or rather *Rog.* of *Wendover*'s ſo poſitively aſſerting, that the Charters of both Kings *are in nothing found unlike each other: But of the Differences between them I ſhall ſay more, when I come to the end of *Henry* the Third's Reign: And to which I had once reſolv'd to have referr'd this preſent Tranſlation of the Charter of *Foreſts*, ſince there is no Original of it now extant, nor any antient MS. Copies to be found, except what are in the Manuſcript of *Rog. Wendover* in the *Cottonian* Library, and in the ſeveral antient Copies of *Matt. Paris*'s Hiſtory, both there and elſewhere; but whether thoſe were ever tranſcribed from any Originals, or authentick Copies of any Charters granted by King *John* may well be doubted; for beſides the Reaſon already given, there is this to be ſaid further, that the moſt conſiderable Clauſes relating to *Foreſts* are inſerted at the End of King *John*'s Original Charter of Liberties, which had been needleſs to have been put into a Charter on purpoſe, if that the ſame things had been already granted before: But as for that long Clauſe in *Matt. Paris* at the end of the Charter of *Foreſts*, concerning appointing Twenty Five Barons to ſee theſe Charters obſerved, and the Power of reſiſting the King which was thereby reſerved to the *Community* of the Kingdom in caſe he broke them, and being admoniſhed refuſed to amend his Error; Theſe are to be found *Verbatim* in the *Charter* of King *John* in the Appendix, as any one may ſee who will but take the pains to compare *Matt. Paris*'s Copy with that. But be it as it will, ſince I find this Charter of *Foreſts* in *Matt. Paris* under King *John*'s Name, and reputed to be his, I have publiſhed it here, without determining any thing poſitively in a Matter ſo doubtful and uncertain.

* P. 321.

* *In nullo inveniuntur diſſimiles.*

I ſhall now only warn the Reader, that the Original Charter of King *John*, which is now in the Cuſtody of the Right Reverend and moſt Learned the Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury*, is not *Magna Charta* properly ſo call'd, but only the firſt Draught, or Heads thereof, under his Great Seal, it not being ſo large and particular as that; as any one may ſee who has the Opportunity to compare them.

THE
General Hiſtory
OF
ENGLAND
BOTH
Eccleſiaſtical and Civil.

VOL. II. BOOK VIII.

Containing the Reign of K. Henry III.

Anno Dom. MCCXVI.

The Reaſons why the greateſt Part of the Nation after the Death of K. *John* joined with *Henry* his Son, tho' a Child.

KING *John*'s unexpected Deceaſe proved a great Advantage to the Young Prince *Henry* his Son, to whom the Affections of moſt of the Nobility, Clergy, and People of the Kingdom then inclined, not only becauſe of the dying Words of the *Viſcount* of *Melun*, already mentioned in the laſt Reign, but alſo becauſe they were weary of the *French* Inſolence; and I am much of Doctor *Brady*'s Opinion, that one great motive of the Nobilities then returning to their Duty might be, that they ſaw the King had diſpoſed of the Eſtates of thoſe who held of him *in Capite* to others that had continued his Loyal Subjects; and the Dr. there gives us ſome Examples in his *Appendix, of ſuch Grants which are upon Record in the *Tower*; yet whether they might not have had a contrary effect upon thoſe whoſe Lands were already diſpoſed of, is not worth diſputing: But to proceed;

*N. 138.

[1] So ſoon as the Death of King *John* was publickly known, and that the Earls, Biſhops, and Barons who remained firm to the late King, could agree where to meet, (which was by the Summons of the Earl-Mareſchal) they all aſſembled at *Glooeſter*, whether the Earl had brought *Henry*, Eldeſt Son to the late King; being but then in the Tenth Year of his Age, and having placed him in the midſt of the Aſſembly, he made a Speech to them, beginning with, *Behold our King*; and after a ſhort Pauſe went on thus; *My dear*

[1] Cron. *Wal. Hemingford.* L. 3.

The Earls, Biſhops, and Barons, are ſummoned to *Gloceſter* to the Coronation of the Young King.

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The Earl-Mareſchal's Speech to perſuade them to make young *Henry* their K.

Which is at laſt agreed to by all there preſent.

* *Fiat Rex, fiat Rex.*

Friends, altho' we have perſecuted the Father of this Child, and that perhaps Juſtly, for his Evil deeds, yet ſince his Son is Innocent from his Father's Faults, and that for every offence none ought to be anſwerable but he that commits it, ſince the Lord hath ſaid, That the Son ſhall not bear the Iniquity of the Father, *we ought therefore to have pity upon the tender Age of this Innocent Prince; now inaſmuch as he is the King's Son, and is to be our Lord and Succeſſor of the Kingdom,* Come, Let us make him King over us, and let us expell *Lewis*, Son to the King of *France*, and his People out of our Country, *and ſo let us take away the Reproach of our Nation, by breaking the Yoke of ſo unjuſt a Servitude.* This Propoſal (ſays my Author) was at firſt oppoſed by the Earl of *Gloceſter*, or rather *Cheſter*, (for the Earldom of *Gloceſter* was then in the Crown;) but at laſt they agreed, as if they had been divinely inſpir'd, crying, *Let him,* * *Let him be made King:* And upon this, they appointed *St. Simon and Jude's Day* for his Coronation; in which Relation, tho' this Author be out in the Place of this Solemnity, making it to be at *London* inſtead of *Gloceſter*, yet he is the only Writer who gives us an Account of the Manner of this King's *Election*, ſome days preceding his Coronation, which was perform'd in the manner following.

[2] *M. Paris*, p. 289 A large Account of his Coronation.

[2] On the Eve of St. *Simon* and *Jude*, (Eight days after the Death of King *John*) *Guallo* the Pope's Legate, *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Jocelin* Biſhop of *Bath*, *Silveſter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *William Mareſchal* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, *John Mareſchal*, and *Philip de Albiney*, with the Abbots, Priors, and a great Multitude of others, aſſembled at *Gloceſter*, to advance *Henry* the Eldeſt Son of King *John* to the Crown of *England*. From whence you may obſerve, that *Roger* of *Wendover* (from whom *Matt. Paris* tranſcribed this Relation) did then ſuppoſe, that this Prince was not a compleat King till his actual Coronation, nor could he indeed pretend to any better Title to the Crown than his Father had before, *(viz.)* the *Election* of the Clergy and People: for as *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaigne* claimed a Right to ſucceed before his Uncle, ſo might his Siſter *Eleanor* likewiſe have done, had ſhe not been now kept cloſe Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Briſtol*.

[3] *Id. Ib.*

The Coronation-Oath.

He does Homage to the See of *Rome*, and engages to pay the Pope's Tribute.

[3] But to proceed, the Day after, all neceſſary Preparations being made for his Coronation, *Guallo*, the Pope's Legate, who highly eſpouſed his Intereſt, accompanied with the afore-mentioned Biſhops and Earls, brought him in ſolemn Proceſſion into the Cathedral Church of *Gloceſter*, who being then placed before the High-Altar, in the preſence of the *Clergy* and *Laiety*, laying his Hand upon the Holy Goſpels and Reliques of Saints, (*Jocelin* of *Bath* dictating the Oath) he ſwore, *That he would Honour God, and yield Peace and Reverence to Holy Church, and all its Clerks, all the days of his Life; That he would adminiſter due Juſtice to the People; That he would aboliſh all bad Laws and ill Cuſtoms, if any were in his Kingdom, and would obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, all good Ones:* Then he did Homage to the Church of *Rome*, and to Pope *Innocent*, for the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and alſo engaged faithfully to pay the *Thouſand Marks* yearly to the See of *Rome*, which his Father King *John* had granted to it: After which *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Jocelin* Biſhop of *Bath*, Anointed and Crown'd him King, with the uſual Solem-

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nities. The Day after he received the Homages and Fealties of all the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons, and all others who were preſent, they all promiſing him moſt faithful Obedience.

But I cannot omit one Circumſtance at this King's Coronation, (which is this;) That [4] for want of a Crown, (which could not be made upon ſo ſhort warning) he was forced to be Crown'd with only a plain Circle, or Chaplet of Gold: But the Reaſon why this King was Crown'd by the Pope's Legate, and not by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was, becauſe (as *Walter* of *Coventry* obſerves) *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was then at *Rome*, ſolliciting the taking off his Suſpenſion, and the Legate did not think it ſafe to defer the King's Coronation, till his Return; but whilſt the Biſhops and Lords at *Worceſter* ſwore Fealty to King *Henry*, thoſe Barons who ſided with Prince *Lewis* (to take away all hopes of making their Peace with the Young King) took a ſolemn Oath on the Goſpels never to receive any of the Sons of the late King *John*; however, this Oath of *Abjuration* came to nothing, as you will find hereafter.

[4] *M. P. Ib.* Chron. *T. W.*

The K. was firſt Crown'd with a Chaplet of Gold, inſtead of a Crown.

The Barons of *Lewis*'s Party take an Oath of *Abjuration*, not to admit of any of K. *John*'s Sons.

[5] After this Coronation, the Young King (who then wanted One Month of being Ten Years of Age) remain'd under the Protection of *William Mareſchal* Earl of *Pembroke*, who being by the common Aſſent of the Prelates and Nobility, choſen to that great Truſt, forthwith ſent Letters to all Sheriffs and Caſtellans of the Kingdom of *England*, Commanding Obedience to the New King, and promiſing great Rewards to all ſuch as would faithfully adhere to him; whereupon all thoſe Noblemen and Governors of Caſtles, who had continued firm to the Father, ſtuck more Cloſe and Faithful to him, and every one prepared to fortifie their Caſtles as well as they could, and they were the more encouraged to this, when they ſaw that Prince *Lewis* and all the Barons and others of his Party were every Sunday and Holiday declared *Excommunicated* by the Pope's Legate.

[5] *M. P. Ib.*

The King is committed to the Protection of the Earl-Mareſchal.

[1] Then the Protector, together with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and others of the Council, did all they could to bring over the Rebellious Barons to their Duty to the King; in whoſe name they wrote Letters to ſeveral of them, and (amongſt others) to *Hugh de Lacy*, a Baron of Note, containing a Safe-Conduct, leaving it to his free choice, if he would come in Perſon, and treat with the King, either to go back again in ſafety if they could not agree, or elſe to ſtay and return to his former Allegiance; which if he did, he was then promiſed the Reſtitution and Enjoyment of all his Eſtate and Privileges: To this Letter the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Name is affixed, as the only Witneſs, and is dated *November* the Eighteenth, in the Firſt Year of this King's Reign, being upon *Record in the *Tower*, and we are obliged to Dr. *Brady* for this Account of it, ſince I doubt not but the like Letters were written to others as well as to this Nobleman.

[1] *Id. ib.*

The Protector writes in the King's Name to the Barons of *Lewis*'s Party to invite them to return to their Allegiance.

Rot. Pat. 1 *H* 3. *M.* 16. *Vid.* Append. N. 143.

[2] When Prince *Lewis*, and the Barons who then Beſieged *Dover*-Caſtle, heard that King *John* was dead, they were at firſt poſſeſſed with a fallacious Satisfaction, that all *England* would ſoon be ſubdued; and upon this *Lewis* ſummoned *Hubert de Burgh*, Conſtable of the Caſtle, to ſurrender it; telling him, King *John* was dead, and that he could not defend it much longer; Therefore if he would ſur-

[2] *Id. Ib.*

Upon the News of King *John*'s Death, *Lewis* again ſummons *Hubert de Burgh* to ſurrender *Dover*-*Caſtle*.

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Which he reſolutely refuſes, with a handſome Anſwer.

ſurrender the Caſtle, and ſwear Fealty to him, he would not only reward him with Great Honours, but alſo make him one of his Chief Councellors; To whom *Hubert* gave this Reſolute Anſwer, *That although his Maſter was dead, yet he had left Sons who ought to ſucceed him:* Nor would he hear of ſurrendring the Caſtle, till he had conſulted his Knights. Theſe all Unanimouſly perſiſted in the Negative, leſt by a ſhamefull ſurrender they ſhould be branded for *Traytors*; of which when Prince *Lewis* and the Barons had notice, they reſolved to take in the ſmaller Caſtles firſt, and then to proceed to the Greater; therefore raiſing the Siege, he marched towards *London*, whereupon the Soldiers that were in that Caſtle ſallied out, and burnt all the Huts and Wooden Fortifications which Prince *Lewis* had ordered to be made before it.

[3] *Id.* p. 290. *Lewis* beſieges the Caſtle of *Hertford*, which is at laſt forced to ſurrender.

[3] Wherefore on the Twelfth of *November* following, he came to *Hertford*, and beſieged it, which at firſt was well defended by *Walter de Godardvill*, and many *French* were ſlain before it; but at laſt it was yielded unto *Lewis* upon condition, that they might be ſecured of their Goods, their Horſes, and their Arms. *Robert Fitz-Walter* claimed the Cuſtody of this Town, as belonging unto him by Antient Right; to whom Prince *Lewis*, by advice of the *Frenchmen* about him, replied, that *Thoſe* Engliſh *were never to be truſted, who had been* Traytors *to their own Maſter*; However, he promiſed him, that when he had wholly ſubdued the Kingdom, every one ſhould have their Rights reſtored, which they had enjoyed before.

[4] *Id. Ib.* He then beſieges *Berkhamſted*, and is at firſt repulſed.

[4] From thence Prince *Lewis* advanced to *Berkhamſted*-Caſtle, and beſieged it; but whilſt the Barons of his Party were pitching their Tents on the North-ſide of the Caſtle towards the Foreſt, thoſe that were in Gariſon ſallied out with great fury upon their Baggage and Carriages, and ſnatching up the Banner of *William de Mandevill* carried it away with them into the Caſtle; but the ſame Men ſallying out again the next Day, and bearing the ſame Banner before them, were forced to retreat; and ſome days after, (notwithſtanding all the Reſiſtance that *Waleran* a *German*, and thoſe that were with him could make) the Caſtle was ſurrender'd about the middle of *December*, upon condition, that the Beſieged might march out with their Horſes and Arms.

Yet at laſt it is forced to ſurrender upon Conditions.

[5] *Id. ib.* *Lewis* comes to St. *Albans*, and demands Homage of the Abbot, but he refuſing it, he threatens to burn the Abbey, and Town, yet is pacified with Money.

[5] After this, Prince *Lewis* putting a ſtrong Gariſon in the Caſtle of *Berkhamſted*) marched forward, ſpoiling the Country, and coming to *St. Albans* required the Abbot thereof to do him Homage, which he refuſed, unleſs he were firſt releaſed from his Homage to King *Henry*. *Lewis*, enraged at this Anſwer, ſwore he would burn both the Abbey and Town, unleſs he did what he required of him; whereupon the Abbot (by the Mediation of *Saher* Earl of *Winton*) made a Compoſition for himſelf and the Town, and gave that Prince Fourſcore Marks of Silver to ſpare that Noble Pile, together with the Town, untill *Candlemas*; then the Prince returned to *London*: And thus ended the Military Affairs of this Year.

* *Memoriale Hiſt. MS. in Bib. Cotton.*

As for the Eccleſiaſtical, * *Walter* of *Coventry* informs us, that the Pope's Legate having done his utmoſt to confirm thoſe of the King's Party in their Allegiance, and to bring over the reſt that yet ſtood out againſt him, gave all the ſpeedy notice he could to the Pope, of the Death of the late King, and the Coronation of his Son; whereupon

upon the Court of *Rome* reſolved to ſtand by him with all their might, thereby the better to defend the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, (as they then accounted *England* to be) and ſo the Legate was not only eſtabliſhed a-new in his Power, but commanded to compel all Prelates and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, under pain of *Excommunication* to return to their Duty to the King, putting all the Countries that owned Prince *Lewis* under an *Interdict*: But the Prince proteſted againſt the Legate's Authority, prohibiting all Perſons, under great Penalties, to obey his Commands, or own the New King; and required all both Clergy and Laiety to do Fealty to him, as Lord of the Kingdom at a certain ſtated day. But for all this the Legate prevail'd, and holding a Synod of the Prelates and Clergy at *Briſtol*, he not only confirmed thoſe to the King's Party who were already in it, but alſo hinder'd all others from doing any Homage to Prince *Lewis*; and he to be revenged of them, ſpoiled and plundered their Goods and Eſtates: Yet this Author relates, that *Chriſtmas* now approaching, there was a Truce agreed upon during the Holidays, which was to laſt till the Octaves of *Epiphany*.

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The Pope, upon the News of King *John's* Death, reſolves to ſtand by the young King.

And ſends freſh orders to his Legate to compell all Clergy-men by *Excommunication* to return to their Allegiance: Whereupon *Lewis* proteſts againſt his Authority.

The Legate calls a Synod at *Briſtol*; and what done there.

A Truce agreed on for a few Days.

[1] This Year the Young King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Briſtol*, with *Guallo* the Legate, and *William* Earl-Mareſchal the Protector; and about the ſame time there was a great Fluctuation in the Nobility, whether they ſhould ſubmit to Young *Henry*, or to Prince *Lewis*, whom they ſecretly hated and deſpiſed, and that chiefly, becauſe contrary to his Oath he had entered upon their Lands and Caſtles, and had filled them with Mercenary Foreign Soldiers; yet at the ſame time they were aſhamed to return to the King, whom they had ſo pittifully deſerted; and being thus perplexed, they could not for a good while tell which Courſe to ſteer.

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[1] *M.P.* p. 292. The Nobility hate *Lewis*, and the Reaſon why.

But *Walter* of *Coventry* gives us a more exact Account than *Matt. Paris* concerning the Poſture of Affairs in the beginning of this Year; for he tells us, that preſently after *Chriſtmas*, whilſt the Truce laſted, Prince *Lewis* and his Adherents held a Council at *Grantbridge*, (now *Cambridge*) and the Guardians or Protectors of the King did the like at *Oxford*; and it was there propoſed, that the Truce ſhould be prolonged; but it being refuſed by Prince *Lewis*, he preſently fell to beſiege the Caſtle of *Odingham*, now *Odiam* in *Hampſhire*, which was ſhortly render'd to him, as were alſo the Caſtles of *Sleford*, *Norwich*, and *Colcheſter*.

Each Party hold their great Councils, where the Truce being offered to be prolonged, it is by *Lewis* refuſed.

[2] And about the ſame time, (*viz.*) the latter end of *January*, ſeveral Knights and Eſquires went out of *Mont-Sorel*-Caſtle to plunder the County, but the Gariſon in *Nottingham*-Caſtle having notice of it, ſent out a Party that engaged them, killed Three of their number, and took Ten Knights and Twenty Four Eſquires, and ſo returned Victorious.

[2] *M. P. Ib.* Several Kts ſallying out of *Mont-ſorel*-Caſtle, are either killed, or made Priſoners.

[3] About the ſame time alſo, *Faukes de Brent*, (that old Plunderer) gathering great numbers of Mercenaries from *Oxford*, *Northampton*, and other Places, came to *St. Albans* in the Evening, and falling upon the Town, plundered it, and took many of the Inhabitants Priſoners; and then ſent the Abbot word, that unleſs he would redeem it and his Monaſtery, by paying down an Hundred Pounds, he would burn the whole Town, Abbey and all; which the Abbot being forced

[3] *Id. ib.* *Fawkes de Brent* with his Mercenaries plunders *St. Albans*, and makes the Abbot redeem his Monaſtery from burning

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forced to do. *Fawkes* return'd with his Priſoners and Spoils to his Caſtle of *Bedford*; yet being afterwards (it ſeems) frighted by a Dream of a great Stone falling upon him from the Tower of *St. Alban's* Church, he thereupon, by the advice of his Wife, went back to that Abbey, and then asked Pardon of the Monks for the Injury he had done them, and ſo obtained Abſolution, tho' without reſtoring any thing of what he had taken away.

This I have inſerted to let the Reader ſee, that *Mercenary ſtanding Armies* are ſtill the ſame things whomſoever they ſerve; ſo it ſeems this Monaſtery ſuffer'd ſufficiently (as Neuters commonly do) from both Parties.

K. *Henry* grants the ſame Charter of Liberties to *Ireland*, which he and his Father had already granted to *England*.

But to intermix ſomewhat of Civil Concerns among ſo many Military Exploits; King *Henry*, (together with the Pope's Legate, and the Earl-Mareſchal) being ſtill at *Gloceſter*, he, by the Advice of his Councellors, as well as to teſtify his own Thankfulneſs to his Loyal Subjects of *Ireland* for their Fidelity to his Father and himſelf, there granted them the ſame Liberties, which had been done already to the Kingdom of *England* by his Father and Himſelf, and which being now reduc'd into Writing, were ſent to *Ireland*, under the Seals of *Gualo* the Legate, and the Earl-Mareſchal Protector, becauſe the King was then under Age, and had as yet no Seal of his own: All which appears by the Writ ſent over with this Charter ſtill on *Record in the *Tower* of *London*. But if the Charter itſelf was entred upon the ſame Roll, it is now loſt, †as is alſo that to *England*, which is here ſaid to have been granted at the ſame time, *viz. Sexto Februarii.* But how the Copy of this Charter, which is entred in the *Red Book* of the *Exchequer* at *Dublin*, (and is *Mutatis Mutandis*, the ſame with our *Engliſh Magna-Charta*) comes to bear date at *Briſtol* the 12th of *November* precedent to this Writ, I do not underſtand, unleſs it be an Error in that Copy, the Original of which is not now Extant: But that King *Henry* Granted and Confirmed the ſame Charter of Liberties this Year alſo to his Subjects of *England*, appears from a *Writ upon Record in the *Tower*, to the Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire*; commanding him to proclaim the Charters of Liberties granted by the King to the Barons, and all others of *England*, with the Advice (or Conſent) of the Common Council of the Kingdom, and which the Pope's Legate had alſo confirmed by his Seal; with the ſame Clauſe about the King's not having a Seal of his own, as in the aboveſaid Writ concerning *Ireland*.

* *Rot Pat.* 1 *H.* 3 *M* 13. *intus.* Printed in *Pryn*, upon the 4th Inſt. p. 250.

† *Libertatibus Regno noſtro Angliæ a Patre noſtro, & nobis conceſſis.*

The K. alſo granted the ſame Charter to *England*.

* *Rot. Clauſ.* 1 *H.* 3. *M.* 10. *Dorſ.* My Append. N. 7.

Another confirmation of it in the ſecond Year of this King's Reign.

But tho' the Originals as well as Copies of this firſt Charter be now loſt, yet that the King alſo confirmed theſe Charters in the *Second* Year of his Reign, appears from ſeveral antient Copies of them ſtill preſerved in private Hands, which are particularly mentioned among the Laws at the end of this King's Reign: And this is alſo farther confirmed by the antient *Manuſcript Chronicle of the City of *London*, already cited; which ſays expreſly, that this King in the Second Year of his Reign, by his Charter granted and confirmed all the Liberties that had been granted by his Predeceſſors; and then mentions, that becauſe the King was then under Age, and had no Seal of his own, they were Sealed with the Seals of the Pope's Legate, and the Earl-Mareſchal; but that in his *Ninth* Year he

* *In Libro de Antiq. Leg.*

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he again confirmed the ſame Charter, and Seal'd it with his own Seal; and at the ſame Time alſo granted the *Charter* of *Foreſts*; which was not mention'd before.

[4] *Id. Ib.* *Lewis* upon notice that the Legate's *Excommunication* of him would be confirmed by the Pope, agrees to a Truce.

[4] About this time Prince *Lewis* had notice from his Envoys at *Rome*, that unleſs he departed out of *England*, the Sentence of *Excommunication* pronounced againſt him by *Guallo* the Legate would be confirmed by the Pope himſelf; whereupon a Truce was agreed on between King *Henry* and *Lewis*, until a Month after *Eaſter*; and all things were (till then) to remain in the ſame ſtate as they were at the time when it was made.

Walter of *Coventry*'s Account of the true Reaſons of this Truce.

Walter of *Coventry* is more particular in his Account of the occaſion of this Truce, for tho' divers other Writers impute it only to Prince *Lewis*'s earneſt deſire to go over to ſollicite his Father for freſh Recruits; yet this Author gives us a better Reaſon for it, which is, That about this time a Great Council or Synod was held at *Melun* in *France*, by the Pope's Nuncios, who threaten'd to put that Kingdom under an *Interdict*, unleſs King *Philip* would recall his Son out of *England*; upon which the King preſently ſummon'd him to come over, and be himſelf in Perſon at that Council: [5] Wherefore the Prince having declared the Neceſſity of his Abſence for a ſhort time, and ſworn to return before the Expiration of the Truce, he in the beginning of *Lent* ſet ſail for *France*.

[5] *Id. Ib.* *Lewis* during the Truce goes over into *France*.

[1] *Id. Ib.* As ſoon as he is gone over, the Earl of *Saliſbury* and divers other Noblemen, return to their Allegiance.

[1] But his Abſence was ill reſented by thoſe *Engliſh* Noblemen who took his part; for almoſt ſo ſoon as his Back was turn'd, many of them both Earls and Barons, (as *William Longeſpee* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, and *William*, Son of the Earl-Mareſchal,) deſerting him, return'd to their Allegiance, and afterwards firmly adhered to King *Henry*, which very much weakned the *French* Prince's Party.

And that upon Religious, as well as Secular Motives.

The ſame Author further adds, That theſe Noblemen were chiefly brought over by the Legate's perſuaſions, who promiſed them Remiſſion of all their Sins, if they would now engage for the King; and that thoſe that fought in his Quarrel, ſhould have the ſame Privileges, as thoſe that made War in the *Holy Land* againſt Infidels; whereupon the Legate not only took the Sign of the *Croſs* upon his Habit, (as it was the manner of thoſe who went to *Jeruſalem*,) but alſo the Biſhops and Abbots did the like, and preſently marched out with him to the War; the Legate likewiſe again *Excommunicated* all thoſe who ſtill held with the Barons; moſt of whom deſpiſed the Sentence, ſaying, *That the Pope being blinded with Avarice and Ambition, perverted all Right; That his Legate contrary to his Character marched out to War, and under colour of Abſolutions exacted great Sums of Money from thoſe Churches and Monaſteries, which he had never viſited*; a great deal of which was indeed too true, yet we may obſerve how deplorable the Eſtate of *England* was at this time, whilſt it was ſo divided againſt it ſelf.

[2] *Id. Ib.* *Lewis* during his Abſence loſes many Caſtles.

[2] The Abſence of Prince *Lewis* highly encouraged and ſtrengthened the Royal Party, ſo that during that time, they recovered the ſtrong Caſtles of *Marlbridge*, *Farnham*, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, and other Places, which were many of them demoliſhed; but on the very day whereon the Truce was to expire, Prince *Lewis* arrived at *Sandwich*, bringing over with him the Young Earl of *Perche*, and

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He arrives at *Sandwich*, attended by the Earl of *Perche*, *&c.*

But being aſſaulted by the Mariners of the *Cinque-Ports*, he burns *Sandwich*, as ſoon as he Landed.

many other Noblemen, beſides Common Soldiers; but he ſuffer'd a great Loſs and Damage in his Paſſage over, for the Mariners of the *Cinque-Ports* having now declared for the King, ſet upon him, and at Sea took divers of his Ships; wherefore the Prince, as ſoon as he landed, burnt *Sandwich* in Revenge, and going to *London*, was received with great ſatisfaction, by thoſe that ſtill continued firm to his Intereſt; and they put him upon undertaking a conſiderable Enterprize, for the doing of which a fair Opportunity now offer'd it ſelf.

[3] *M. P.* p. 293. The Earl of *Cheſter* and other Noblemen beſiege *Mount-ſorel*.

The Gariſon being put hard to it, ſend to *Lewis* for Relief.

Who thereupon ſends down a conſiderable Army, which commits great diſorder in their march.

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 294.

The Siege of *Mont-ſorel* raiſed; and *Lincoln*-Caſtle beſieged by the Confederate Barons.

[5] *Wal. Cov. ib.* Prince *Lewis* again beſieges *Dover*-Caſtle, but in vain.

[3] For ſome time after the Feaſt of *Eaſter* was over, at the Inſtigation of *William* Earl-Mareſchal the Protector; *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, *Robert de Vipont*, *Brian de Liſle*, *William de Cantelupe*, *Philip Marc*, *Robert de Gaugi*, *Faukes de Brent*, and his Caſtellans, with many other Gariſon Soldiers, muſter'd their Forces to beſiege the Caſtle of *Mont-ſorel*, whereof *Henry Braibroc* was Governor, and with whom were Ten ſtout Knights, and many common Soldiers. During the Siege there were ſeveral vigorous Aſſaults made and briskly return'd, but the Beſieged being very hard preſſed, ſent to *Saher* Earl of *Winton*, Lord of the Caſtle, who was then at *London*, for Relief; He applied himſelf to Prince *Lewis* (now lately return'd) deſiring his immediate aſſiſtance to raiſe the Siege; whereupon they agreed to ſend ſuch a Force, as might not only Relieve the Caſtle, but alſo ſubdue the adjacent Country; and ſtraight there went out of *London* Six hundred Knights, and above Twenty thouſand Men well arm'd, who were all greedy of Plunder; the Chief of them were the Earl of *Perche*, Mareſchal of *France*, (a young Man of great Courage) *Saher* Earl of *Winton*, *Robert Fitz-Walter*, and many others, that were look'd upon as moſt fit for that Expedition; they ſet forth the Laſt of *April*, and marched firſt towards *St. Albans*, Burning and Robbing both Towns and Churches, ſpoiling Men of all Ranks and Conditions, and cruelly tormenting them, on purpoſe to force from them exceſſive Ranſoms; [4] Neither did they ſpare the Abbey of *St. Albans*, notwithſtanding a little before the Abbot had ſatisfied Prince *Lewis*, as you have heard already. From thence they marched to *Dunſtable*, where they plunder'd the poor Monks, and with their polluted Hands ſnatched away the Holy Reliques from the Altar; and then after many Spoils and much Rapine, they marched to the Caſtle of *Mont-ſorel*, and raiſed the Siege without any Oppoſition; and the Earl of *Cheſter* who commanded there in chief, drew off his Forces to *Nottingham*; from *Mont-ſorel* the Barons marched to *Lincoln*, and ſet down before the Caſtle, which *Gilbert de Gant* had a long time in vain beſieged, and made many Aſſaults, but was vigorouſly repulſed. [5] In the mean time Prince *Lewis* took his opportunity again to beſiege the Caſtle of *Dover*, but he could not take it, becauſe the main ſtrength of his Army was then in the *North*, employed in the Siege of the Places already mention'd.

[1] *W.C. M.P. ib.*

[1] While theſe things were tranſacting, thoſe of the King's Party foreſaw the great Loſs they muſt ſuſtain, if *Lincoln*-Caſtle ſhould be taken by the Confederate Barons; and therefore *William* Earl-Mareſchal, by the Advice of *Guallo* the Legate, and *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and others who then managed the Affairs of the Kingdom,

dom, ſummon'd all the King's Caſtellans and Knights, with thoſe that were in Garriſon in divers parts, to meet at *Newark* on *Whitſun-Tueſday*, and go along with them to raiſe the Siege of *Lincoln*-Caſtle; they all ſhewed a great readineſs to fight with the *Excommunicated French* (as they call'd them) and very joyfully met at the Place and Day appointed; with them went alſo the Legate, and many other Prelates in Perſon, to ſubdue with their Prayers as well as their Arms, all thoſe that were diſobedient to the King, and Rebels to the Pope; when they were all come together, they made up Four hundred Knights, and Two hundred and Fifty Croſs-bow-men, but Eſquires or Horſemen without number, who if neceſſity required, were able to ſupply the Place of Knights; the Chief were *William* Earl-Mareſchal, and *William* his Son, *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, a Prelate well skill'd in Martial Affairs, *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, (and the reſt of thoſe Knights who went with him to *Nottingham*) *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, with many other Earls and Barons, moſt of whom being already named, it would be tedious to repeat them; all theſe with divers Governors of Caſtles, well Exerciſed and Experienced in Military Diſcipline, ſtayed Three days at *Newark* for the refreſhment of their Men and Horſes, where they were Confeſſed, and (as they ſuppoſed) very well fortify'd themſelves by the receiving of the *Euchariſt*, as a Guard againſt the Aſſaults of their Enemies.

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The Earl-Mareſchal ſummons all the Gariſons to unite their Forces to raiſe the Siege of *Lincoln*

Whereupon a great Army is aſſembled at *Newark*; with the Names of the chief Commanders.

[2] Then on *Friday* in *Whitſun-week* the Legate declared to them, the Injuſtice of the Cauſe, in which *Lewis* and the Barons his Adherents were now engaged, for which they had been *Excommunicated*, and ſeparated from the Unity of the Church, and at the ſame time he *Excommunicated Lewis* and all his Accomplices and Favourers by Name, eſpecially all thoſe that then beſieged *Lincoln*-Caſtle; but to thoſe who had undertaken this Expedition, he gave a full Pardon of all their Sins, with promiſe of *Eternal Salvation* if they died in this Service, which ſo animated the Army, that they joyfully marched towards *Lincoln* fearing nothing, but the Enemies flight before they came thither; when the Barons and *Frenchmen* that were in the City heard of their approach, they received the News with Scoffs and Laughter, thinking themſelves very ſafe; however *Robert Fitz-Walter*, and *Saher* Earl of *Winton*, went out of the City to obſerve the Motions and Number of the King's Forces; and when they returned they reported their march to be very orderly, and that they exceeded their own Army in Number, tho' they were indeed miſtaken in their Reckoning, taking thoſe that came up with the Baggage, and thoſe that follow'd the Camp to be all Soldiers; yet this Account gave no ſatisfaction to the Earl of *Perch*, and the reſt of the *French* Commanders, who would not believe them to be ſo many; wherefore they ſent out again to take a review of the King's Army, which marched in ſuch cloſe order, that the Scouts were miſtaken in their Obſervation, and returned back alike deceived and uncertain. The Conſults upon this were various, but at laſt it was agreed, that the Gates ſhould be lock'd up, and ſtrict Guards ſet to keep out the Enemy, and every one to be in readineſs to defend it, and in the mean time to Batter and Aſſault the Caſtle, which they thought could not long hold out.

[2] *Id.* p.295.

The Legate ſhews the Injuſtice of their Adverſaries cauſe, and declares them *Excommunicated.*

And grants a full Abſolution to all thoſe who undertook this Expedition.

Upon their approach to *Lincoln* the Confederate Barons ſend out the Earl of *Wincheſter* to obſerve their Strength.

The *French* not ſatisfied with his Account, ſend out other Scouts; upon whoſe return they reſolve not to leave the Town.

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[3] *Id. Ib.* *Faukes de Brent* enters *Lincoln*-Caſtle by a Poſtern, and aſſiſts the Beſieged.

[3] When the King's Army was come before that Quarter of the City where the Caſtle ſtands, the Governor within preſently by a private Meſſenger gave the chief Commanders an account of the State of the Place; and moreover told them, That if they would, they might enter at the *Poſtern-Gate* of the Caſtle, which was left open on purpoſe for them; *Faukes de Brent* accepted the Offer, and entered with his Croſs-bow-men, and the reſt that were under his Command, with their Bows, Arrows, and other Weapons, having firſt from the Caſtle wounded and unhorſed ſome of the moſt forward and valiant Barons that aſſaulted it, and thereby put them into ſome Diſorder; but *Faukes* thinking to take advantage of this, ſuddenly ſallying out upon the Enemies in the Town, narrowly eſcaped being taken Priſoner: During this Skirmiſh the reſt of the Army ſtormed the City in another Place, and the Beſieged not having the Courage ſo much as to make a Sally, the King's Forces ſeized the next Gate, and ſo got into the Town, though not without great loſs of Men. So ſoon as they were entred, there began a very ſharp Engagement in the Streets, but thoſe of the Baron's Party being ſoon overpower'd, they were all kill'd, or elſe taken Priſoners, ſo that the whole Burthen now lay upon the Earl of *Perch* and the *Frenchmen*, who being overcome by Numbers, and refuſing to take quarter of any *Engliſh Traytor* (as he call'd them) was there ſlain, and a great many were kill'd, by reaſon that the *Southern* Gate, by which they were to make their Eſcape, was kept ſhut with a great Bar, that but one Man could go out at once, ſo that few eſcaped by flight, and the far greater number were forced to yield themſelves Priſoners at diſcretion, of whom the chiefeſt were, *Saher* Earl of *Winton*, *Henry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gant*, (whom Prince *Lewis* had lately made Earl of *Lincoln*,) *Robert Fitz-Walter*, with divers others, for whoſe Names I refer you to my Author; and beſides theſe there were alſo taken near Four hundred Knights, not to mention Eſquires and ordinary Soldiers, and Townſmen of a vaſt Number; this Victory was obtained on the Nineteenth of *May*, being *Saturday* in *Whitſun-Week*.

The reſt of the Army ſtorm the City, and enter, upon which follows a ſharp Engagement for a time; till at laſt the Confederate *French* Forces being utterly routed, the City is taken.

[4] *Id. Ib.* The Town is plunder'd, and the K's Soldiers get a great Booty.

The [4] King's Soldiers here found great ſtore of rich Booty, both in Plate and Goods belonging to the Barons and Townſmen, all which fell to their ſhare; for the City being taken by Storm it was totally plundered, not ſparing the very Churches, nor ſo much as the Cathedral, becauſe the Chanons thereof were *Excommunicated*, for a ſmall Pretence would ſerve turn for *Sacrilege*, eſpecially when it was allowed of by the Pope's Legate, who was there in Perſon; and you may gueſs at the vaſt Riches of that Church, when one *Geoffrey de Dreping* the *Precentor* thereof, complain'd, that he had loſt Eleven thouſand Marks in Silver for his own ſhare.

Now when they had made an end of Plundering the Town, the Earl-Mareſchal commanded all his Caſtellans to return home with their Priſoners, and to keep them under a ſtrict Guard, till they knew the King's Pleaſure, who remain'd during all this Action with the Legate and a ſtrong Guard at *Stow*, about eight Miles ſhort of *Lincoln*: The next day the Earl went to give him notice of the Victory, which he received with great Joy, and the day following there came Meſſengers, who alſo brought him News, tha tthe Enemies

The King receives the News with great Joy.

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mies Gariſon had voluntarily quitted *Mont-ſorel*-Caſtle; whereupon the King commanded the Sheriff of that County with the Men thereof to pull it down, and demoliſh it, and ſo it remains a heap of Rubbiſh to this day.

* *Vid. Cam. Bri.* in *Leiceſterſhire.*

[5] *W. C.* The K's Army marches towards *London* to beſiege it.

[5] Then the King's Party being highly fluſh'd with this Victory, advanced forward, and ſubdued thoſe Parts which held out againſt them, and taking all the Caſtles and Gariſons in their way, marched up to *London* with a deſign to beſiege it.

[1] *W. C.* * *M. P.* p. 297. *Lewis* upon this ill News quits *Dover*, and ſends to his Father for more Succors; but he not daring, the Princeſs his Wife ſends over *Euſtace* the Monk with a numerous Fleet.

[1] Prince *Lewis* hearing of this great Defeat, preſently left the Siege of *Dover*-Caſtle in which he was then engaged, and retreating to *London** forthwith ſent Meſſengers to his Father the King of *France*, and to his Wife the Lady *Blanche*, to ſend him ſpeedy Succours; but the King fearing to provoke the Pope if he ſhould publickly aſſiſt his Son, who was then *Excommunicated*, left it wholly to the Princeſs his Wife, and ſhe ſpeedily ſent away Three hundred valiant Knights, with a great many Soldiers, under the Conduct of *Euſtace*, Sirnam'd the *Monk*, who was alſo appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief over the Fleet, as well as Land-Forces; but theſe great Preparations were not unknown to King *Henry*, and the Earl-Mareſchal his Protector, who thereupon appointed *Philip de Albiney*, and *John* the *Mareſchal*, with the Ships belonging to the *Cinque-Ports*, and many other Men of War to guard the Seas, and hinder the landing of the *French*, after whoſe embarking a briſk Gale of Wind drove their Fleet toward the Coaſt of *England*; the King's Ships (though fewer in number) met with them, but yet durſt not ſet upon them in the Front, being Fourſcore great Ships, beſides Galleys and ſmaller Veſſels, whereas the *Engliſh* were not above Forty in all; whereupon they reſolved to ſteer another Courſe, therefore tacking about, and ſo getting Windward of them, they thereby gain'd a great Advantage; then there began a Bloody Sea-fight on the Coaſt of *Kent*, not far from the Iſle of *Thanet*, when *Philip de Albiney* with his Archers making a great Slaughter of the *French*, and the *Engliſh* Veſſels having the Wind, with their Bowſprits armed with Iron, ran upon the *French* Gallies, and pierced them through, whereby many of them were ſunk, and the *Engliſh* having a great deal of Quick-Lime in Powder on board, caſt it up in the Air, which being carried by the Wind into the Eyes of the *French*, blinded them; ſo that the *Engliſh* being more ſkilful in Sea-Engagements deſtroyed them all manner of ways; at length the *French* ſeeing no hopes of Succeſs, or even of Eſcape, ſome deſperately leaped into the Water, whilſt others yielded themſelves Priſoners: Nor durſt the *French* from that time engage with the *Engliſh* in a Sea-fight.

Who being met at Sea by the K's Ships; there begins a ſharp Engagement.

The *French* Fleet is deſtroyed with moſt of the Men.

[2] *Id.* p. 298. *Euſtace* the Monk being taken, has his Head ſtruck off by *Richard* baſe Son to K. *John*.

[2] *Euſtace* the Monk, their Commander, being taken, offer'd a great Sum of Money for his Life, but *Richard* a Baſe-Son of King *John* calling him *Wicked Traytor*; told him he ſhould never deceive any Man again with his falſe Promiſes, and ſo cut off his Head: This Man was at firſt a Monk, and having turned Seaman had been a great Pyrate; yet at laſt was made Admiral of the *French* Fleet, and having often changed ſides according to Succeſs, was for a long time a Terror not only at Sea, but to the adjacent Shores: There was a great deal of Spoil taken by the Seamen on board theſe Ships in

Much Spoil and a great many Priſoners then taken.

Gold

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Gold and Silver, beſides good ſtore of Arms; and the Priſoners being put under ſtrict Guard, *Philip de Albiney* Commander in Chief in the late Fight, immediately gave the King notice of it, who thereupon return'd ſolemn Thanks to God.

[3] *Id. Ib.* *Lewis* is much mortified at the News.

[3] When Prince *Lewis* received the News of this Defeat, it grieved him more than the late Overthrow at *Lincoln*, ſince it deprived him of the means of going off by Sea: So that from this time the King ſtill prevail'd, and Prince *Lewis*'s Party grew weaker and weaker every day.

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And thereupon offers a Treaty of Peace.

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[5] *Id. ib.* The Articles which they agreed on.

[5] *Firſt*, Prince *Lewis* ſwore, that he and all with him that were *Excommunicated* would ſtand to the Judgment of *Holy Church*, and for the future would be Obedient to the Pope and Church of *Rome*; That he would forthwith depart the Kingdom of *England*, and never more return with any ill deſign during his Life.

Secondly, That he would endeavour what he could to induce King *Philip* his Father to reſtore to King *Henry* all his Rights beyond the Seas.

Laſtly, If his Father refuſed to do it, he himſelf would perform it if ever he came to the Crown; and that in the mean time he would immediately deliver to the King all thoſe Caſtles and Territories he had poſſeſſed himſelf of in *England* during this War.

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[1] And the King of *England* for his part ſwore upon the *Evangeliſts*, together with the Legate, and Earl-Mareſchal, that they would reſtore to the Barons of *England*, and to all others of the Kingdom all their Rights and Inheritances, together with the Liberties they before enjoyed, for which there had aroſe ſo great Diſcord between King *John* and the Barons; neither ſhould it be any Damage or Reproach to thoſe, that had adhered to the one or to the other ſide: That as to all Priſoners, who had redeemed themſelves before this Peace was made, and had paid part of the Money for their Redemption; what was paid already ſhould not be return'd,

turn'd, but what remain'd behind ſhould be remitted; and that all Priſoners either taken at *Lincoln*, or at Sea, whether of the King's or Prince *Lewis*'s ſide, ſhould without any Difficulty or Ranſom be ſet at Liberty: But the *Welſh* Princes who had join'd with him, and the Barons being wholly omitted in theſe Articles, were left to the King's Mercy. Yet ſome of the * *French* Hiſtorians relate, that *Lewis* had a great Sum of Money paid him for reſtoring the Hoſtages he had taken of the Barons, which is certainly falſe, for *Lewis* was ſo far from ſtanding upon Terms, that he was glad to agree upon any Conditions; and as for Hoſtages, there could be nothing due from the King on that Account; but from the Barons his Enemies, whoſe Relations they were; but our Writers do not mention any Money paid for them, and therefore it is moſt likely they were delivered *gratis*, though they are not particularly mention'd.

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Theſe are the Principal Articles of this Peace, though indeed there is another Copy of it by way of Charter in * *Dacheries Spicilegium*, ſaid to be publiſh'd from an Original in the Chartulary of St. *Giles*, at *Pont-Audomar*; which differs in ſome things from that here ſpecified by our Author, as particularly in the three Firſt Clauſes, *viz.* of Prince *Lewis*'s ſtanding to the Judgment of the Church; of his quitting the Kingdom, and never to return; of reſtoring to the King of *England* all his Rights beyond the Sea; all which are omitted in that Copy, and ſince this Agreement is no where elſe to be found, and that the Book in which it is printed is very ſcarce in *England*, I have added it at large at the end of this Work, for the benefit of the Diligent and Inquiſitive Reader.

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time afford, and then alſo the Homages and Fealties of the Kingdom were again renewed, and there the King's Guardians, with the Chief Men of the Nation, held frequent Conſultations concerning the Settling and Reforming the Kingdom; for it was no eaſie matter to ſatisfy ſo many Men's Deſires and Expectations, as alſo to appeaſe the Rancour and Animoſities of different Parties againſt each other, the remainder of which they now vented in frequent Tornements, wherein between Jeſt and Earneſt they expreſſed their former Animoſities.

[5] *M.P. ib.* The Clergy, notwithſtanding the K's Pardon, are ſtill left to the Pope's Diſcretion.

As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, [5] notwithſtanding the late General Pardon of all Offences during the War, yet all Biſhops, Priors, and other the Clergymen who aſſiſted or favoured *Lewis* and the Barons, and in particular *Simon de Langton*, and *Gervaſe de Hobrugge*, who cauſed *Divine Service* to be performed by ſuch as were *Excommunicated*, were all excepted from the Benefit of this Pardon, and being deprived of all their Benefices were forced to trudge to *Rome* to ſeek for Abſolution: But ſoon after *Lewis*'s Departure the Legate ſent Inquiſitors all over *England*, and whoſoever of the Clergy was found to have been the leaſt engaged, or inclin'd to *Lewis* and his Party, of what Order and Dignity ſoever they were, they firſt ſuſpended them, and then ſent to the Legate, who deprived them of all their Benefices, and beſtowed them on his Clerks. *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln* paid to the Pope's uſe a Thouſand Marks, and a Hundred to the Legate, for his Biſhoprick; whoſe Example many of the Biſhops and other Religious Perſons followed, both of the *Regular* and *Secular* Orders, and empty'd their Purſes to obtain the Legate's Favour, who thereby heaped up a vaſt Sum of Money for the uſe of the Pope his Maſter, ſo that he was always ſure to gain, whoever loſt.

[1] C. M. The King of *Scots* is alſo abſolved, and delivers up *Carliſle* for the King's uſe.

That King does Homage to K. *Henry*.

[1] Alſo towards the End of this Year the King of *Scots* was Abſolved from his *Excommunication* by the Archbiſhop of *York*, and Biſhop of *Durham*, by the Legate's Authority committed to them for that purpoſe; and then alſo the Archbiſhop went to *Carliſle*, and took poſſeſſion of it for the King of *England*: After this the King of *Scots* going to *Northampton* was there received by King *Henry* and the Legate, with great Honour; and on the *Saturday* before *Chriſtmas-Day*, did his Homage for the Earldom of *Huntington*, and the reſt of the Territories which his Predeceſſors held of the Kings of *England*. And having thus made his Peace with the King and the Legate, he return'd home, though the *Interdict* was not yet taken off his Kingdom, till the Beginning of the Year following.

[2] *M.P.* P. 297. Pope *Innocent* the Third, deceaſes.

As for other Eccleſiaſtical Affairs this Year affords none, but ſuch as being connected with the Civil, have been already related; only [2] Pope *Innocent* the *Third*, a Prelate of a Great Spirit and Ambition, and who very well knew how to make the beſt Uſe of his Spiritual Thunderbolt of *Excommunication* for his own advantage, deceaſed on the Sixteenth of *July*, and was ſucceeded by Cardinal *Cinſius*, under the Name of *Honorius* the *Third*.

King

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King * *Henry* now kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Northampton*, where *Faukes de Brent* ſupplied him with all Neceſſaries during that Feſtival; not long after which, ſeveral of the Nobility and others, (the chief of whom were *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Vipont*, *Brian de Liſle*, *Hugo de Bailliol*, *Philip Marc*, and *Robert de Gaugy*,) having in the time of War accuſtomed themſelves to Rapine, could not forbear Exerciſing the ſame in time of Peace; and therefore forcibly held divers Caſtles with the Lands and Poſſeſſions belonging to ſome Biſhops and Great Men, contrary to the King's Will and Command; but eſpecially *Robert de Gaugy* (though admoniſhed of it ſeveral times by the King) refuſed to yield up the Caſtle and Town of *Newark* to *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*; whereupon the Earl-Mareſchal at the King's Command, raiſed an Army, and beſieged the Caſtle; and after eight days Siege, *Robert de Gaugy* capitulated with the Biſhop to deliver the Caſtle to him, upon payment of an Hundred Pounds *Sterling* for the Victuals that were in it; hereupon the Biſhop with the King's conſent accepted the Terms, and ſo the Siege was raiſed, and every one went to their own Homes.

* *Id.* p. 300.

Several of the Nobility having poſſeſs'd themſelves of other Men's Caſtles and Eſtates, would keep them, notwithſtanding the King's Commands to the contrary.

But the Earl-Mareſchal raiſing an Army makes *Robert de Gaugy* ſurrender the Caſtle of *Newark*.

This Year [3] on the Eighteenth of *February* the Protector wrote in the King's Name to all Sheriffs to make Proclamations in their ſeveral Counties, that all Clerks that had adhered to Prince *Lewis* and were therefore *Excommunicated*, and not Abſolved, ſhould be Baniſhed, and if they departed not the Realm before *Mid-Lent*, they were to be impriſon'd; and ſuch as were Abſolved, if they ſtill remain'd Friends to *Lewis*, they were however to be impriſon'd: The King alſo wrote on the Two and twentieth of the ſame Month to the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties, for the better ſatisfying Mens Minds, that they ſhould look to the Obſervation of the Charters of Liberties and the Foreſts, and ſee all Lawful Caſtles rebuilt that were demoliſhed during the War. Theſe Letters are not to be found in our Hiſtories, but remain upon Record in the *Tower* on the *Clauſe* * *Roll* of this Year.

[3] *Vid.* D *Brady's* Appendix, N. 144.

All Clerks who had adher'd to P. *Lewis*, and not Abſolved, are Baniſhed the Kingdom.

The K. writes to the Sheriffs to ſee the Charters of Liberties and Foreſts ſtrictly obſerved.

* *Clauſ.* 2. *H.* 3. *P.* 1. *M.* 6. *Dorſ.*

Alſo [4] by another * *Clauſe Roll* of this Year it appears, that on the Sixteenth of *March*, there was a Treaty of Peace between the King's Commiſſioners, and *Llewellyn* Prince of *North-Wales*, who then received into his Cuſtody from *Guallo* the Pope's Legate, the King's Caſtles of *Caermarthen* and *Caerdigan*, with their Lands and all Appurtenances, in the Preſence of *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *William Mareſchal* Earl of *Pembroke*, and many other Biſhops, Earls, and Barons there named, and others not named, to hold and keep them for the King's uſe, until he came of Age, and then they were freely to be delivered to him: He was alſo to hold the King's Courts in theſe Caſtles and Lands, as the King's Bailiff or Deputy, and do Right to the *Engliſh* according to the *Engliſh* Law, and to the *Welſh* according to their own Laws: And for the Performance of theſe things, he gave Pledges or Hoſtages, *Mailgon* the Son of *Rees*, and *Rees* the Son of *Griffin*, and *Mareduc* the Son of *Ren*.

[4] *Vid.* Dr. *B's* Ap. N. 145.

* *Clauſ.* 2. *H.* 3. *M.* 4.

A Treaty of Peace concluded between the K. and the P. of *Wales*, and on what Terms.

This Record is the more Remarkable, becauſe it gives us a greater Light into the Affairs of *Wales*, than [5] the Chronicles themſelves of that Country, which now ſuppoſe that Prince *Llewellyn* having taken the Part of the Barons againſt King *John*, and carrying on the War againſt King *Henry*, his Son, was left out of the Peace lately

[5] Dr. *Powel's* Chron.

A ſhort Account of the *Welſh* Affairs.

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made, and remain'd ſtill *Excommunicated* by the Pope, which tho' it be in great part true, (for this Prince had been *Excommunicated* with the Barons of *England*) yet he had managed his Affairs ſo cunningly, that having had mighty ſucceſs in *South-Wales*, and reduced great part of the Country under his Obedience, he obtain'd what Terms he pleaſed, ſo that by the laſt Articles of Peace made by the Mediation of the Biſhop of *St. Davids* on behalf of the *Flemmings* in *Pembrokeſhire*, all the Inhabitants of that Country, as well as of *Ros*, were to remain that Prince his Subjects; and tho' *William Mareſchal* Earl of *Pembroke*, had ſometime before got the Town of *Caerleon*, and made War againſt the *Welſh*, yet that Prince continuing ſtill Succeſsful, and winning divers Caſtles, and expelling the *Engliſh* that dwelt thereabouts, it is certain, that at this time Prince *Llewellyn* was not only Abſolved from his *Excommunication*, but alſo made his Peace with the King, and that upon very advantageous Terms, as we may obſerve from this Record, as well as the *Welſh* Chronicles.

[1] *Id. ib.*

[2] Dr. B's Ap. N. 146.

* *P.3.H.3.M.6.*

A Common Council of the Kingdom, wherein it is ordain'd, that no Charter ſhall be Seal'd with the K's own Seal till he comes of Age.

The ſame Year was held a Common Council of the whole Kingdom, (tho' the exact time is not mentioned) as appears by a [2] Charter ſtill upon * Record in the *Tower*, commanding that no Letters Patents containing the Confirmation, Alienation, Sale, or Donation of any thing in perpetuity, ſhould be ſealed with the King's Great Seal, untill he were of full Age; and if any ſuch Charter or Letters Patents were ſo made and ſealed, they were notwithſtanding to be void. This Ordinance is witneſſed by *Guallo* the Pope's Legate, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Earl of *Pembroke* Protector, and *Hubert de Burgh*, with Thirteen Biſhops, Nine great Abbots, Eight other Earls, and Fifteen Barons; which by the way ſhews the Reaſon why it is particularly mention'd in ſeveral Charters made in the beginning of this King's Reign, that by reaſon of his being under Age, and not having a Seal of his own, he had Seal'd with that of the Earl-Mareſchal his Protector, as may appear by the Records laſt cited.

[3] *M. P.* p. 301.

The Pope writes the K. a very kind and inſtructive Letter.

[3] About the ſame time alſo the new Pope *Honorius* ſent King *Henry* a very kind and pious Letter, wherein he exhorts him to fear God in his Youth, that he may thereby encreaſe in all Virtue, and that he may eſpecially reverence *Holy Church*, and all its Miniſters; and then concludes with wiſhes for the good Government of his Subjects in Peace and Plenty, but eſpecially that he would keep none but Prudent and Virtuous Men about him; the reſt being only matter of Complement, I omit: This Advice is very Good, and it had been well for this Prince if he had always follow'd it.

[4] *Matt. Weſt.*

Guallo the Pope's Legate leaves *Engl.* and returns to *Rome*, and *Pandulph* ſucceeds him.

[4] This Year *Guallo* the Pope's Legate left *England*, and returned to *Rome* in *Auguſt* or *September*, with a Great Sum of Money; and *Pandulph* Elect of *Norwich* ſucceeded him as Legate, and came to *St. Pauls* in *London* on the *Monday* after the Feaſt of St. *Andrew* next following: Alſo *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having ſtayed beyond Sea till now, return'd into *England*.

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[5] The King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Wincheſter*, where he was provided with all things neceſſary for that Solemnity by the Biſhop of that See; not long after (Peace being now throughly reſtored and eſtabliſhed in *England*) Itinerant Juſtices were ſent through all Counties to revive the antient Laws, and to cauſe the late Charter of King *John* to be ſtrictly obſerved, and then *Hubert de Burgh* was made Juſtitiary of *England:* About the middle of *May* following, *William Mareſchal* Earl of *Pembroke*, deceaſed at *London*, whoſe Body was buried in the Church of the *Knight's-Templars* (now the *Temple* Church) where his Portraiture in a Coat of Mail is ſtill to be ſeen in the middle of the Round. He was a great Commander in War, which was ſufficiently teſtified by his Valour and Conduct in *Ireland* and *Normandy*, but eſpecially in the late Civil Wars in *England*; and that he was alſo as prudent a Councellor in Peace, the late good Succeſs of the King's Affairs, which was chiefly owing to his Conduct, ſufficiently declares; after his Death *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was made Protector, and Govern'd with the ſame Moderation for a time.

[5] *M.P.* p. 304. *Annal. de Waverly.*

Itinerant Juſtices ſent out to revive the ancient Laws, and cauſe K. *John's* Charter to be obſerv'd.

William Earl-Mareſchal deceaſes, and is buried in the *Temple-Church.*

His Character.

[1] As for the Foreign Affairs, *Europe* affords little, only Prince *Lewis*, Son to the King of *France*, after his Return home (to make the Pope ſome amends for his late Undutifulneſs in *England*) reſolved to undertake a *Holy War* againſt the *Albigenſes* of *Tholouſe*, and ſetting down before the City with a great Army, he beſieged it a long time, but all to no purpoſe, for after divers Aſſaults the *French* Army growing weaker and weaker, as well by Famine as a great Mortality of Men and Horſes, and having alſo loſt *Simon* Earl of *Montfort* their General, by the Blow of a Stone from an Engine, which ſtruck him on the Head, the Prince was at laſt forced to raiſe the Siege, and ſo return home with no great Reputation.

[1] *M.P.* p. 309.

Lewis, Son to the K. of *Fr.* makes War againſt the *Albigenſes* of *Tholouſe*, but returns with Diſhonour.

[2] Nor can I omit giving you ſome account of what was done in the *Cruſado*, or Holy War, agreed upon near two years ſince in the late *Lateran* Council. For *John* King of *Jeruſalem*, and the Duke of *Auſtria*, with a great Multitude of People, having the Year before invaded *Egypt*, and beſieged the Caſtle of *Damiata*, lying in the Mouth of the River *Nile*, they at laſt took it, tho' not without much difficulty; then carrying on the Siege to the City it ſelf (notwithſtanding divers endeavours of the *Saracens* to relieve it) it was taken at laſt in the Month of *November* by Storm, with a vaſt Plunder of Gold, Jewels, and other rich Commodities, which were all divided among the Soldiers; but the *Chriſtians* had but a ſmall time to rejoice for this Victory, as you will hear anon.

[2] *Id.* p. 300. *& dein.*

A ſhort Account of what was done this Year againſt the *Saracens* in *Egypt*.

I have nothing more to note at preſent concerning this *Holy War*, [3] but that *Saher de Quincie* Earl of *Wincheſter*, *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, with divers other Barons, now took upon them the *Croſs*, and went this Year towards the *Holy-Land*; the firſt of whom died there, and few of the reſt ever return'd again alive.

[3] *Id.* p. 303.

Many *Engliſh* Noblemen undertake the *Cruſado*.

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[4] *Id.* p. 309. The K. is again ſolemnly Crown'd at *Weſtminſter.* And for what Cauſe.

The K. meets *Alexander* K. of *Scots* at *York.*

[4] King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Marleburgh*, being ſtill under the Protection of *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and at *Whitſuntide* following (being the Seventeenth of *May*, and the Fifth Year of his Reign) he was again ſolemnly Crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, by *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the preſence of the Clergy and Laiety of the whole Kingdom: This Ceremony was renewed, becauſe the former Coronation at *Glouceſter* was not ſo ſolemnly perform'd as it ought to have been, by reaſon of the turbulency of the Times, as alſo for want of a Crown of Gold. But *Walter* of *Coventry* farther informs us, that the King was now Crown'd with St. *Edward's* Crown, and that the Coronation-Oath for maintaining the Laws and Liberties of the Church and Kingdom was again adminiſter'd; after this, at the Feaſt of St. *Barnabas*, the King went on Progreſs into the *North*, and met *Alexander* King of *Scots* at *York*, where a Marriage was agreed upon between the ſaid King and *Joane*, Siſter to King *Henry*; and ſo a Firm Peace being eſtabliſhed between them, the King of *Scots* return'd home, but the Marriage was not conſummated till the Year after.

[5] *Id.* p. 310. The K takes the Caſtle of *Rockingham* from the Earl of *Albemarle*; and the Reaſon why.

[5] Alſo King *Henry* this Year by ſurprize ſeized the Caſtles of *Rockingham* and *Sanney*, againſt the Will of *William* Earl of *Albemarle* who then held them: *Walter* of *Coventry* gives us a particular Account of this Action, to this Effect, That the King (with his Governors) now making his Progreſs about the Kingdom, to ſee who would quietly ſurrender the Caſtles which his Father had committed to their cuſtody, found that through all Places of the Kingdom where he went, he was not denied Entrance into any Caſtle, but that of *Rockingham*, which *William*, the late Earl-Mareſchal, had committed to the Cuſtody of this Earl of *Albemarle*; yet the former had repented his doing it, ſince there aroſe ſuch great Complaints before his Death of the Violence done by thoſe that kept that Caſtle, to all ſorts of Men; wherefore the King laid hold of that Opportunity to remove this Grievance: for ſummoning in the Country to his Aſſiſtance, they preſently join'd with him, hoping now to be delivered from their former Oppreſſions; but when thoſe within the Gariſon ſaw themſelves ſtreighten'd, and being unable to hold out long for want of Proviſions, they quietly ſurrender'd it up to the King's uſe. But this, I ſuppoſe, gave the Earl of *Albemarle* a pretence of falling into a freſh Rebellion, as he did not long afterwards.

[1] *Id.* p. 309. *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln* Canonized.

[1] This Year affords nothing conſiderable in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, but that *Hugh*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who died in the beginning of King *John*'s Reign, was now Canonized for a Saint by the Pope's Bull, in regard of the many Miracles which are ſaid to be done by him.

[2] *Id.* p. 310. The Body of *John Becket* tranſlated into a Shrine of Gold.

[2] Alſo the Body of *Thomas Becket* late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was tranſlated out of its Stone-Coffin in the Vault, (where it was firſt Interr'd) into a rich Shrine made of Gold, and beſet with Precious Stones, at the Charge of *Stephen Langton* his Succeſſor, the King and *Pandulph* the Pope's Legate being preſent, with almoſt all the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, and Clergy of the Kingdom, as likewiſe a vaſt Multitude of Common People, from *France* and other Foreign Parts.

[3] Some-

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[3] Sometime after this, the New Building of the Abbey-Church of *Weſtminſter*, then called the Chapel of St. *Mary*, was began, the King himſelf Laying the Firſt Stone, which has continued ever ſince to our times.

[3] *Ib. M. P. Matt. Weſt.*

The Abbey-Church at *Weſtminſter* began to be new Built.

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King *Henry* at *Chriſtmaſs* kept his Court at *Oxford*, with the Earls and Barons in great Solemnity; [4] when *William de Forz*, Earl of *Albemarle*, ſeeking to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, without the King's knowledge, left the Court, and retired to his Caſtle of *Biham* in *Lincolnſhire*; where after ſome few days, having gather'd together many armed Men, he came in a Hoſtile manner to the Town of *Tenham* and plundered it, and cauſed the Grain of the Chanons of *Bridlington* to be carried into the Caſtle of *Biham*; he likewiſe Plundered the Town of *Deeping*, as alſo ſeveral other Towns in thoſe Parts, and by grievous Torments forced the Inhabitants to redeem themſelves: It was ſaid, That *Faukes de Brent*, *Philip Marc*, *Peter de Maſon*, and *Engelard de Athie*, were the chief Encouragers of this Action; and privately ſent him Men to diſturb the Publick Peace.

[4] *M. P. Ib.*

The Earl of *Albemarle* fortifies himſelf in the Caſtle of *Biham*, and does a great deal of Miſchief in the Countrey adjacent.

Faukes de Brent and others ſuppoſed to have excited him to this Action.

[5] In the mean time, the Great Men of *England* having met the King at *Weſtminſter* to treat of the Affairs of the Kingdom, the Earl of *Albemarle* was ſummoned to appear, and pretending to come, he went privately to the Caſtle of *Fortheringay* in *Northamptonſhire*, which was then held by the Chief Juſtitiary, and having took it, Gariſon'd it with Soldiers, and then return'd to *Biham*-Caſtle, which he new Fortified. But ſo ſoon as the King and Council had heard of this Inſolence, a Great Army was raiſed, and preſently ſent to beſiege the Caſtle; and after ſome time, the Beſieged ſeeing no hopes of Relief or Eſcape, ſubmitted themſelves to the King's Mercy on the Eighth of *February*, who commanded that they ſhould be all kept Priſoners till further Order; at laſt the Earl of *Albemarle* having before eſcaped out of the Caſtle, and withdrawn himſelf ſomewhere elſe, (being now ſenſible of his Folly) was introduced to the King's Preſence by the Archbiſhop of *York*, and at the Interceſſion of *Pandulf* the Legate, the King was reconciled to him, becauſe he had formerly been faithful both to the King his Father and Himſelf; then all the Knights, and other Horſemen or Servants were ſet at Liberty, which afterwards gave Encouragement to others to Rebel, and ſo expect the ſame favour.

[5] *Id. ib.*

The E. of *Albemarl* is ſummon'd to appear before the K. but inſtead of that, he ſeizes *Fotheringay*-Caſtle.

The K. raiſes an Army, and beſieges *Biham* Caſtle, which is ſurrender'd to Mercy.

The E. of *Albemarle* ſubmits himſelf, and is reconciled to the K.

Walter of *Coventry* is ſomewhat more Particular in the Relation of this Rebellion, and ſays, that the Earl had the Confidence upon his Fortifying theſe Caſtles, to ſend his Letters of Safe-Conduct to the Mayors of moſt of the Cities of *England*, whereby he gave them notice, that all Merchants and Tradeſmen might have free Liberty of paſſing by his Caſtles, and of Buying and Selling at them; but GOD diſappointed his Deſign, for the Legate immediately *Excommunicated* the Earl and all his Accomplices, which caſt ſuch a Terror, that none of the Diſcontented Nobility durſt join with him; and thereupon the Earl of *Cheſter*, and other Noblemen, did all they could to mediate a Reconciliation between the King and the Earl, tho' in vain; yet ſeeing himſelf like to be Beſieged, he quitted *Bi-*

Walter of *Coventry*'s more particular Account of this Affair.

ham-Caſtle, and fled into the *North*, where he lay private, till his Peace was made with the King; as is already related.

Anno Dom. MCCXXI.

[1] *M. P.* p. 312. The Prince of *Wales* beſieges the Caſtle of *Buelt*; but raiſes the Siege upon the K's approach. The Great Men grant the K. a Scutage of two Marks every Knight's Fee.

[1] The ſame Year about the Eighth of *September*, *Llewellyn* King of *Wales* with a great Army beſieged the Caſtle of *Buelt*, which belonged to *Reginald de Braouſe*, who ſent to the King, earneſtly craving his Aſſiſtance; and he having got together an Army marched immediately thither, but the *Welſh* raiſed the Siege, and fled at his Approach; then he went onwards towards *Montgomery*, where after he had plundered the *Welſh* and got Forage for his Army, he built *Montgomery*-Caſtle to hinder their Incurſions; for which Expedition the Great Men of the Kingdom granted him a *Scutage* of Two Marks of Silver out of every Knight's-Fee.

[2] *Ib.* p. 313. *Joane* the K's Siſter is married to the K. of *Scots*.

[2] Some time after, *Joane* the King's Siſter was married to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, as it had been lately agreed on at *York*, and not long after *Hubert de Burgh*, Juſticiary of *England*, married the King of *Scot*'s Siſter, by the conſent of both Kings, and the Advice of each Kingdom, as the Chronicle of *Mailroſs* obſerves.

[3] *M. P. Ib.* *William* Biſhop of *London* reſigns his Biſhoprick, and *Euſtace de Faukenbrege* ſucceeds him.

[3] This Year affords very few Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, only *William* Biſhop of *London* reſigning his Biſhoprick, *Euſtace de Faukenbrege*, Treaſurer of the Exchequer, was choſen Biſhop of that See, on the Twenty Seventh of *April*. I take notice of this, to let the Reader obſerve, That all the Great Offices of the King's Revenue were now executed by Churchmen.

[4] *Id. Ib.* p. 313. *M. W.* *Pandulph* the Legate reſigns his Legatine Power.

[4] Alſo *Pandulph* the Legate (his Legatine Commiſſion now expiring) laid down the Enſigns of his Power at *Weſtminſter*, having been firſt Elected Biſhop of *Norwich* at the Pope's Recommendation: Thus the Pope had learned how to reward his Favourites with Fat *Engliſh* Biſhopricks, without any Expence to himſelf.

Anno Dom. MCCXXII.

[5] *Id. Ib.* A Council held at *London* to compoſe the Differences between *Hubert de Burgh* and the Earl of *Cheſter*.

[5] This Year the King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Wincheſter*, where *Peter* Biſhop of that City entertain'd him during that Feſtival. Immediately after the Octaves of *Epiphany*, (as *Walter* of *Coventry* informs us) *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſummon'd moſt of the Biſhops and Great Men of *England* to a Council at *London*, to compoſe ſome Differences between *Hubert de Burgh* the King's Juſticiary, and *William* Earl of *Saliſbury* on the one Part, and *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter* on the other; for it was much ſuſpected, that ſome Foreigners who loved Civil Diſſentions more than Peace, endeavoured to perſuade the Earls laſt mentioned to diſturb it: Wherefore the Archbiſhop pitying the King's tender Years, and Inexperience, with the Conſent of his Suffragan Biſhops threatned to *Excommunicate* all thoſe that ſhould offer to break the Peace of the Kingdom; ſo that by his Mediation both Parties were reconciled. I take notice of this, becauſe it ſhews the great Power of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* at that time, who not only took upon him to ſummon the Biſhops, but the Temporal Lords likewiſe to a Council.

[1] *M. P.* p. 315. A notorious Riot happen'd at *London* on a ſlight Occaſion.

[1] This Summer a Notorious *Riot* happen'd in the City of *London*, upon a very ſlight Occaſion; a great Wreſtling Match was appointed between the Citizens and the Country-People near adjoining, on St. *James*'s Day, wherein the Citizens were Conquerors, which was much ſtomached by the Steward of the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; he therefore appoints another Meeting at *Weſtminſter* on

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the Firſt of *Auguſt* following, where they that got the Better were to have a *Ram* for their Prize, to which the Citizens flocked in great numbers; but ſoon found they had ſomewhat elſe beſides Naked Men to contend with, for the Steward and his Aſſiſtants being armed, came upon them unawares, wounded many, and put the reſt to flight.

[2] Upon this the Citizens returned into the City meditating a Revenge, and met in great Numbers; *Serlo*, the Mayor, hearing of theſe Tumultuous Proceedings, came to them, and adviſed them to make their Complaint of the Injury they had received to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and if he would puniſh the Offenders, to take that for ſufficient Satisfaction; but one *Conſtantine*, Sirnam'd *Fitz-Arnulf*, a Popular Citizen, oppoſed this Method, telling them, the Abbot and his Steward deſerved to have their Houſes pulled down, and levelled with the Ground; this Council was approved of, and endeavoured to be executed by the Rabble, many Houſes being pull'd down, which I take the more notice of, becauſe Dr. *Brady* in his Hiſtory (miſunderſtanding this Paſſage in our Author) writes, as if the Dwelling-Houſe of the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, had been deſtroy'd; whereas our Author (as alſo *Matt. Weſtminſter*) only ſays, *they did the Abbot great damage* in deſtroying ſome of his Houſes, or Tenements.

[2] *Id. Ib.* The Mayor ſtrives to quiet the Tumult, but is oppoſed by one *Conſtantine* a Citizen.

But ſince the Doctor here omits ſomething I think very material, I ſhall add what our Author farther relates of this Story, *viz.* That this *Conſtantine* as he led the *Mob*, cryed with a loud Voice, *Mount-joy, Mount-joy, God help us, and our Lord* Lewis; which Trayterous Speech very much exaſperated the King's Officers, and provoked them to a more ſevere Puniſhment of this Offence: For when *Hubert de Burgh* the Juſtitiary had notice of theſe Riotous Proceedings, * he came to the *Tower* with ſome Troops of Soldiers, and Commanded the Principal Citizens immediately there to appear before him, and inquired who were the Authors of this Sedition, and who they were that durſt preſume to break the King's Peace; *Conſtantine* anſwered, *They had done no leſs than they ought, and that they would ſtand by it*; it ſeems he truſted too much to the Oath which had been mutually ſworn by King *Henry* and Prince *Lewis*, that the Partakers on both ſides ſhould be indemnified; but when the Juſtitiary had heard this inſolent Speech of his, he diſmiſſed all the reſt beſides *Conſtantine* and his Nephew, and one *Geoffrey*, that join'd in *Conſtantine*'s Proclamation, and theſe Three he order'd to be hang'd the next Morning; then *Faukes de Brent* with a ſtrong Guard carried them by Water to the Place of Execution; but when the Rope was about *Conſtantine*'s Neck, he offer'd Fifteen Thouſand Marks of Silver for his Pardon, (for it ſeems he was very rich) tho' it was to no purpoſe, the Execution being perform'd without any Noiſe, or Knowledge of the Citizens.

[3] *Id. Ib.* *Conſtantine* makes a Trayterous Proclamation to ſtir up the Mob.

Hugh de Burgh goes into the *Tower*, and there enquires into the late Riot.

* *Rog. Wen.* MS *in Bib. Cotton.*

Conſtantine juſtifying what he had done is ordered to be Hang'd, together with *Geoffrey* his Nephew, and another Perſon.

Conſtantine at his Execution offers 15000 Marks for a Pardon.

Then the Juſtitiary and *Faukes* (above-mentioned) with a ſtrong Guard of armed Men went into the City, and whomſoever they found guilty of the late Sedition were clapp'd up in Priſon, ſome of them having either their Hands or Feet cut off, were let go; wherefore many being afraid of the like Puniſhments, fled out of the City, and never return'd thither any more: Yet the King was not ſatisfied with all this, but to be revenged upon the Citizens, he turn'd

[4] *Id. ib.* Many others are clapt up in Priſon, and loſe their Hands, or Feet

turn'd out all the Magiſtrates, and put in new ones; *Matt. Weſtminſter* adds, that this over great Severity, and ſudden Execution of ſo many conſiderable Perſons without due form of Law, (though they really deſerved the Puniſhment inflicted on them) render'd the Juſticiary and *Faukes* juſtly odious to the Citizens ever after.

[5] *Id. Ib.* This Execution is afterwards alledged by King *Lewis* as a Pretence, why he would not obſerve the Oath he had made to K. *Henry*.

Nor can I omit, what [5] *Matt. Paris* further inſerts in this Relation, that *Lewis*, when afterwards King of *France*, made the Execution of theſe Traytors a Pretence, why he would not obſerve his Oath to reſtore to King *Henry* his Rights in *France*, alledging, That by the Articles of Peace, the Partakers of *Lewis* (among whom he would have had this *Conſtantine* and his Accomplices included) were to be indemnified, which was a very frivolous Pretence, ſince that Indemnity was intended only to include thoſe who had then taken up Arms againſt King *Henry*, not whoſoever ſhould Rebel againſt him, or raiſe Sedition for the future.

The K. makes Thirty Perſons to become bound for the good Behaviour of the City of *London*.

Immediately after this Riot, and Execution of theſe Incendiaries, the King named Thirty Perſons to be Security or Pledges for the Good Behaviour, Peace, and Faithful Service of the City of *London*, the Community (or Body-Corporate) whereof bound themſelves to the King by Charter, Sealed with their Common Seal, to deliver up thoſe Sureties to the King or Juſticiary, whenever they were called for; and if any of them died, to add others in their ſtead; ſo Arbitrary was the King's Power over the City of *London* in thoſe times. This is mention'd by no Hiſtorian, but the Recognizance is found upon *Record in the *Tower*, and is printed at large in the †Doctor's *Appendix*.

**Rot. Pat.* 7. *H.* 3. *M.* 5.
† No. 147.

[1] *M P. Ib.* A Synod held at *Oxford*, and what was done there.

[1] As for Eccleſiaſtical Matters, *Stephen*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, held this Year a General Synod of the Clergy at *Oxford*, in which many things were decreed for the Reformation of the *Engliſh* Church and Monaſtick Diſcipline, which being wholly Eccleſiaſtical, I refer the Reader to Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Second Volume of Councils.

[2] *Id. ib.* Two Impoſtors condemn'd to be immur'd between four Walls.

[2] At this Synod a Man was ſeized and conven'd before them, who had made upon his Body certain Marks or Wounds like thoſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom he alſo pretended to be; This wicked Impoſtor, being brought before the Biſhops aſſembled in this Council at *Oxford*, (according to *Matt. Weſtminſter*, or as *Matt. Paris* ſays, tho' not ſo likely, at *Canterbury*) was by them condemn'd to be immur'd till Death between four Walls; as was alſo a Woman who called her ſelf *Mary* his Mother.

[3] *Id.* p. 313. An Account of the Defeat of the Chriſtian Army in *Egypt*.

If we look into Foreign Parts, we find [3] from a Letter which *Philip de Albiney* (being then in the *Holy-Land*) wrote this Year to *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, who was now return'd from thence, that after the taking of the City of *Damiata*, the Chriſtian Army, under the King of *Jeruſalem* and Duke of *Auſtria*, would needs go from thence to find out the Sultan of *Babylon*, who lay Encamped a Day's march up the River *Nile*, which there divided it ſelf into two Branches, (and was then upon its Increaſe) whereupon the Sultan opening a Chanel that join'd the two Rivers, let the Waters in upon them, inſomuch that they ſtood up above the Knees, whereby their Proviſions were all ſpoiled; and this reducing them to almoſt a ſtarving Condition, the Chriſtian Princes were forced to make a Truce with the Sultan for Eight Years, and to ſet at Liberty all the

Slaves they had taken; and all the Advantage they received by it, was, that the *Sarazens* were likewiſe to ſet free their *Chriſtian* Slaves, and to deliver up that which was ſuppoſed to be part of the True Croſs, into the hands of the *Chriſtians*; as does further appear by [4] another Letter from *P. de Mountacute*, Maſter of the *Templars*, to the Prior of the ſame Order in *England*.

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[4] *Id.* p.312.

[5] This Year the King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Oxford*, and on the Thirteenth of *January* met his Barons in a Council or * Parliament at *London*; where the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and other Great Men requeſted, That he would be pleaſed to confirm the Liberties and Free Cuſtoms, for which the War was begun with his Father; urging moreover, that when Prince *Lewis* departed from *England*, both He and all the Nobility of the Kingdom had ſworn to obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved all thoſe Liberties, and therefore the King could not in Reaſon and Juſtice refuſe to do it; whereupon *William Briwere*, one of the King's Councellors, replied, *That the Liberties they deſired were violently extorted, and therefore ought not to be obſerved*; but the Archbiſhop being much provoked at this reproved him, ſaying, *If he loved the King, he would not hinder the Peace of the Kingdom:* The King ſeeing the Archbiſhop ſo moved, aſſured him, that he had bound himſelf by Oath to preſerve their Liberties, and what he had ſworn to ſhould be obſerved; and having called his Council, he forthwith ſent his Letters to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom, to make Enquiry by the Oath of Twelve Knights, or Legal Men in every County, what were the Liberties of *England*, in the time of King *Henry* his Grandfather, and to ſend a return thereof to *London* Fifteen Days after *Eaſter*; So that if the King had been as Obſtinate and Unadviſed as his Father, this Man's Advice might have produced another Civil War; but ſo long as he hearkned to the Council of this Archbiſhop, all things went well with him: yet when he began to give Ear to ſtrangers, (as he did ſome years after) nothing followed but perpetual Quarrels, which at laſt produced Civil Wars and Confuſion, as you will hear in due time.

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[5] *Id. Ib.*

* *Colloquium.*

A Council, or Parliament, where the Great Men demand a Confirmation of the Liberties granted by the King's Father.

The K. conſents to do it, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of *William Briwere*, and thereupon iſſues his Writs to all the Sheriffs of *England*, to inquire and certifie what they were.

Yet the Contents of the Writ it ſelf (which directs this Inquiſition) do in ſome things differ from this Report of *Matt. Paris*; for according to this Writ, the Sheriffs were commanded to make Enquiry by the Oath of Twelve of the moſt Legal and Diſcreet Knights of their Counties, in a full County-Court, what Cuſtoms and Liberties King *John* his Father had granted the day in which the War began between him and his Barons, concerning Lands and other Things, within Burghs and without, and to cauſe them to be proclaimed, and obſerved in their Counties; and ordered this Inquiſition and Writ to be return'd to the King at *Weſtminſter*, on the Morrow of the cloſe of *Eaſter*; which Writ is ſtill upon * Record in the Tower.

The Writ ſtill extant upon Record gives light to, and confirms the Hiſtory, though it differ ſomewhat from it.

* *Rot. Clauſ.* 7 *H.* 3. *M.* 14. *Dorſ.*

This Year alſo (as *Walter* of *Coventry* informs us) there was a *Poll-Tax* granted in a Common-Council of the whole Kingdom, for the Succours of the *Holy-Land*; for every Earl Three Marks, for every Baron One Mark, for every Knight Twelve Pence, and from all that had Houſes One Penny. I take the more notice of this,

Vid. Dr. B's Append. N. 149.

The Common Council grant a General Tax for the Relief of the *Holy-Land*.

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this, becauſe it is mention'd in no other Author; but whether this Council were the ſame in which there happen'd that Diſpute about the Confirmation of the Great Charter, I ſhall not determine; though it ſeems more likely to be another more General, and to which the Commons were likewiſe ſummon'd, as appears by thoſe who gave this Benevolence, being all ſorts and degrees of Perſons in *England*.

[1] M.P. p. 317. *Llewellyn* Pr. of *Wales* takes the Caſtles of the Earl-Mareſchal, and uſes great Cruelty to the *Engliſh*.

The Mareſchal returns out of *Ireland*, retakes his Caſtles, and revenges the Injuries done by *Llewellyn*.

[1] Sometime after, whilſt *William Mareſchal* Earl of *Pembroke*, (Eldeſt Son of the former, deceaſed) was taken up in making War in *Ireland*, and ſubduing *Hugh de Lacy* and others to the King's Obedience, *Llewellyn* Prince of *Wales* laying hold of this Opportunity, took two of his Caſtles, and cutting off the Heads of all the *Engliſh* put *Welſhmen* into their Places: The Mareſchal having notice of what was done, return'd with great ſpeed into *England*, and forthwith Beſieged thoſe Caſtles, and retook them, and ſerved the *Welſh* in the ſame manner as had been done to the *Engliſh* before, and then marched into *Llewellyn*'s Country, waſting all with Fire and Sword; and totally defeated the *Welſh*, by killing and taking Priſoners about Nine Thouſand, except a few who made their eſcape by flight.

The *Welſh* Chronicles give a different Account of this War.

But the *Welſh* Chronicle (put forth by Dr. *Powel*) relates this Expedition far otherwiſe, and makes it to have ended much to the advantage of the Prince of *Wales*; for he ſays, That *William* Earl Mareſchal coming from *Ireland*, landed at *St. David*'s with a great Army, and preſently laid Siege to the Caſtles of *Abertivie* and *Caerdigan*, and took them without any Reſiſtance, and from thence marching to *Caermarden*, likewiſe took that; which when Prince *Llewellyn* heard, he was much diſpleaſed at it, and ſent *Griffyth* his Son to put a Stop to the Earl's Succeſs; ſo he paſſing the River *Tivie* at *Caermarden*, was met there by *Griffyth*, who gave him Battel; but this proved very doubtful, for it laſted till Night, and then both Parties retreating, left the River between them; and after they had layn ſo for ſome time, *Griffyth* was fain to return home for want of Proviſions his Army conſiſting of near Nine thouſand Foot; Upon this the Earl went to *Kilgarren*, and there began to build a ſtrong Caſtle; preſently after which, receiving Letters from the King to come to ſpeak with him, he went away by Sea, and left his Army to finiſh the Work he had begun.

Then the King and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being at *Ludlow*, ſent for the Prince of *Wales*, and would fain have brought him and the Earl to a Reconciliation, but that could not be effected, and ſo they parted; but when the Earl would have paſſed to *Pembroke* by Land with the Forces of the Earl of *Derby*, and *Henry Pygot*, Lord of *Ewyas*, the Prince ſent his Son to keep the Paſſage at *Carnwylhion*, and he himſelf came as far as *Mabedryd*.

The Earl Underſtanding this, return'd back to *England*, and the Prince went into *North-Wales*: But I could have wiſhed that ſome of theſe Authors would have told us the Reaſon of Prince *Llewellyn*'s beginning this War, which appears to have been done without any, or but very ſmall Provocation.

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The *Welſh* Pr. not long after concludes a Peace with K. *Henry*, and on what Terms.

But it ſeems, for all this relation of the *Welſh-Chronicle*, this Prince was ſometime after ſenſible of the Injury he had done the King, and ſo at length prevail'd to be reconciled to him, as appears by his Charter ſtill upon * Record in the *Tower*, and is cited by Dr. *Brady*, to this Effect, *viz.* That he had ſworn to give ſatisfaction to his Lord *Henry* King of *England*, and his People, within a reaſonable Time, to be prefixed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for the Damage done them by his People, from the Day of the taking of the Caſtle of *Kynardeſly* unto the Day of his Abſolution; That is to ſay, *Saturday* the Seventeenth of *October*, in the Seventh Year of King *Henry*'s Reign; and for the Performance hereof there were bound with him *Mareduc* the Son of *Robert*, and ſeveral others; with which Record agrees **Walter Hemingford*'s Chronicle, which ſays, that this Prince *Llewellyn* finding himſelf too weak to maintain a War againſt King *Henry*, now deſired Peace, and it was granted him upon condition, that the Great Men of his Dominion ſhould do the King Homage, and that he ſhould quit his Right for ever in thoſe Caſtles with their Appurtenances which *William* the Earl-Mareſchal had lately taken from him; and alſo he obliged himſelf to make ſatisfaction for the Damage he had done the King's Subjects, and that for the Performance of theſe Articles he gave Hoſtages of the moſt Noble Perſons in his Country.

* *Rot. Pat. 7 H. 3. M. 2. Dorſ. Cant.*

* p. 532.

[2] *M. P.* p. 317. The Death of *Philip* King of *France*: His Character.

[2] This Year about the Feaſt of St. *Peter ad Vincula*, deceaſed *Philip* II. King of *France*, of a Feaveriſh Diſtemper, after a long Reign of Forty four Years. He was a Prince of great Prudence, Courage and Conduct, and was an equal Match in all thoſe reſpects with *Henry* and *Richard*, late Kings of *England*; and as much Superior to King *John* and his Son the preſent King *Henry*, as a Man perfect in Military and Civil Affairs could be, to the Former that was abſolutely devoted to his own Will and Pleaſure, and to the Other, as he was deſtitute of Prudence, Courage and Power: Therefore it is no great wonder if he extended his Territories farther than any of his Succeſſors were able to do for a long time after.

For though I grant that divers of them have carried their Conqueſts as far as *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Low-Countreys*, yet they have for the greateſt part of them proved meer Temporary Acquiſitions, either recovered by Force, or elſe reſtored upon Treaties, to their right Owners, after long and expenſive Wars.

And though the *French* Writers do give this Prince the title of *Auguſtus*, yet it is evident that when the *Lyon*'s Skin alone would not ſerve turn, he knew how to make it out with that of the *Fox*, doing more by Subtilty, Breach of Faith, and taking all manner of Advantages, than by down right Force and Power; which methods of Grandeur have been alſo follow'd by ſome of his Succeſſors, for the truth of which the Reader may conſult the Hiſtories of Antient as well as Modern Times. But to return again to the Subject we were treating of.

[3] *Id. ib.* The K. ſends to *Lewis* the New King of *France*, to demand Reſtitution of his Dominions there, but receives no ſatisfactory Anſwer.

[3] When the King had notice of *Philip*'s Death, he ſent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with Three other Biſhops to *Lewis* his Son, to demand the Reſtitution of *Normandy*, with all other his tranſmarine Dominions, according to his Oath when he left *England*; To this the *French* King anſwered, That he was juſtly poſ-

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ſeſſed of *Normandy* and thoſe other Dominions and Territories, and was ready to make it appear in his own Court, if the King of *England* would come thither, and ſtand to the Law; adding, That the King of *England* had alſo violated his Oath in putting thoſe of his Party whom he had taken at *Lincoln* to a grievous Ranſom; and likewiſe that thoſe Liberties, for which the War was begun, and which were granted and ſworn to at his departure, were not obſerved: Upon this, the Archbiſhops and Biſhops perceiving they could obtain no other anſwer, return'd into *England*, and gave the King an account of it.

Rad. de Cog. gives ſomewhat a different Account of this Tranſaction.

But *Rad. de Coggeſhal* gives us ſomewhat a different Account of this Tranſaction; as that upon this Ambaſſy, the King of *France* deſired time to give his Anſwer to theſe demands, till Eight days after the Feaſt of *All Saints*; and then at the time appointed, the King ſent two other Biſhops, (*viz. Pandulph*, the late Legate and now Biſhop of *Norwich*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*,) to receive his final Anſwer; but when they came into King *Lewis*'s Preſence, and renewed their Demands, he ſeemed very much diſpleaſed, and alledged, That King *John*, the Father of *Henry*, had been deprived of all his Dominions in *France* for many juſt Cauſes, by the Sentence of all the Peers and Barons of that Kingdom; and alſo added divers Threats againſt King *Henry* himſelf, if he offer'd to perſiſt in thoſe Demands Which of theſe Two anſwers is neareſt to Truth, I ſhall not diſpute; only it plainly ſhews, that no Oath, though never ſo ſolemnly taken, (particularly when it concerns ſomewhat to be done in a time that ſeems remote) is able to bind Princes to act contrary to their preſent Intereſts, eſpecially when the General Good of their Kingdom is alſo concerned, as it was in this Caſe.

[4]
M P. p.318.
Many of the Great Men are highly diſpleaſed with *Hubert de Burgh* the Juſtitiary, and on what Grounds.

[4] This Year many of the Great Men of *England* made mighty Complaints againſt *Hubert de Burgh* the Juſtitiary, alledging, That he exaſperated the King againſt them, and did not duly adminiſter Juſtice; but that which more eſpecially provoked them, was, that thoſe Meſſengers he had ſent to *Rome*, were return'd with a Bull from the Pope, directed to the Archbiſhops of *England*, and their Suffragans, declaring the King to be of full Age, and that all the Affairs of the Kingdom ſhould be managed by Him and his Council; the Bull it ſelf was to this Effect, ‘That by the ‘Pope's Apoſtolick Authority, they ſhould declare to the Earls, Ba‘rons, Knights, and all Others who had the Cuſtody of the King's ‘Caſtles, Honours and Towns, that upon ſight of thoſe Letters they ‘forthwith ſhould ſurrender them to the King; and whoever refuſed, ‘they ſhould compel them by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. But notwithſtanding this Bull, the greateſt Part of the Earls and Barons (although admoniſhed by the Biſhops) did not render up their ſeveral Truſts, but conſpired together to put themſelves in Arms, to diſturb the Peace of the Nation, rather than give the King ſatiſfaction in the Premiſſes.

Some other Cauſes of the Great Mens Diſpleaſure againſt the Juſtitiary, but chiefly becauſe he had over-reach'd them.

The Abbot of *Coggeſhal* agrees with this for the moſt part, bnt adds further, That *Hubert de Burgh* the Juſtitiary, preſuming too much upon the King's Favour, carried himſelf very ſeverely in his Acts and Judgments toward the other Noblemen of the Kingdom, who be-

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ing thereupon extremely incenſed againſt him, did all they could to prevail with the King to remove him from his Place; Whereupon to give them ſome ſatisfaction, he took a Politick Courſe, and preſently demanded of his Juſtitiary the Cuſtody of thoſe Caſtles which he had received from him, ſuch as were that of *Dover* and the *Tower* of *London*, yet on this Condition, that the reſt of the Barons and Conſtables of Caſtles, ſhould in like manner deliver up the Cuſtody of their Caſtles into his Hands; which being ſurrender'd by moſt of them, the King reſtored to *Hubert de Burgh* all his ſaid Governments, but left the others deprived of theirs: This cauſed ſuch great Heart-burnings in the Barons againſt Him, that moſt of them forthwith withdrew themſelves from Court; which if it were true, though this Undutifulneſs of the Barons is no ways to be juſtified, yet certainly the King contributed very much toward it, by dealing thus Artificially and Partially with them: But this Method produced the like Effects, as ſuch ſeeming wiſe Councils commonly do, to compoſe things for the preſent, and afterwards make them ten times worſe. This Year does not produce any thing elſe conſiderable in *England*, only that *John de Brenne*, the Titular King of *Jeruſalem*, having had ill ſucceſs in *Egypt*, as you have already heard, came into *England*, to implore the King's aſſiſtance to recover his Territories in the *Holy-Land*.

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[5] The next Year the King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Northampton*, together with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and his Suffragans, and a great number of Military Men; but the Earl of *Cheſter* with his Faction kept that Feaſt at *Leiceſter*, ſwelling againſt, and threatning both the King and the Juſtitiary, becauſe he was commanded to deliver up the Caſtles and Lands he held in his Cuſtody: Whereupon the day following, the Archbiſhop and his Suffragans *Excommunicated* in general Terms all Diſturbers of the King and Kingdom, and Invaders of the Church, or its Rights, and then gave notice to the Earl of *Cheſter* and his Accomplices, that unleſs the next Day they reſigned into the King's Hands all the Caſtles and Honours, that belonged to the Crown, they ſhould all be *Excommunicated* by Name, as the Pope had commanded: Then the Earl, and thoſe that were with him, fearing the King's Power, and dreading the Church's Cenſures, came to *Northampton*, ſubmitted themſelves, and render'd the Caſtles and Honours that were in their Cuſtody into the King's Hands; However theſe Barons Indignation was not appeaſed, becauſe the Juſtitiary continued ſtill in his Office.

[5] *M.P.* p. 319. The Earl of *Cheſter* and divers of his Faction going about to diſturb the publick Peace, the Biſhops threaten to *Excommunicate* him with all his Adherents.

Of which Sentence they being afraid, ſubmit themſelves, and ſurrender their Caſtles.

The chief Authors of this Diſturbance were the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Albemarle*, *John* Conſtable of *Cheſter*, *Faukes de Brent* with his Caſtellans, *Robert de Vipont*, and ſeveral other Barons, who, being unwilling to reſign what they had unjuſtly acquired, endeavour'd to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom.

[1] *Lewis* King of *France* being encouraged by theſe Domeſtick Diſſentions, declared War againſt King *Henry* on this Pretence, (as [2] the *French* Hiſtorians relate) That whereas *Aquitain* was held of the Crown of *France* by Homage, *Henry* of *England* being not hinder'd by Sickneſs, nor other neceſſary Occaſions, had neither appeared at K. *Lewis*'s Coronation, nor excuſed himſelf by

[1] *M.P.* p. 320. The *French* K. makes War upon K. *Henry*.

[2] *Paul. Aemil. in Lud.* 8.

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And takes *Rochel.*

[3] Vid *Hiſt. Anon. Regis Lud. Franc.* Vol.4. p. 399.

by his Ambaſſadors, as he ought in Duty to have done; yet this was but a Pretence to pick a Quarrel, for he made no ſuch Demand when King *Henry*'s Ambaſſadors were lately with him: But finding indeed that he had him now at an Advantage, he refuſed to reſtore what his Father had unjuſtly Conquered, and raiſing a vaſt Army Invaded *Xantoigne*, and Beſieged *Rochel*, offering the Citizens a great Sum of Money to ſurrender the Town, and ſwear Allegiance to him; the *Rochellers* ſeeing themſelves forſaken by the King of *England*, conſented to it, and delivered it up to the *French* King, who placing a Gariſon therein, return'd home without ſhedding one drop of Blood. Thus was that brave City, the Key of that Part of *Poictou*, loſt, for want of a ſufficient and ſpeedy Relief: Yet ſome of our own (as well as the [3] *French*) Hiſtorians alſo relate, that *Savary de Maleon* defended it very gallantly for a long time, and the latter alſo tell us, (what it ſeems ours do not) that he finding himſelf deluded by the Miniſters of the King of *England*, (who inſtead of Money to pay the Gariſon, ſent him a Barrel full of *Old Iron*) was obliged to ſurrender the Town on the Twenty Eighth of *July*, and that afterwards he was like to be queſtion'd, as if he had delivered it by Treachery; but not being willing to anſwer this Accuſation in *England*, where he had ſo many Enemies, he quitted King *Henry*'s Service, and went over to the King of *France*, which is alſo confirm'd by ſome of our own Hiſtorians.

[4] *M. P. ib.*

* *Colloquium.*

A Parliament at *Northampton*, where the K. taking advice to recover his loſt Dominions is diſturbed by the Rebellion of *Faukes de Brent*; with the Occaſion of it.

[4] Then on the *Octaves*, that is, Eight days after *Trinity*, the King at a Council or *Parliament at *Northampton*, met the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and many others, to treat about the Affairs of the Kingdom, as alſo to take the Advice of his Great Men concerning his Dominions beyond Sea, which the King of *France* had ſeized on, but the following Rebellious practice broke thoſe Meaſures; for at that time *Martin de Patteſhulle*, *Thomas de Muleton*, and *Henry de Braibrock* the King's Juſtices Itinerant, ſitting at *Dunſtable* upon Pleas of *Novel-Diſſeiſin*, no leſs than Thirty Verdicts were found againſt *Faukes de Brent*, in Tryals for Lands unjuſtly taken from their Owners, for which Violences he was Fined an Hundred Pounds to the King; which when *Faukes* was informed of he was ſo much Incenſed at it, that immediately he Fortified his Caſtle at *Bedford*, and from thence ſent out his Brother with ſome Armed Men to take the Juſtices, and bring them thither Priſoners; but they having notice of his Deſign, two of them made their Eſcape, only *Henry de Braibrock* was taken in his Flight, and being cruelly handled was kept Priſoner in the ſaid Caſtle, till it was taken. *Matt.* of *Weſtminſter* farther relates, That *Faukes de Brent* was then in ſecret Confederacy with the King of *France*, and raiſed this Diſturbance on purpoſe to hinder King *Henry*'s intended Expedition thither; but this is not likely, ſince that King was ſo far from rewarding him for this Action, that he clapt him up in Priſon, ſo ſoon as he came over, as you will find anon.

[5] *Id. Ib.*

The K. and his great Council reſolve to reduce the Caſtle by Force.

[5] But this is certain, That the King and his Great Council, being highly Diſpleaſed at this Inſolence and Violence done to his Juſtitiary, unanimouſly reſolved to lay aſide all other Buſineſs, and by force of Arms to reduce the Caſtle; but firſt the King's Meſſengers ſummoned them within to ſurrender it, and were anſwered by

William

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William de Brent, (*Faukes* his Brother, *That they did not look upon themſelves obliged to deliver it, unleſs they were Commanded by their Lord ſo to do, becauſe they were not bound by Homage and Fealty to the King:* This Sawcy Anſwer ſo highly exaſperated him, that he ordered the Caſtle to be immediately Beſieged, and threatned (if it was taken by Storm) not to ſpare one Man; whereupon the Archbiſhop and Biſhops *Excommunicated Faukes* and all that were Gariſon'd with him in the Caſtle; but neither the King's Threats, nor the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, could for a good while prevail with them to yield: But at laſt after many Attacks and Batteries with Warlike Engines uſed againſt it, and the loſs of a great many Mens Lives on both ſides, the Caſtle was ſurrender'd to diſcretion, after Nine Weeks Siege.

The beſieged refuſing to deliver it are *Excommunicated.*

The Caſtle is ſurrender'd after nine Weeks Siege, and *Henry de Braibrock* is ſet free.

[1] *Id. ib.*

[1] Upon this *Henry de Braibrock*, who was all this time kept a Priſoner in the Caſtle, was ſet at Liberty; but thoſe that were taken Priſoners, being Four and Twenty in all, both Knights and Eſquires, were hanged for their Rebellion in holding out ſo long, of whom *William de Brent* the Brother of *Faukes* was Chief: and then the King cauſed the Caſtle to be razed to the Ground, ſo that of all that Strong and Noble Structure, no ſign except the Mount remains at this Day; but the Scite and Lands about it were reſtored to *William de Beauchamp*, who lay'd claim to it: As for *Faukes*'s Wife, the Lady *Margaret Rivers*, ſhe together with her young Son *Thomas* having no ways conſented to his Crime, was committed to the Cuſtody of the Earl of *Warren*.

William de Brent, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality are Executed.

[2] *Id.* p. 322.

The K. has a Scutage granted him by the Great Council for late Expences.

[2] There happen'd nothing elſe worth noting during this Siege; but that at this Great Council held at *Bedford*, the King had granted him for his late great Labour and Expences, as well from the Prelates, as Lay-men, throughout *England*, a *Carucage* of Two Shillings on each Plough-Land, and then the King granted to the Great Men to take *Scutage*, (*viz.*) from every * Knight's-Fee held of them Two Marks; and ſo they all return'd home well enough content.

* *Scuto.*

How the Clergy then Taxed themſelves and their Military Tenants.

But *Walter* of *Coventry*, who is more exact in his Account of this Tax, in Relation to the Clergy, tells us, That *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Suffragans, with all the Abbots, that then appeared, granted out of each Plough-Land of the Biſhops and Abbots that held by Barony, as alſo of their *Tenants, half a Mark; and of each Plough-Land held by Abbots and Priors, who did not hold by Barony, and their *Tenants, Two Shillings; and leſt any undue Cuſtom might ariſe by reaſon of this great Tax, the King granted to them all a Charter under his Seal, wherein he recited the ſaid Grant, and promiſed, That it ſhould not be drawn into Example for the future.

* *Hominum Suorum.*

I have been the more Exact in this Relation, becauſe it gives us a great Light into the Manner of giving Taxes and Aids in thoſe Days.

[3] *Id. ib.* R.C.

A farther Account of the Cauſe of *Faukes*'s late Rebellion.

But to give you ſome further Account of [3] this *Faukes de Brent*; you muſt underſtand, that he had been encouraged underhand by ſome of the Barons, to run into this Rebellion, upon promiſe that they would fall-in and join with him; but they failing him, he was at the beginning of the Siege gone into *Cheſhire* and *Wales*, to raiſe more Men; nor had thoſe in the Caſtle held out ſo long, had not they expected ſpeedy Aſſiſtance from him; but when

he

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Who at laſt ſurrenders himſelf to the King's Mercy.

he ſaw he could raiſe no Forces, and heard that his Caſtle was taken, he then by the Interceſſion of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Coventry*, was introduced into the King's Preſence at *Northampton*, where falling down at his Feet, he emplored his Mercy, urging his great Services to the King and his Father in the late Wars; and thereupon the King, by the Advice of his Great Council, (having firſt ſeized all his Caſtles, Lands, and Goods) committed him to the Cuſtody of *Euſtace* Biſhop of *London*, till further Order, where we ſhall leave him for a time.

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[4] M.P. p. 321.

* *Et Populo cum Magnatibus Regionis.*

The K. holds a Great Council, wherein he demands an Aid to recover his loſt Dominions beyond Sea

They grant the K. a *Fifteenth* of all their Goods, on condition he would confirm the Great Charter, which he agrees to.

[4] This Year being the Ninth of King *Henry*'s Reign, he kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Weſtminſter*, the Clergy, and *People, with the Great Men of the Kingdom, being all there attending: In this full Aſſembly *Hugh de Burgh* the King's Juſtitiary, declared the Damages and Injuries the King ſuſtained in his Dominions beyond Sea, whereby not only He, but alſo ſeveral Earls and Barons were outed of their Poſſeſſions, and ſeeing many were concern'd, the Aſſiſtance ought to be proportionable; therefore told them, the King required their Council and Aid, that the Royalties of the Crown, and their antient Rights, might be recovered; for the retrieving of which, he thought the *Fifteenth* Part of all Moveables, both of Eccleſiaſticks and Laicks might be ſufficient: This being propounded, the Archbiſhops, and all the Biſhops, Earls, Barons, Abbots, and Priors, after ſome deliberation, return'd the King this Anſwer, *That they would readily gratifie his Deſires, if he would again confirm their long deſired Liberties:* Hereupon the King agreeing to the Requeſt of his Great Men, many Charters were forthwith wrote, and Sealed with the King's Seal, and one of them directed to every County in *England*; and to the Counties wherein were Foreſts, there were ſent two; One, concerning their *Common Liberties*, the other concerning the *Liberties of the Foreſts*. The Tenor of both theſe Charters (our Author tells us) is to be found in the Hiſtory of King *John*, both being exactly alike. But that they differ in divers Particulars, I ſhall ſhew when I come to ſpeak further of this Charter, at the end of King *Henry*'s Reign.

A farther Account of the manner of granting this Aid to the K.

I muſt here take notice of what the Annals of *Waverly* farther add, *viz.* That for this Grant and Conceſſion the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Freeholders of the whole Kingdom, Gave and Granted to the King a *Fifteenth* Part of all their Moveables; and that the Monks of the *Ciſtercian* Order (of which the Writer of theſe Annals was) gave the King Two thouſand Marks of Silver, as well for the Confirmation of their Liberties, as for his Favour and Good Will; likewiſe that the *Jews* in *England* preſented him with Five thouſand Marks at the ſame time.

The Perſons that appeared at this Great Council.

* *Tractatu diffuſiore, cum Clero & Popul.*

Walter of *Coventry* is alſo very particular in the Relation of this Tax that was now granted in this Council or Parliament, which, was held at *London* at *Candlemaſs*; where met not only the Great, Men, but, as he ſays, a *Larger Aſſembly of both Clergy and People, who were then ſummon'd; wherein the King granted the Liberties both of Church and Kingdom, as alſo thoſe of Foreſts, as his Charters ſent into the ſeveral Counties do teſtifie more at large; and that there was then granted by the Barons, Clergy, and People there preſent a *Fifteenth* of all their moveable Goods by their Common Aſſent, beſides thoſe that belonged to Churches.

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[5] This Affair the Pope himſelf very much promoted, writing a Letter or Brief to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and other Clergy; commanding them to grant a voluntary Competent Aid to the King; but yet with a *Saving Clauſe*, that it ſhould not be drawn into Example. Then our Author proceeds to tell us, what Things were excepted out of this Grant, (*viz.*) their Horſes, Ploughs, Arms, and Houſhold Utenſils; as alſo their Jewels and neceſſary Proviſions for Houſe-keeping; the Clergy alſo excepted their Books, and the Treaſure or Ornaments of their Churches; but that none of any Sex or Condition were excepted from payment, but only the Orders of the *Ciſtercians* aud *Præmonſtrants*, with the *Knights-Templars* and *Hoſpitallers*; alſo that all *Merchants or Tradeſmen gave a *Fifteenth* of all their Merchandiſe or Commodities, (their Houſhold Goods and Proviſions only excepted;) Upon this the Archbiſhop and Biſhops *Excommunicated* all thoſe, who ſhould commit any Fraud in the Raiſing, or Hinderance in Payment of this Fifteenth, the one Moiety of which, was to be paid at the Feaſt of the *Holy Trinity*, and the other Moiety at *Michaelmaſs* following.

[5] *Id. Ib.* The Pope himſelf promoted this Grant to the King by the Clergy, with a *Proviſo* that it ſhould not be drawn into Example.

*Mercatores.

But beſides this *Fifteenth*, it ſeems before the Year was out, the King had need of a Subſidy from the Clergy, which they being unwilling to grant, Pope *Honorius* the *Third* ſent over a Bull (at the King's earneſt Deſire) whereby he commands the Biſhops and Clergy to grant him a ſufficient Supply for his preſent Occaſions, as appears by the Bull it ſelf, which is upon *Record in the *Tower*; but whether they did then comply with the Pope's Commands or no, I know not; nor can I find any thing more given by the Clergy till near two Years after.

The K. demands another Subſidy from the Clergy, before the End of the Year.

Rot. Pat. 1. *H.* 3. *Pars.* 1. *Dorſ.* Printed in *Prynn*'s 2d Vol. of Papal Uſurp. *p.* 396

[1] Then a Day was ſet, being a Month after *Eaſter*, for the Choice of Twelve Knights, (being Legal Men out of each County, that is, ſuch as were fit to be Impanelled on Juries) who upon Oath ſhould diſtinguiſh and ſever the New Foreſts from the Old ones; and whatever Foreſts were found to be made after the firſt Coronation of *Henry* the *Second*, were forthwith to be dis-foreſted: The Council being ended, the Great Charters were carried to every County, by the King's Command, and every one ſworn to obſerve them; the way and manner of Levying this *Fifteenth* was directed by the King; and becauſe it was very particular, and worth noting how *Fifteenths* were Taxed in thoſe times, I refer the Reader to the *Record it ſelf, as it is printed in Dr. *Brady*'s Appendix, ſince it is too prolix to bear any Abridgment.

[1] *M.P.* p. 321. Twelve Kts. appinted to ſet out the New Foreſts from the Old Ones.

*N. 150.

[2] On *Candlemaſs-Day* following the King Knighted his Brother *Richard*, and Ten Noblemen with him, and then made him Earl of *Cornwall* and *Poictou*; in the Spring he ſent him accompanied with *William* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *Philip de Albiney*, and Sixty Knights into *Gaſcoigny*, and he arriving at *Bourdeaux* on *Palm-Sunday*, was honourably received by the Archbiſhop and Citizens there. Then Earl *Richard* opened to them the King's Letters, in which he deſired all thoſe that bore Allegiance to him in thoſe Countries, to give their Aid and Advice to his ſaid Brother, for the Recovery of his loſt Dominions; upon this a great many Knights and Soldiers reſorted to, and received Wages from

[2] *Id. ib.* *Richard* the K's Brother is made Earl of *Cornwall*, and ſent over with *William* Earl of *Saliſbury* into *Poictou*, to recover the King's loſt Dominions.

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He raiſes an Army, and marches into *Gaſcoigny*, and there reduces ſeveral Caſtles to the King's Obedience.

him, and then he marched with a great Army through *Gaſcoigny*, and ſeized the Caſtles of ſuch as refuſed to do Homage, and ſwear Fealty to King *Henry*, and when he met with any Oppoſition, he reduced them by Force; ſo that in a ſhort time he ſubdued all that Country, having firſt obtained a great Victory over the Earl of *Marche*, who was ſent by the King of *France* to raiſe the Siege of *La Reoule*-Caſtle.

[3] * Vol. 4. *Script. France* p. 399.

The *French* Hiſtorians relate this Expedition more to the Advantage of their own King.

[3] But an Anonymous Author of K. *Lewis* the Eighth's Reign, as alſo * *Rigord* relates this Expedition much otherwiſe, and the latter *French* Hiſtorians follow them; for they ſay, That *Richard*, Brother to this King of *England*, landing at *Bourdeaux* with Three hundred ſail of Ships, marched out, and beſieged the Caſtle of *St. Macharius*, which being taken, he went forward to the Town of *La Reoule*; but that making a long and vigorous Reſiſtance, and the King of *France* being reſolved to raiſe the Siege, he ſent an Army of Mercenary Soldiers, upon whoſe Approach he effected it accordingly, and Earl *Richard* retreated as far as to the other ſide of the River *Dordogne*; but the *French* not being able to paſs any further, becauſe of the River, ſate down, and beſieged the Caſtle of *Limric*, and brought the Lord of *Bragaret* under the Obedience of King *Lewis*; which the *Engliſh* perceiving, and not daring to meet the *French* again, they took Shipping, and together with the Earl paſſed over into *England*.

[4] The *French* Hiſtorians greatly miſtaken in their relations of this War.

This is the Sum of the Account of the [4] *French* Authors who lived about that time; but yet they are (for all that) in great part miſtaken as to this Action; for though the Earl of *Cornwall* met with ill Succeſs, notwithſtanding he had certainly the better at firſt, yet, whatever the *French* Hiſtorians ſay to the contrary, he did not then leave *France*; for you will find anon that he remain'd in *Gaſcoigny* till the Year following.

[5] *M. P.* p. 324. * *Colloquium.* Another Council or Parliament, wherein *Faukes de Brent* is Sentenced to abjure the Kingdom for ever.

His Meſſage to the King at his departure, laying the Fault on divers Great Men of *England*.

[5] In *March* the Great Men met the King again at *Weſtminſter* at a Council or * Parliament, where he commanded them to declare what Sentence ſhould be given againſt his Traytor *Faukes de Brent*; whereupon the Nobility agreed with the King in this, That becauſe both his Father and himſelf had done faithful Service to the Crown for ſeveral Years, he ſhould neither loſe Life nor Limb, but ſhould for ever hereafter abjure the Kingdom: Upon this the King commanded *William* Earl of *Warren* ſafely to conduct him to the Sea-ſide; but as he was going on Ship-board, he adjured the Earl with Tears in his Eyes, to let the King know, That whatever he had done, was by the Encouragement of many of the Great Men of *England*.

Faukes is ſeized by the *French*, and ſent Priſoner to King *Lewis*, who diſcharges and ſends him forthwith to *Rome*.

Then he went over into *Normandy*, attended only with Five Servants or Followers, where as ſoon as he was Landed, he was taken Priſoner, and delivered up to the King of *France*; by whoſe order he was Sentenced to be Hanged for the Injuries he had done that Nation; yet upon his purging himſelf by Oath, and having vowed to undertake the *Cruſado*, he was Pardon'd, and ſent forthwith to *Rome*; where notwithſtanding his demoliſhing of St. *Paul*'s Church, which ſtood too near his Caſtle of *Bedford*, and his Sacrilege committed upon the *Monaſtery* of *St. Albans*, and divers other Religious Houſes, yet he was now repreſented to the Pope as One that had took the *Croſs* and highly merited of the Church, and was then much Injured and Oppreſſed by his Enemies in *England*.

A large Account of *Faukes's* Appeal to the Pope.

Walter of *Coventry* has given us a large Complaint that he then preſented an Addreſs to the Pope, which, though it be very long and particular, in relating the State of Affairs in thoſe times, yet being no where elſe to be found, and becauſe it gives us a great deal of Light into this Tranſaction, I ſhall here give you the Subſtance of it, [1] which was chiefly to ſhew, ‘ That there had been a Conſpiracy framed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Hubert* the Juſtitiary, to diſpoſſeſs the Faithful Nobility of *England*, (as he calls them) of the Cuſtody of thoſe Caſtles which had been committed to their Truſt by *Guallo* the Pope's Legate; but whilſt the King was yet under Age, they had wreſted ſome of thoſe Caſtles from the Barons by falſe Accuſations, and had alſo by their ſubtle Contrivances procured his *Holineſs*'s Letters to the Barons, commanding the ſurrender of the reſt into their Hands, and that in compliance with theſe Letters, though the Earl of *Cheſter*, and ſeveral other Barons had delivered up their Caſtles to the King, yet *Hubert de Burgh* and his Creatures, ſtill kept theirs; and that when the Earl and thoſe of his Party had ſent Meſſengers to *Rome*, to complain of the Injuſtice of theſe Proceedings, they had been ever ſince baniſhed the Kingdom, as if they had been guilty of Treaſon; That as for himſelf he had alſo been by the Procurement of the Juſtitiary accuſed of Treaſon, however not for any late Offence, but for things done Eight years agone.

‘ That an Army having been lately raiſed at *Northampton*, on a falſe Pretence of an Expedition into *Poictou*, a certain Knight, called *Henry de Braibrock*, had been ſent with others to ſit as a Juſtice Itinerant near *Bedford*, where exerciſing his Office Unjuſtly, he had deprived *William de Brent* the Complainant's Brother of divers Lands and Poſſeſſions, for no other Cauſe than his own private Malice; but that his Brother being provoked with theſe unjuſt Proceedings had indeed ſeiz'd the ſaid Juſtice, yet without the Privity of *Faukes*, who was then at *Northampton*, with the other Barons of the Realm; that when he heard of it, he immediately went to the Caſtle of *Bedford* to releaſe him, but when he came thither, he neither found the ſaid Knight, nor his Brother there, having (as *Faukes* relates, though falſly) carried him away Priſoner into the Foreſt of *Vawberge*; and that albeit he had done what he could to make his Brother come in, and ſet the Juſtice free, yet he could not oblige him to do it; that during theſe delays there were two Knights ſent to ſummon *Faukes* to appear at the Caſtle of *Northampton* the next day; but he fearing his Enemy's violence had ſent to the King, to be excuſed from appearing, till he could find out and produce his ſaid Brother.

[2] ‘ That the Cauſes of his then abſenting himſelf, being laid before the King, he ſeemed well enough ſatisfied, yet whilſt the reſt of the Barons were gone home, to their ſeveral Habitations, his Enemies had privately reſolved, that the Army ſhould march and beſiege his Caſtle, which was done the next day, without giving him any timely notice of it; whereupon fearing the violent Perſecution of his Enemies, he was forced to fly into *Cheſhire*.

[1] *Id. ib.*

[2] *Id. ib.*

‘ That it was true, the Archbiſhop and ſome of the Biſhops had demanded the Delivery of the Caſtle, but that thoſe within refuſed it, ſince there was no Law to require it at their hands, and that their Lord *Faukes* having undertaken the *Cruſado*, he himſelf, as alſo his Caſtles and Eſtate, were under his *Holineſs*'s Protection, and therefore they appealed againſt all things; that might be done or attempted againſt them, till a Legate ſhould be ſent over from the Pope, before whom the true State of the Kingdom, and Merits of the Cauſe, might be fairly laid open.

[3] *Id. Ib.*

[3] ‘ However, Notwithſtanding all this, the Archbiſhop out of a partial Affection to the King, and his own Adherents, calling together ſome of the Biſhops, immediately iſſued out a Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt *Faukes* himſelf, and all his Favourers and Abettors, which he cauſed to be Publiſhed, and with it a full Indulgence of Pardon of Sins to all thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt at the taking of the ſaid Caſtle.

‘ That whilſt *Faukes* was thus in expection of the Pope's Protection, he ſent a certain Chanon of *Selby-Abbey* to the King, with Letters, wherein he offer'd to ſtand to the Judgment of the Barons of the Kingdom, according to the Laws thereof, but that the Chanon hearing he was *Excommunicated*, never durſt deliver his Letter; That he had alſo made a like Offers by the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, of ſtanding to the Judgment of the King himſelf, provided that Three Perſons, whom *Faukes* looked upon as his utter Enemies might not be there preſent; but when the Biſhop delivered this Meſſage to the King, and the Archbiſhop, it was received with ſcorn; ſo that *Faukes*, notwithſtanding his Appeal to the Pope, was at laſt over-perſuaded by the Archbiſhop and Earl of *Cheſter*, to ſurrender himſelf to the King at *Northampton*, in hopes of Mercy and Abſolution, which nevertheleſs he could not obtain; though he had now wrote to his Men in *Bedford*-Caſtle to deliver up that, together with themſelves, to the King's Mercy; but the Archbiſhop had ſo provoked his Youthful Indignation againſt him, and thoſe that held the Caſtle, by his paſſionate and ſevere Expreſſions, (which are there ſet down) that when the Barons expected to be called to give Judgment in this Caſe, the Knights, Eſquires and Soldiers, that had been taken Priſoners in the Caſtle, were ſuddenly brought out, and (in reproach to Knighthood) immediately hanged; which cruelty ſo incenſed even the Common Soldiers of the King's Party, that running out of their Tents, they preſently took ſome of them from off the Gallows, and ſo ſaved their Lives.

[4] *Id. ib.*

[4] ‘ That after this, *Faukes* had been prevail'd with to ſubmit to the Archbiſhop's Judgment, who yet would not abſolve him (notwithſtanding his frequent Appeals to the Pope) till he had ſtood Naked all Sermon-time, whilſt the Archbiſhop preach'd an Invective Diſcourſe pointing at him, and calling on him by Name; ſtill after all this, there was a new Accuſation framed againſt him, as having been the Cauſe of the Loſs of *Poictou*, and that therefore he ought to forfeit all his Eſtate in *England*; which Charge he there endeavours to anſwer at large, ſhewing that *Poictou* could not be loſt by his means, ſince the Army raiſed at *Northampton* was never intended for its recovery.

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[5] *Id. Ib.*

[5] ‘ So that notwithſtanding his late *Abſolution*, his Enemies ‘ were not ſatisfied, till they had committed him to Priſon, ‘ from whence he would not have been freed, but for his *Holineſs*’s ‘ Letters to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Governors of the ‘ Realm; yet further, beſides all this, he could not get himſelf ‘ diſcharged, though he had lain a long while in Priſon, till he had ‘ ſworn to wave his Appeal to the Pope, and immediately go on ‘ Pilgrimage to the *Holy-Land:* Then he concludes with an humble ‘ Requeſt to the Pope and his Cardinals, to conſider his Appeal, ‘ and not to ſuffer him in contempt thereof to be unjuſtly deprived ‘ of his Wife, Children, and Eſtate; but that he may find a Refuge ‘ with the *Roman* See againſt his Enemies, and particularly the Arch‘ biſhop of *Canterbury*, againſt whoſe Unjuſt and Severe Proceedings ‘ he deſired his *Holineſs*’s ſpeedy Relief.

This is the Sum of his Plea, which how far it was True, and wherein it was Falſe, is hard to determine at this diſtance of Time; yet this is certain, that *Faukes* did not deſiſt from his Appeal, till he had obtained the Pope’s Brief directed to the King in his favour, deſiring his entire Reſtitution to his Honour and Eſtate, in regard of his former Merits and great Services both to the King’s Father and Himſelf; as alſo out of Reverence to the Character of the *Croſs*, which he had then taken upon him: But what ſucceſs this long Addreſs had, you will find by and by.

[1] *M. P.* p.324.

The King’s Commiſſion for the ſevering the New Foreſts from the Old, being Executed; the former are dis-foreſted.

[1] I have nothing elſe to remark as to *Engliſh* Affairs, only that in purſuance of the late Charter of Foreſts (above-mentioned) the King having ſent *Hugh de Nevil* and *Brian de Liſle*, with ſome others, to cauſe Twelve Knights, or Free and Legal Men, to be choſen in every County where there were Foreſts to walk the Bounds of them, and, by their Oaths to ſet out, which were the Antient Foreſts, and which the New ones to be dis-foreſted. The King’s Commands were in a ſhort time executed, but not without ſome Oppoſition, every one uſing the Liberties that were granted them; They ſold their own Woods, Hunted in them, and Stubbed-up, and Ploughed ſuch of them as were disforeſted, at pleaſure; for the Great Men, Knights, and Free-Tenants, made ſuch good uſe of the Common Liberties, that not one Tittle commanded in the Charter was ſubmitted to.

[2] *Ib.* p. 325.

The Pope ſends his Legate *Otto* into *England*, about great Affairs, which the K. refuſes to determine without the Advice of his Great Council.

[2] As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, this Year the Pope ſent *Otto* his Legate into *England*, with Letters to King *Henry*, concerning great and weighty Affairs of the Church, which when he had read and underſtood the Tenor of, he anſwered the Legate, That he neither could, nor ought to determine any thing that generally concern’d the Clergy and Laiety of the whole Kingdom, but by the Advice of the Archbiſhop; and thereupon he appointed on the Octaves of *Epiphany*, to meet his Clergy and People at *Weſtminſter*, to treat about the aforeſaid Buſineſs.

[3] *Id. ib.*

The Legate intercedes for *Faukes de Brent*; but in vain.

[3] Then the Pope’s Legate at his arrival in *England*, moved the King in the behalf of *Faukes de Brent*, on the Conſideration already mention’d; but to that the King replied, That his Sentence was paſſed, and he was condemn’d to perpetual Baniſhment by the whole *Clergy and Laiety of the Kingdom, by the Judgment of his Court; and ſince the Care of the Kingdom did more eſpecially be-

*Clero & Populo.

long

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The Legate takes two Marks of Silver from all Cathedral and Conventual Churches for Procurations.

long to him, he ought therefore to obſerve the Good Laws and Cuſtoms of the ſame. When the Legate heard this, he forbore preſſing the King any further on *Faukes*'s behalf; but did not forget to take, of all Cathedral and Conventual Churches, Two Marks of Silver for Procurations, the greateſt Part of his Errand being to get Money; for (as our Author well obſerves) when this *Otto* came into *England*, the Pope had ſent his Nuncios all over *Europe*, to Extort ſuch undue Exactions; of which alſo he gives us divers other Inſtances, as you will ſee anon.

[4] *Id.* p. 324. The former Decrees renew'd againſt the Wives and Concubines of Prieſts and Clerks.

[4] As for the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Year, there came forth a Decree from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Suffragan Biſhops, That the Concubines of Beneficed Prieſts and Clerks within Orders, ſhould be denied *Chriſtian* Burial, unleſs they repented whilſt in Health, or gave ſuch Teſtimonies of their Penitence at the Hour of Death, as to deſerve *Abſolution*; and likewiſe ſo long as the Prieſts kept them in their Houſes, or publickly out of their Houſes, they ſhould be denied the *Kiſs of Peace, and † Bleſſed Bread in the Church; and alſo, That after Childbirth, theſe Women ſhould not be Churched, till they had given ſufficient Security to the Archdeacon or his Official, to make ſatisfaction in the next Court after their Churching; alſo all Prieſts, in whoſe Pariſhes any ſuch Concubines dwelt, if they did not give notice to the Archdeacon or his Official, were to be ſuſpended, and not be Abſolved without ſevere Penance; and if it could be proved that a Prieſt had carnally known his Concubine, he ſhould do publick Penance himſelf: And if ſhe were convicted of *Adultery*, ſhe was to be doubly puniſhed, leſt impunity in ſo great a Guilt ſhould give Encouragement to others to offend in like manner.

*Oſculum Pacis, The Kiſs of Peace.

† *Panem Benedictum*: Bread Bleſſed, but not Conſecrated in the Maſs.

[5] *Id.* p. 322.

*Vid. *Mezejay*.

A Perſon appears in *Flanders*, who takes upon him to be *Baldwin* the Emperour, once Earl of that Province.

Joane Counteſs of *Flanders* complains of him to the K. of *France*.

Who hears him, and diſmiſſes him as an Impoſtor; but he is afterwards ſeiz'd, and brought to the Counteſs, and put to Death.

But before we end this Year, we ſhall look a little into Foreign Parts. [5] About this time (as our own, as well as the *French Hiſtorians relate) there appeared a Man in *Flanders*, who took upon him to be *Baldwin*, formerly Earl of that Country, and who had been many years ſince choſen Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, (as you have already heard) and being afterwards taken Priſoner by the *Bulgars*, was ſuppoſed there to have died; yet this Perſon now pretended to have eſcaped from thence, and gave ſuch ſtrange Proofs to make himſelf be acknowledged for Earl, that the *Flemings*, (who loved the Memory of that Great Man,) gave at laſt ſo much Credit to him, as to put him into poſſeſſion of the greateſt Part of the Country; but the Counteſs *Joane*, Daughter and Heir of *Baldwin*, not being ſatisfied that this Man was her Father, and being like to be fruſtrated of her Inheritance, complain'd to the King of *France*, as her Supreme Lord, who thereupon ſummon'd this Pretended Prince to appear before him, and accordingly he came very boldly; but either Diſdaining, or not being able to Anſwer the Queſtions that were put to him by the King, he was ſo diſſatisfied therewith, that he commanded him within Three days to be gone out of his Dominions; but he being afterwards taken in Diſguiſe, and brought to the Counteſs, ſhe firſt made him endure Cruel Tortures, and then order'd him to be Hang'd for an Impoſtor, and he was Executed accordingly; which made divers People ſtill believe that the Daughter found it eaſier to hang her Father, than reſtore him his Dominions.

[1] King

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[1] King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Wincheſter*, ſome Biſhops and many of the Great Men being there preſent with him: So ſoon as the Solemnity was ended, he went to *Marlebridge* (now *Marleborough*) where he was taken deſperately ill, and continued ſo for ſome Days. In the mean while, the Feaſt of St. *Hilary* being now come, a Counſel of the Clergy and Great Men of the Kingdom met at *Weſtminſter*, where (as the * *Manuſcript* Annals of St. *Auguſtin* of *Canterbury* relate) the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons being preſent, the King was declared of full Age, tho' he was then but Nineteen Years old.

[1] *Ib.* p. 328. The K. is taken with a violent Diſtemper at *Marlborough*, and after in a Council at *Weſtminſter* declared of full Age.

* In *Lib. Col. St. Benedict. Cantab.*

[2] But the main Buſineſs of this Aſſembly was to return an Anſwer to the late Letters from the Pope; and the Legate declaring the Contents of them, it appeared that the Pope complained, ‘it was an Old Scandal and Reproach caſt upon the *Roman* See, That nothing could be tranſacted there, without great Sums of Money and many Preſents; and ſeeing that which occaſioned this Infamy was its great Poverty, it became Dutiful Children to ſupply their Mother's Wants; which might eaſily be done, if out of every Cathedral Church Two Prebendaries were ſet a-part for that purpoſe, one by the Biſhop, the other by the Chapter; and alſo out of every Monaſtery, where there is an Abbot and Convent, one Monk's Portion from the Convent, and as much from the Abbot; and then the Legate endeavoured to perſwade the Prelates to conſent to what the Pope deſired.

[2] *M. P. ib.* The Pope's Letters are alſo there conſidered.

[3] When the Biſhops and other Prelates had heard this ſtrange Propoſal, after ſome Deliberation, they returned their Anſwer by *John* Archdeacon of *Bedford* their Proctor, who in preſence of the Legate warily replied, ‘That what was propoſed concerned the King in particular, and in general all Patrons of Churches in *England*, and beſides the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all the other * Prelates; and ſeeing the King, upon the account of his Infirmity, as alſo ſome Biſhops and others were abſent, they neither could nor ought now to give a direct Anſwer, which might tend ſo much to their Prejudice. Then came *John* the *Mareſchal*, and other Meſſengers from the King, to thoſe Prelates that held Baronies of him *in Capite*, ſtrictly charging them not to oblige their Lay-Fees to the Church of *Rome*, leſt he ſhould thereby loſe his accuſtomed Service: Upon this, the Legate deſired that another Day might be appointed in *Mid-Lent*, and he would take care that the King, and divers Prelates who now are abſent, ſhould be there; but they would not admit of this without the King's Conſent; and ſo they all returned to their own Homes, without doing any farther in the Matter.

[3] *Id. ib.* To which the Biſhops and Clergy return a prudent Anſwer.

* *Note*, this Word then comprehended Abbots, Priors, and Deans of Cathedrals.

The K. commands the Prelates not to oblige their Lay-Fees to the See of *Rome*.

[4] About this time alſo one *Romanus* was ſent Legate by the Pope into *France* upon the like Errand, who, upon his calling an Aſſembly of the Clergy at *Bourges*, and finding the Pope's Demands would be oppoſed by them, craftily diſmiſſed the Procurators of the Conventual Churches, imagining that they would find a ready Acceptance among the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Great Men; but he met with as little Succeſs with them, for after a long Debate about thoſe unreaſonable Demands, and that the Procurator

[4] *Id.* p. 329. A Legate ſent into *France* on the ſame Errand.

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tor of the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* had anſwered all the Legate's Arguments, he was at laſt content to depart without doing the Buſineſs he came for. I have inſerted this, tho' it concerns not the Eccleſiaſtick Affairs of this, but of a *Foreign* Nation, to let you ſee, that *England* was not the only Country in which the Pope at that time endeavoured to advance his unreaſonable Demands, which indeed were ſo exorbitant, that no Kingdom in *Europe* could admit them.

[5] *Id.* p. 330. The Legate is recalled:

Yet the Pope again preſſes the King and Prelates for their final Anſwer;

Who decline giving a flat denial to his Requeſt.

[5] Some time after this, *Otto* the Legate went into the *North* to collect the Pope's Procurations, that were in Arrear in thoſe Parts, but (by the Procurement of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſeemed much concerned at theſe Exactions upon the Clergy) he was recalled: And then an Injunction was by the Pope laid upon the Archbiſhop, That the King with all the Prelates of *England*, being again aſſembled, ſhould give their final Anſwer to the Buſineſs *Otto* had been lately ſent about, and to tranſmit it to him. Thereupon the King, after conſultation with the Prelates and ſome of the Great Men, returned this Anſwer, 'That ſince 'what his Holineſs required concerned the Church Univerſal, the 'King was ready to follow the Example of other Kingdoms, and 'therefore would firſt ſee what they did; And with this Anſwer the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed.

[1] *Id.* p. 329. The Pope's Legate engages the K. of *France* in an Expedition againſt the Count of *Tholouſe*, as guilty of Hereſie.

I ſhall now take a view of what was done in *France*, in relation to the like Demand made by the Pope's Legate there as had been lately done in *England*; [1] For *Otto* the Pope's Legate ſaw he could dot ſucceed in his late unreaſonable Propoſal, and reſolving to make the King of *France* his Maſter's Inſtrument for the execution of his Deſigns, he engaged him in a *Cruſado* againſt the Count of *Tholouſe* and his Subjects, as being all infected with the pretended Hereſie of the *Albigenſes*; This the King of *France* imprudently undertook, having firſt obtained Letters of Inhibition from the Pope to King *Henry*, therein forbidding him under pain of *Excommunication* to invade any of the *French* King's Territories, whilſt he was employed in the Service of the Church; and ſo King *Lewis* raiſing a great Army, marched againſt the Earl of *Tholouſe*; and the City of *Avignon* lying in his way thither, he ſate down before it, and beſieged that Place, becauſe it refuſed to give free Admittance to his Army; and what Succeſs he had there, you will ſee by and by.

[2] *Id.* p. 331. The K. being forbid by the Pope to make War upon the K. of *France*, conſults his Great Council thereupon.

[2] In the mean time, the King of *England*, who deſired to make a Warlike Expedition in Foreign Parts, calling together his Great Council, cauſed the Pope's Inhibitory Letters to be read to them, requiring their Advice what was to be done about them; Upon which, all the Prelates and Great Men thought it beſt to defer that Affair, till it appeared what Succeſs the *French* King would meet with in ſo difficult an Enterprize.

[3] *Id. ib.* The King receives Letters from his Brother, that all things ſucceeded well enough in *Gaſcoigny*.

[3] King *Henry* was now very ſollicitous about his Brother Earl *Richard*, and his Affairs in *Gaſcoigny*, and much deſired to paſs over thither with Forces; and while he was under this Concern, an Expreſs came from his Brother, that he was well, and all things ſucceeded proſperouſly enough there; which if ſo, the *French* Hiſtorians are much miſtaken, in affirming, that he returned unſuc-

ceſsful into *England* ſomewhat before this time, as hath been already obſerved.

The K. being declared of Age, impoſes many heavy Exactions upon his Subjects.

Before we end this Year, I cannot omit what the Annals of St. *Auguſtin* further relate, That the King being now declared of full Age, he laid many heavy Exactions upon the Kingdom; for he then commanded it to be proclaimed through all the ſeveral Counties of *England*, That all Perſons who claimed any Liberties or Poſſeſſions by Grant from Him, or His Predeceſſors, ſhould apply themſelves to Him before *Lent*, to have them confirmed under his Seal, otherwiſe they ſhould not be heard; Whereupon divers Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and Abbots, who claimed ſuch Liberties and Poſſeſſions, applied themſelves to the King to have them renewed, who by this means gained a vaſt Sum of Money.

[4] *M.P.* p. 329.

William Longeſpee Earl of *Salisbury* dies, being ſuſpected to be poiſon'd, and on what occaſion.

[4] I cannot here omit to mention the deceaſe of ſome Great and Remarkable Perſons, both Secular and Eccleſiaſtical; of the Firſt ſort was *William Longe-ſpee*, Earl of *Salisbury*, the King's Uncle, who having ſuffered extreamly in a long and dangerous Paſſage out of *Gaſcoigny* into *England* the laſt Winter, was ſomewhat recovered; but being invited to a great Entertainment by *Hubert de Burgh* the Juſtitiary to make his Peace with him, for recommending one *Raymond* his Nephew as a Suitor to the Earl's Lady, upon the News of his being Shipwreck'd, he was there ſuppoſed to be poiſoned by *Hubert*'s Contrivance; for he preſently fell into a languiſhing Diſtemper, and returning to the Caſtle of *Sarum*, died very penitent a few Days after, and was buried in the then new-built Cathedral Church of *Salisbury*, where his Monument is to be ſeen at this day. He was a vertuous and Gallant Man, and the only ſurviving Iſſue of King *Henry* the *Second*.

[5] *Id.* p. 332.

The death of *Richard de Maris* Biſhop of *Durham*;

As alſo of *Faukes de Brent*, with his Character.

[5] The Eccleſiaſtical Great Perſon who deceaſed this Year, was *Richard de Mariſco*, or *de Maris*, Biſhop of *Durham*, who died ſuddenly at *Peterborough* in his Journey to *London*, in order to proſecute a moſt unjuſt Suit with the Monks of his Church: he had been one of King *John*'s Courtiers and Chief Councellors in all his Tyrannical Actions, and was in the beginning of this King's Reign elected Biſhop of *Durham*. To theſe may be added *Faukes de Brent*, who deceaſed in *France* by eating of a poiſoned Fiſh; he was juſt before his Death about to return into *England*, his Peace with the King being obtained by the means of thoſe great Preſents he had made in the *Roman* Court; of whom, (having made ſo great a Figure in our Hiſtory,) I ſhall ſay ſomewhat farther. He was by Birth a *Norman*, but Baſe-born, and a meer Soldier of Fortune, yet by his Valour raiſed himſelf to the Degree of a Baron, and was by King *John* married to *Margaret de Redvers* a great Heireſs, tho' againſt her Will; and with her he had the Caſtle of *Bedford*, and ſeveral other large Poſſeſſions; but this unexpected Fortune made him Inſolent, and Rebellious, which procured his Ruine, as you have already heard.

[1] *Id.* p. 334

I ſhall conclude this Year with a farther Account of the Affairs of *France*; [1] King *Lewis* had now beſieged the City of *Avignon* many Days without any great Succeſs; for the Citizens made ſuch an obſtinate Defence, that great Numbers of the *French* were deſtroyed

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[2] * *Scriptor. Anon vitæ ejus.*

King *Lewis* quits his Army, and dies at the Caſtle of *Monpencier*.

by their frequent Sallies, as alſo by the Plague, which then raged in the Camp; [2] * yet at laſt the Beſieged were forced to Capitulate with the King, and ſo they admitted him into the City, where he preſently ordered the Towers on their Houſes to be pulled down, and made them give many Hoſtages for their Fidelity; but being forced to leave his Army and return home, by reaſon of an Indiſpoſition taken in the Camp, he fell deſperately ill at the Caſtle of *Monpencier* in *Auverne*, being ſuppoſed to be poiſoned by *Henry* Earl of *Champaigne*, who was in Love with the Queen.

This King deceaſed in the Thirty ninth Year of his Age, and the Fourth of his Reign, leaving the Reputation of a Valiant Prince, though far ſhort of his Father in Prudence, Fortune, and long Life; *Lewis* his Son (then a Minor) ſucceeded him, (being the Ninth of that Name) who was afterwards Canonized for a Saint.

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[3] *M. P. p.* 336.

The King extorts a great Sum from the City of *London* very unjuſtly,

As alſo 1200*l.* from *Northampton*.

And alſo takes a great Tax from the Religious Orders, notwithſtanding their Appeal to the Pope.

[3] This Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Reading*, but ſoon after came to *London*, where (as *Matt. Weſtminſter* obſerves) he began to Tyrannize, accuſing the Citizens of *London* for lending Five thouſand Marks to *Lewis* the King of *France*, upon his departure out of *England*; and therefore compelled them to pay the like Sum to himſelf: Nor was *London* the only Town which felt this his ſevere Uſage; for he extorted from the Burgeſſes of *Northampton* the Sum of Twelve hundred Pounds, beſides the Fifteenth of their Moveables, which all others paid; The Religious Orders and Beneficed Clerks were alſo forced to pay the ſame Tax, as well out of their Eccleſiaſtick as Lay Goods; nor did their Appeal to the Pope avail them any thing; for thoſe whom the King's Authority could not reach, the Papal Power by Eccleſiaſtick Cenſure were forced to pay: And thus the King's exorbitant Actions were then ſupported by the Pope, who cared not how much the other oppreſſed his Subjects, provided he might have his Share in the Spoil.

[4] *Id. Ib.*

The K. holds a Council at *Oxford*, and there takes the Management of Affairs into his own hands.

And by the Advice of *Hubert de Burgh* cancels the Charters of *Liberties* and *Foreſts*.

The Religious Orders are alſo forced to renew their Charters of Priviledges and pay great Sums for them.

Then the King, to proceed in the ſame manner as he had already began, [4] in *February* following called a Council at *Oxford*, and declared to them he was then of full Age, and would take the Management of Publick Affairs into his own Hands; and to ſhew he was in good earneſt, He, by the Advice of *Hubert de Burgh* his Juſtitiary, removed from his Court *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, his Protector in his Minority: In the ſame Council, and by the ſame Man's Advice, he alſo cancelled and made void all the Charters of *Liberties* and *Foreſts*, which for two Years before had been obſerved throughout the whole Kingdom, ſaying, That what had been then done, was in his Minority, when he had no Power of his own Perſon or Seal, and upon that account was all invalid.

Theſe unjuſt and illegal Proceedings occaſioned great Murmurings, every one accuſing the Juſtitiary, and looking upon him as the Author of this Diſturbance, becauſe they ſaw the King was wholly guided by him: Soon after, the Religious Orders, and all others, had notice, That if they would enjoy their Priviledges, they muſt renew their Charters, or otherwiſe the Old ones ſhould be of no Advantage to them; and what they were to pay for ſuch

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ſuch Renewal, was left to the Diſcretion of the Juſtitiary: Thus as the King changed his Chief Miniſter of State, ſo the Nation paid dearly for it; which perhaps ſometimes ſince too has been little the better for the Change.

[5] *Id. Ib.* The A. Bp. of *York*, &c. return from *France*, without doing any thing in the Buſineſs for which they were ſent.

[5] About *Eaſter* the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and *Philip d'Albiney* returned from *France*; for they had been ſent to the Great Men of thoſe Countries, which of ancient Right belonged to the King of *England*; and their Buſineſs was to invite them by fair and large Promiſes to receive King *Henry*, and acknowledge Him for their Natural Lord: But the Young King of *France*, by his Mother's means, had made Peace with thoſe Barons, and received their Homages before King *Henry*'s Meſſengers could arrive; whereupon they returned without effecting any thing.

[1] *Id.* p. 337. *Hub. de Burgh* created Earl of *Kent*.

Earl *Richard* returns out of *France*.

But to come to Matters of leſs moment; [1] In *February Hubert de Burgh* the Juſtitiary was created Earl of *Kent* by the Cincture of the Sword of that County, and the *May* after the King's Brother *Richard* returned into *England*, and was received by Him and the whole Court with great Joy.

[2] *Id. ib.* A great difference between the King and his Brother Earl *Richard*, and on what occaſion.

[2] Yet did not this good Correſpondence between the King and his Brother laſt long, by reaſon of a great difference that happened upon this occaſion; King *John* had given to one *Waleran* a *German* the Caſtellan of *Berkhamſtead*, a Mannor that belonged to the Earldom of *Cornwal*; which when Earl *Richard* underſtood, he ſeized it, until *Waleran* ſhould make out by what Right he claimed it; Upon this, ſo ſoon as *Waleran* had notice of it, he made his Complaint to the King, who immediately wrote to his Brother, That upon ſight of his Letters, he ſhould forthwith render back the Mannor to *Waleran*; But Earl *Richard* thought it not convenient to make ſuch great haſte, and therefore went to the King, and pleaded his Right to the Mannor, offering to ſtand to the Judgment of his Court, and of the Great Men of the Kingdom: The King and his Juſtitiary hearing him mention the * *Great Men*, were highly incenſed at it, and commanded him either to yield up the Mannor, or for ever depart the Kingdom; To which Earl *Richard* replied, That he would neither part with the One, nor leave the Other, without the Judgment of his Peers, and forthwith made what haſte he could to his own Houſe: The Juſtitiary, when he heard this peremptory Anſwer, fearing he might diſturb the Publick Peace, adviſed the King to ſecure him; but the Earl having Early notice of his Deſign, went immediately to *Reading*, and from thence to *Merleburgh*, where he met with his old Friend and ſworn Confederate *William* the *Earl-Mareſchal*, to whom he declared what had paſſed between the King and him: Then they went both together to the Earl of *Cheſter*, and gave him an account of the ſame; and from thence they marched to *Stamford*, where, in a ſhort time, according (it ſeems) to appointment, met them with Horſe and Arms *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Glouceſter*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *Henry* Earl of *Hereford*, *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, *William* Earl of *Warwick*, with divers Barons, and a great Multitude of armed Men, who had all entred into a Confederacy to force the King to make Satisfaction for this Injury

* *Magnates.*

The Earl being diſcontented, retires from Court.

He goes to the Earl Mareſchal to give him an account of what had happened; whereupon he, the Earl of *Cheſter*, &c. take up Arms.

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On pretence to oblige the King to reſtore the Charter he had lately cancell'd.

that was done to his Brother Earl *Richard*, which they wholly imputed to the Juſtitiary, as alſo to oblige him to reſtore thoſe Charters which had been lately cancelled at *Oxford*; and if he refuſed, they declared they would compel him by their Arms to make them competent Satisfaction. Upon this, the King appointed them to meet him at *Northampton* the Third of *Auguſt*, where he ſettled his Mother's Jointure on his Brother *Richard* (all the Great Men moving him to it) as alſo all the Lands that once belonged to the Earl of *Bretaigne* in *England*, and which were the Earl of *Boloign*'s lately deceaſed; ſo every one departed well pleaſed for that time. Thus we ſee ſometimes how Fear will prevail more upon ſome Princes than all the Reaſon in the World beſide.

Nothing happened conſiderable this Year in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, but the Death of Pope *Honorius* the *Third*, in whoſe ſtead was Elected *Hugolin* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, by the Name of *Gregory* the *Ninth*.

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[3] *Id. ib.*

The K. orders new Meaſures to be made.

[3] This Year the King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *York*; but ſoon after he came directly to *London*; and in his Journey finding the Meaſures of Grain, Wine, and Ale to be falſe, he commanded ſome of them to be broken, and the reſt to be burnt, and ordered others of a larger ſize to be made, and the Weight of Bread to be increaſed, and likewiſe the Offenders to be ſeverely puniſhed.

[4] *Id.* p. 350.

Steph. Langton A. Bp. of *Canterbury* dies.

The Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Year were but few, only [4] *Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed the Ninth of *July*; He was a Prelate well skill'd in the School-Divinity of that Age, and alſo very knowing in the Laws and Conſtitutions of his own Country; and as he did not come in by the King's Nomination or Conſent, ſo having little or no Dependance on him, therefore it is no wonder if he the more ſtoutly maintained the Liberties granted by King *John*; and indeed it is chiefly owing to his Induſtry, Prudence, and Courage, that they were either granted at firſt, or ever confirmed in this King's Reign.

[5] *Id. Ib.*

Not long after his Deceaſe, [5] the Convent of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury* made choice of *Walter de Hemeſham* (a Monk of their own) whom they preſented to the King; but he refuſed to accept him, both becauſe his Father was hanged upon Conviction of Theft, as alſo becauſe in the time of the *Interdict* he had appeared againſt King *John*; Then all the Suffragan Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury* refuſed to accept him, becauſe he had corrupted a *Nun*, and had had Children by her; and likewiſe becauſe he ought not (as they ſaid) to be choſen without their Conſents: Upon this, both ſides applied themſelves to the Pope, One to get his Election confirmed, and the Other to hinder it: When the Pope ſaw both Parties ſo obſtinate in the Proſecution of their Suit, he would determine nothing concerning it either ways, but put it off till the Day after *Aſh-wedneſday* following, that he might be the better informed; ſo that the Church of *Canterbury* continued vacant all the reſt of this Year.

[1] *Id. ib.*

[1] In *Auguſt* the Knights and Soldiers that kept Garriſon in *Montgomery*-Caſtle on the Borders of *Wales*, by the Aſſiſtance of the Country-People, deſigned to make a Way through an adjacent

Wood

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The *Welſh* beſiege *Montgomery-Caſtle.*

K. *Henry* is fain to make Peace with *Llewellyn.*

Wood more paſſable and ſecure for Travellers; but whilſt they were at work in cutting down the Thickets, the *Welſh* on a ſudden ruſhed in upon them, killed ſome, and forced the reſt to retire into the Caſtle, and preſently beſieged it. But ſo ſoon as King *Henry* was informed of it, both He and the Juſtitiary (to whom the King had lately given the Caſtle) came ſpeedily with a ſmall Army and raiſed the Siege; and when he had received ſome additional Recruits he marched towards the aforeſaid Wood, and having cleared the Way by great Labour and Burning, ſo far as a Religious Houſe called *Criddy*, (the uſual Receptacle of the *Welſh*) he commanded it to be ſet on Fire; but the Juſtitiary upon view of the Place, finding it to be of an impregnable Situation, adviſed him to build a Caſtle there: Yet during the time it was building the Workmen were almoſt continually interrupted, and ſeveral of them killed by the *Welſh*. Then the King, finding that ſo many of his own Army inwardly favoured *Llewellyn*, was forced to make a diſadvantageous Peace, whereof the Chief Article was, That this Caſtle ſhould be demoliſhed, and *Llewellyn* ſhould give the King for his Charges Three Thouſand Marks; ſo he returned home with little Honour, having left *William de Brauſe*, a Noble Baron, behind him Priſoner.

[2] *Id.* p. 345. The Emperor failing to undertake a Voyage to the *Holy Land* is therefore *Excommunicated* by the Pope.

As for Foreign Affairs, this Year affords little worth mentioning, [2] but that the Emperor *Fretherick* the *Second* now failing to undertake his Voyage to the *Holy-Land* by reaſon of either a real or pretended Sickneſs, Pope *Gregory* thereupon *Excommunicated* him for the Breach of his Vow, in not purſuing the *Cruſado*; but the Emperor remonſtrated againſt theſe Proceedings as Unjuſt, and took Shipping not long after for the *Holy-Land*, where as ſoon as he was arrived, he found a great Army ready to receive him.

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[3] *Id.* p. 353. The A.B. of *Bourdeaux* comes to invite the K. into *France*, with large Promiſes of Aſſiſtance, but receives a dilatory Anſwer.

[3] This Year the King kept his Court at *Oxford*, the Great Men attending him: While he was there, the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* came to him from the Nobility of *Gaſcoigny*, *Aquitain*, and *Poictou*, as alſo Meſſengers from thoſe of *Normandy*, to ſollicite him to come in Perſon into thoſe Countries, aſſuring him, That they would All be ready with Horſe and Arms to aſſiſt him in recovering his antient Inheritance. The King thereupon by the Advice of his Juſtitiary (whoſe Counſel he ſtill followed in all things) anſwered them, That he could not comply with their Deſires at preſent, but muſt ſtay for a more convenient Opportunity: Upon this, the Meſſengers return'd without any more ado; But the Reaſon why the King did not lay hold of this Offer, I do not find.

But ſince the Affairs of the Church and State this Year, are ſo interwoven with each other, that they cannot well be parted, I ſhall here purſue my Author's Method, and give them you as they there lie together.

[4] *Id.* p. 355. The King's Envoys at *Rome* attend in vain the Pope's Reſolution about the A.B. Elect of *Canterbury*.

[4] *Alexander* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, (or *Litchfield*) *Henry* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Maſter *John de Houghton* Archdeacon of *Bedford*, the King's Envoys at the Court of *Rome*, according to Appointment attended on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, for the Pope's Determination concerning the A.Bp. Elect of *Canterbury*, but finding both his Holineſs and the Cardinals very difficult to be prevailed upon by bare Petitions, they

promiſed

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And are fain to promiſe the Tenth of all Moveables in *England.*

promiſed on the King's behalf a Tenth of all Moveables from *England* and *Ireland*, to be paid the Pope toward his carrying on the War againſt the Emperor, which was now declar'd, *John de Brenne* King of *Jeruſalem* being appointed General.)

[5] *Id. Ib.*

The Election of the A.B. of *Canterbury* vacated.

Richard Chancellor of *Lincoln* is choſen in his ſtead.

[5] The Pope now ſtanding in need of King *Henry*, was the more eaſily prevail'd upon to embrace the Offer, and forthwith cauſed the Election made by the Monks of *Canterbury* to be declared Void, tho' not ſo much for thoſe Diſabilities objected againſt him on the King's behalf, as for his Notorious Ignorance, he not being able ſo much as to give a tolerable Account of ſeveral Points of Faith, upon which he was then Examin'd by the Pope's Delegates, appointed for that purpoſe, as appears by the Sentence at large in *Matt. Paris*; whereupon *Richard le Grant* Chancellor of the Church of *Lincoln*, was promoted by the Pope to the Archbiſhoprick, without any Election; yet by the Conſent of the King and Biſhops, he being thus confirmed by the Pope, received his Bull declaring him Archbiſhop, and Commanded all the Biſhops and Clergy of his Province to Obey him.

This was a New Encroachment, and the firſt Archbiſhop that ever the Pope took upon him to nominate, without a previous Election by the Convent, or Biſhops.

[1] *Id.* p. 361.

The Pope's Chaplain comes into *England* to Collect the Tenths, upon which the King calls a great Council to conſult about it.

[2] *Tam Clericis quam Laicis, & eorum ſubditis.*

[1] Not long after this, the Pope ſent one *Stephen* his Chaplain into *England*, to Collect the Tenths that were lately promiſed towards the defraying the Charges of his War againſt the Emperor: But ſo ſoon as the King underſtood his Meſſage, he cauſed the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Priors, Templars, Hoſpitallers, Earls, Barons, Rectors of Churches, and all thoſe who held of him *in Capite*, to meet him at *Weſtminſter*, to conſult upon the above-mention'd Buſineſs and other Exigencies: And when they were all met [2] both the Clergy and Laiety, with their Tenants, or Vaſſals, *Stephen* opened and recited to them the Pope's Letters, urging both the Occaſion, and the Neceſſity of it, which required, that what was promiſed by the King's Envoys, ſhould be conſented to and made good.

The K. being obliged by his Promiſe to the Pope, conſents to the Nuncio's Demand; yet the Earls and Barons ſtoutly oppoſe it.

When he had ended his Speech, all expected the King would have oppoſed it; but he being tied up by the forementioned Promiſe, was afraid to refuſe the Pope's Demands, and ſo ſeemed by his ſilence to give Conſent; yet the Earls and Barons, with all the Laiety, were not ſo Mealy-mouth'd, but ſtoutly reſolved they would not oblige their Baronies and Lay-fees to the Court of *Rome*; and therefore had compounded with the Legate for a certain Sum of Money, had they not been betray'd by *Stephen de Segrave*, who joinied with him, and ſo order'd the Matter, that he obtain'd his Demands; for notwithſtanding this Oppoſition, the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates of Churches, after Three or Four Days Deliberation, and no ſmall Reluctancy, conſented to it, leſt (if they oppoſed) they ſhould incur the Sentence of *Excommunication*: Then *Stephen* ſhewed them the Pope's Letter, whereby he was Commiſſionated to collect the aforeſaid Tenths, which were to be paid out of all their Profits whatever, without any Deductions either for Debts or Expences; and he was thereby Impower'd to *Excommunicate* all thoſe that refuſed, and likewiſe to ***Interdict*** their Churches; and becauſe the

The Clergy being afraid of the Pope's *Excommunication*, agree to the Nuncio's Demands.

the Buſineſs required Speed, he gave notice to the Prelates, that they ſhould forthwith pay down what was due for the Tenths, and afterwards levy it upon every one by way of Tax; which Exaction proved ſo grievous, that they were forced to Sell or Pawn their very Veſtments, Chalices, and other Holy Veſſels belonging to their Churches: Moreover, he exacted the Tenths of the Autumnal Fruits of the Earth, while they were yet growing; all which they were forced to procure and pay, to avoid the *Excommunication* and *Interdict*: And for the more ſpeedy raiſing of the Money, he brought along with him certain wicked Uſurers, who ſupplied the Indigent with Money, which they were compelled to borrow, although they were thereby irrecoverably ruined. Thus you may ſee to what a ſad Condition the Clergy and Laiety of this Kingdom were at this time reduced, under a Young and Eaſie King, who if he had but had the Courage peremptorily to have ſaid *No*, the Legate had never durſt to have taken theſe Tenths at all; for *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, was the only Noble Man that oppoſed this Exaction, and would not permit any Religious Man, or Clerk to pay the above-mentioned Tenths within his Earldom, notwithſtanding they were paid every where beſides in *England*, *Wales*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

The Tenths are Exacted with great Rigour.

[3] *Id.* p. 363.

The K. prepares for an Expedition into *France*, but it comes to nothing, for want of Ships to Tranſport his Army.

[3] The moſt conſiderable Affair that happen'd this Year, was the King's intended Expedition into *France*, but it came to nothing, and it was on this Occaſion; On *Michaelmaſs-Day* the King cauſed the whole Nobility of *England* (*viz.*) the Earls, Barons, and Knights, to meet at *Portſmouth* with ſuch a vaſt number of Horſe and Foot, that none of his Predeceſſors ever aſſembled ſo great an Army together before, with a Reſolution to paſs over Sea to recover thoſe Dominions his Father had loſt: But when the Chief Commanders and Mareſchals of the Army came to Victual the Ships, there were not enough to be found ready to carry over one Half of the Men; whereupon the King hearing of this, was extremely enraged, and laid the whole Blame upon *Hubert de Burgh* his Juſtitiary, and openly called him *Traytor*, reproaching him for having received Five Thouſand Marks from the Queen of *France* to put a ſtop to this Deſign: Nay, he was raiſed to ſuch a height of Paſſion, that he drew his Sword and would have kill'd the Juſtitiary, had not *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, and ſome others interpoſed and prevented it; by which you may obſerve, That this King, though counted a Man of ſmall Spirit, yet could ſhew his Reſentments when he was throughly provoked. But whether this Failure proceeded from the Careleſſneſs or Infidelity of the Juſtitiary (then the King's Chief Miniſter) is uncertain, only it is evident, that it was the Loſs of the whole Deſign.

The K. lays all the Blame on *Hubert de Burgh* his Juſtitiary.

[4] *Id. ib.*

**Matt. Paris* calls him *Henry* but by miſtake.

The Earl of *Bretaigne* comes into *England*, and perſuades the King to put off his Expedition into *France* till the Spring.

[4] On the Ninth of *October* following **Peter* Earl of *Bretaigne* Landed in *England* to conduct the King over Sea, as he was bound by former Agreement and Oath; but he then adviſed him to lay aſide all thoughts of it till the *Eaſter* following, becauſe it was dangerous Sailing at that time of the Year, and a Winter Voyage might be much to his Loſs. Upon this the King gave every one Liberty to go home again, and the Juſtitiary at Length was reconciled to him: Then the Earl did Homage to the King againſt all Men for

Bretaigne,

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Bretaigne, upon which the King reſtored to him all his Right in *England*, and having given him Five Thouſand Marks for the Defence of his own Dominions, he took his Leave of him.

[5] *Id.* p. 364. The Emperour's great Succeſs in the *Holy Land*.

I ſhall conclude this Year with an Account of the Affairs of the [5] *Holy-Land*, where the Emperor being arrived, met with much better Succeſs than he could have expected, notwithſtanding his late *Excommunication* by the Pope; for the Sultan of *Babylon* being now extreamly preſſed by Civil Wars, was content to purchaſe the Emperour's Friendſhip, by giving up *Jeruſalem*, with all the Land of *Paleſtine*, except ſome Caſtles on the Borders of *Arabia*, as the Emperour himſelf then ſignified in a Letter to King *Henry* under his own Seal, the Copy of which our Author has given us at large, to which I refer the Reader, who deſires further Satisfaction therein.

[1] *Id. ib.* The Patriarch and Knights *Hoſpitallers* of *Jeruſalem* defame the Emperor, and endeavour to deſtroy him.

[1] Yet notwithſtanding theſe great Succeſſes, the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, together with the Maſters of the *Knights-Templars* and *Hoſpitallers*, did all they could to defame the Emperour, (tho' a Great and Worthy Prince) for holding a Correſpondence with the Sultan of *Babylon*, to the great Prejudice of the *Chriſtians*, and that he favoured him more than thoſe Knights, who were of his own Religion; and indeed he had very good Reaſon ſo to do, if what our Author relates be true; *viz.* That when they knew the Emperour intended to go on Pilgrimage to the River *Jordan*, to ſee the Place where our *Saviour* was Baptized, ſome of them gave the Sultan notice of it, that ſo he might fall upon the Emperour by ſurprize, and take him Priſoner, or kill him; which *Treaſon* the Sultan ſo highly deteſted, that he ſent him notice of it, together with the Letter it ſelf: But the Truth of the Matter was, that the Emperour ſtanding at this time *Excommunicated* by the Pope, who theſe Knights heard now made War upon him in *Europe*, it emboldened them to do all the Miſchief they could: This Diſſention proved at laſt the ruine of this unſucceſsful Enterprize, as you will find hereafter.

Anno Dom. MCCXXX.

[2] *Id. ib.* The K. and Great Men meet at *York*.

[2] This Year the King held his *Chriſtmas* at *York*, where the King of *Scots* met him, being invited thither by the King; the Archbiſhop of that Place, and many Earls, Barons, and Knights, and a very great Multitude of their Followers being there preſent; and having celebrated this Feaſt with great Joy and Hoſpitality for Three Days, the King of *Scots* returned into his own Country, and the King of *England* to *London*.

[3] *Id.* p. 365.

[3] This Year the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors throughout *England*, gave the King a great Sum of Money for recovering his Rights, which were taken from his Father beyond Sea; and upon the ſame account the Citizens of *London* were put to a grievous Ranſom, and the *Jews* forced to pay the Third part of their Subſtance.

[4] *Id. ib.* The K. muſters his Army, and paſſes over into *France*.

[4] At *Eaſter* following, the King muſtered a very numerous Army of all the Nobility of the Kingdom that owed him Military Service, at *Reading*, and marched from thence to *Portſmouth* the Thirtieth of *April*, and there took Shipping with the greateſt part of his Forces, and landed at *St. Maloes* on the Third of *May*, where he

was

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was very kindly received by *Peter* Earl of *Bretaigne*, who delivered up to him the ſtrong Towns and Caſtles of that Country, and ſeveral of the Nobility did Homage and ſwore Fealty to him; but a Baron, called *Andrew de Viteri*, with ſome others, refuſed it, and fortified their Caſtles. So ſoon as the King of *France* heard of this, he raiſed an Army, and came to *Angiers*, and poſted himſelf there to hinder King *Henry*'s march into *Poictou*, who continued ſtill at *Nants*, expecting the reſidue of his Army.

[5] *Id. ib.* A great Diſcord ariſes among the *French* Nobility, many of whom ſecretly confederated with K. *Henry*.

[5] About this time there happened a great Diſcord among the *French* Nobility, many of them (as was reported) being ſecretly Confederated with the King of *England*, and Earl of *Bretaigne*, the Chief of whom were the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Boloigne*, the Earl of *Drieux*, the Earl of *Maſcun*, the Earl of *St. Paul*, the Earl of *Bar*, *Engeram de Curci*, and *Robert de Courtency*; all theſe declared War againſt the Earls of *Champaigne* and *Flanders*; who having been forty Days at the Siege of *Angiers*, they obtained leave of King *Lewis*, and returned home; who ſeeing he could not keep them there any longer, preſently followed, and endeavoured to make Peace between thoſe Noblemen and the Earls of *Champaigne* and *Flanders*, but could not; for they entred *Champaigne*, and deſtroyed all before them with Fire and Sword: The Earl was ſoon defeated, and put to flight, and they purſued him to the Gates of *Paris*.

The *French* Nobility deſtroy *Champagne* with Fire and Sword.

Id. Ib.

That which moved theſe Great Men ſo much againſt the Earl of *Champaigne*, was, that they ſuſpected him to have had a hand in poiſoning the late King *Lewis* at *Avignon*, of which they had accuſed him before the young King, and challenged him to anſwer it by Duel; but through the Powerful Influence of the Queen-Mother, he would hear nothing againſt him: Hereupon they left the Court, and occaſioned great Commotions in *France*, diſdaining to have ſuch a Miſtreſs as was ſuſpected to have proſtituted her ſelf to the unchaſt Embraces both of this Earl and the Pope's Legate.

[1] *Id. ib.* Several Noblemen of *Normandy* invite the K. into that Province.

[1] About the ſame time *Fulco Paganel*, and *William* his Brother, Noblemen of *Normandy*, came to King *Henry* in *Bretaigne*, and ſwore Fealty and did Homage to him, and likewiſe about Sixty Knights, Stout and Powerful Men, who all perſwaded him to enter *Normandy* with an Army, and he ſhould not in the leaſt doubt of Succeſs: The King liked their Advice very well, but *Hubert de Burgh* the Juſtitiary would not ſuffer him to follow it, alledging, That the Attempt ſeemed to be every way dangerous: So theſe Noblemen went away miſerably diſappointed, for the King of *France* forthwith ſeized their Caſtles and Eſtates; but the reaſon why the Juſtitiary thought this Expedition more dangerous than any other, I do not find.

But he is diverted by his Council, which proves their ruin.

After this, by the Advice of *Hubert de Burgh*, the King marched with his Army through *Anjou* into *Poictou*, and from thence into *Gaſcoigny*, where having received their Homages, and ſecured the Country, he returned into *Poictou*, and received the like of ſeveral of his Vaſſals there; and in this Expedition the King took the ſtrong Caſtle of *Mirebel*.

Anno Dom. MCCXXX.

[2] *Id.* p. 367. The *French* K. meets all his Nobility in a Parliament. * *Colloquium.* Where he makes Peace among the Nobility, the Earl of *Champaigne* being ſent into the *Holy Land.*

[2] In the Month of *September*, the King of *France* and the Queen-Regent his Mother met in a * Parliament, or General Aſſembly, with all the Nobility and Great Men of that Kingdom, who after the death of the King's Father, had made War one upon another, in which Aſſembly a Peace was concluded on the following Conditions: *Firſt.* That the Earl of *Champaigne* (the Principal Author of the late Diſturbance) ſhould undertake the *Cruſado* to the *Holy Land*, and there with an Hundred Knights fight againſt the Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Faith: *Secondly*, That the King of *France* and his Mother ſhould ſwear upon the Holy Goſpels, to reſtore to every one his Right, and that they would Judge all Men of that Nation according to the Right, Cuſtom or Law due to every Man.

[3] *Id. ib.* The K. with his Army lies idle in *France*, and ſpends his Money vainly.

* *Servientes.*

And then in Autumn is forced to return into *England.*

After his departure, the Earl of *Cheſter* and others make an Invaſion into *Anjou.*

[3] In the mean time, King *Henry* with his Army lay idle at *Nantes*, doing nothing but waſting his Treaſure: The Earls and Barons ſeeing *Hubert de Burgh* would not permit them to fight with their Enemies, Feaſted each other according to the *Engliſh* manner, and drank as if it had been at *Chriſtmas*; ſo that thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen who were poor having ſpent all their Money, ſold or pawned their Horſes and Arms. At length the King in *October*, having provided in ſome meaſure for the Defence of the Country, and left Five hundred Knights and a Thouſand * Stipendiaries, or Footmen, under the Command of *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *William Mareſchal*, and *William* Earl of *Albemarl*, took ſhipping, and landed at *Portſmouth* on the Twenty ſixth of that Month: After his departure, the Earl of *Cheſter* and Others, whom he had left Commanders in Chief, made an Incurſion with the whole Army into *Anjou*, and took *Gontier*-Caſtle, demoliſhed it, and burnt the Town; and preſently after invading *Normandy* in like manner, they burnt the Town, took the Caſtle of *Pontarſu*, and razed it; and then returned into *Bretaigne* with great Spoils, and without any conſiderable Loſs to themſelves.

[4] *Id.* p. 366. The King of *Connaught* invades the King's Territories in *Ireland.*

But is defeated by *Geoffrey de Maris* and others.

[4] I ſhall conclude this Year with an Account of the Affairs of *Ireland*, where during King *Henry*'s abſence, about *July* the King of *Connaught*, knowing that *William* the *Mareſchal* and *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, were gone over into *France*, ſo that *Ireland* was left without any great Force to defend it, raiſed a mighty Army, (or rather a great Number of People) and entred into the *Engliſh* Territories, ſpoiling and burning the Country; the News whereof being brought to *Geoffrey de Maris* (then Deputy-Juſtitiary) he calling to his Aſſiſtance *Walter Lacy* and *Richard de Burgh*, raiſed a conſiderable Force, with which he fought and beat the *Iriſh*, killed Twenty thouſand of them, and took their King Priſoner.

[5] *Anno Dom.* MCCXXXI.

Id. p. 367. The K. holds a great Council, and therein demands Scutage of the Tenants *in Capite.*

[5] This Year the King at *Chriſtmas* kept his Court at *Lambeth*, and on the Twenty ſixth of *January*, he met his Prelates and other Great Men at *Weſtminſter*, where he required a *Scutage* of Three Marks of every Knight's Fee of all that held Baronies of him, both Laicks and Prelates; but *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and ſome Biſhops oppoſed it, alledging, That Eccleſiaſticks were not to be Taxed by, or with Lay-men: however, all the reſt, as well Laicks, as Clerks and Prelates, readily ſubmitted to the King's Pleaſure.

[1] Soon

Anno Dom. MCCXXXI.

[1] Soon after this, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* complained to the King, That Earl *Hubert* his Juſtitiary had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Caſtle and Town of *Tonbridge*, and all other Lands which belonged to *Gilbert* late Earl of *Glouceſter* deceaſed, from which Homage was due to the Church of *Canterbury:* But the King replied, That the above-mentioned Earl held of him *in Capite*, and it was his Prerogative to diſpoſe of the Wardſhips of Earls and Barons, and of their Heirs, to whom he pleaſed, till they ſhould come to full Age. When the Archbiſhop found he could not obtain any other Anſwer, he *Excommunicated* all thoſe that had entred upon the aforeſaid Poſſeſſions, and alſo every one (except the King) that ſhould converſe with them; and then went to *Rome* to proſecute his Suit in that Court. The King likewiſe ſent *Roger de Cantelupe*, with ſome others, to plead his Cauſe before the Pope.

[1] *Id.* p. 368. The A. B of *Canterbury* complains to the K. againſt the Juſtitiary, and for what reaſon. Whereupon the K. aſſerts his Prerogative to diſpoſe of Wardſhips. The A. B. *excommunicates* all thoſe that entred upon his Poſſeſſions, and then goes to *Rome* to defend his Cauſe.

[2] About *Eaſter* Earl *Richard*, the King's Brother, married *Iſabel* Counteſs-Dowager of *Glouceſter*, Siſter to *William* the Mareſchal, Earl of *Pembroke*, which *William* died immediately after that Solemnity.

[2] *Id. ib.* Earl *Richard* the K.'s Brother marries the Counteſs Dowager of *Glouceſter*.

[3] This Year in *May*, the *Welſh*, under their King *Llewellyn*, made many Incurſions, and committed great Spoils upon the Borders of *Wales*, ſparing neither Sacred Perſons nor Places: When the Biſhops and Prelates heard of it, they *Excommunicated* that Prince, and all his Adherents and Abettors; and the King having raiſed an Army at *Oxford*, marched ſpeedily into the Marches of *Wales*, as far as *Hereford*, to ſuppreſs them: During his ſtay there, the Governour of *Montgomery*-Caſtle, being over-reached by the Treachery of a Monk of *Combermeer*-Abbey, (whom Prince *Llewellyn* had ſuborned for that purpoſe,) marched out with the Soldiers of that Garriſon againſt the *Welſh* Prince; but he then lying ſtrongly encamped in a Place not far off, encompaſſed with Bogs, the *Welſh* feigned a Retreat; and the *Engliſh* being by this Stratagem drawn into the Bog, were there ſet upon by the *Welſh*, almoſt all cut off, and the reſt taken Priſoners: But when King *Henry* heard of it, he preſently marched againſt the *Welſh*, and entring their Country, they fled before him: Then the King rebuilt *Maud*-Caſtle, which the *Welſh* had formerly demoliſhed, and placed a ſtrong Gariſon in it to hinder their further Incurſions; and having finiſhed it, in *October* he returned into *England*.

[3] *Id. ib.* The *Welſh* make Incurſions, and therefore are *excommunicated* by the *Engliſh* Biſhops. The K. marches with an Army to the Borders of *Wales*, where his Forces receive a Defeat. The King rebuilds *Maud*-Caſtle, and returns home.

As to foreign Affairs this Year, in *June* the King of *France* with a great Army deſigned to invade *Bretaigne*, but was prevented by the Earls of *Bretaigne* and *Cheſter*, who had laid an Ambuſh to intercept his Carriages with the Victuals and Engines of War, which met with ſuch good Succeſs, that they took and deſtroyed them all. The *French* being thus ſurprized and diſcouraged, a Truce was agreed upon, and concluded for Three Years, between the Two Kings; On the King of *France*'s part, by the Archbiſhop of *Rhemes* and Earl of *Boloigne*; and on the King of *England*'s part by the Earls of *Bretaigne* and *Cheſter*, who ſoon after came into *England* with *Richard* the new Earl-Mareſchal, and were kindly received by the King: Then that Earl offered to do Homage, and whatſoever elſe was required of him, as Heir to his Brother *William* the *Mareſchal* deceaſed; To whom the King, by the Advice of his Juſtitiary,

[4] *Id.* p. 369. The King of *France* deſigning to invade *Bretaigne*, is prevented by the Earl of that Province and the Earl of *Cheſter*, who ſurprize all his Carriages; whereupon a Truce is made for three Years.

Richard the Earl-Mareſchal offers to do Homage for his late Brother's Eſtate; but is by the K. refuſed, and commanded to depart the Kingdom.

gave this Anſwer, That he heard his Brother's Wife was with Child, and therefore would not determine any thing till that was certainly known, whether it were ſo or not; adding moreover, that he had confederated with his Enemies in *France*, and upon that account commanded him to depart the Kingdom within Fifteen Days, and never to return again upon pain of perpetual Impriſonment.

[5] *Id. ib.* Whereupon the Earl paſſes into *Ireland*, and reſolves to recover his Eſtate by force. Which makes the K. accept his Homage, and grant him all his Rights.

[5] When he had received this harſh Anſwer from the King, he paſſed over into *Ireland*, and there was kindly received; and having all his Brother's Caſtles delivered to him, had Homage and Fealty done him by his Tenants; alſo *Pembroke*-Caſtle, with the Honour belonging to it, was yielded to him. After this, he got together a great Number of Armed Men, reſolving (if Neceſſity required) to recover his Inheritance by Force. The King upon this changed his Thoughts, and accepted his Homage and Fealty, and granted him all his Rights, taking only the accuſtomed Relief.

[1] *Id.* p. 370. The A. B. of *Canterbury* arrives at *Rome*, and makes great Complaints to the Pope againſt the King.

[1] As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, about this time *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* arrived at *Rome*, and in the Pope's Preſence made the following Complaints, (*viz.*) 'That the King was abſolutely guided by *Hubert* the Juſtitiary; and that the Affairs of the 'Kingdom were wholly tranſacted by his private Advice, without 'conſulting that of his Great Men; That the Juſtitiary had married his former Wife's near Kinſwoman, and had invaded the 'Rights of the Church of *Canterbury*, and refuſed to reſtore them; 'That the Biſhops his Suffragans had neglected their Paſtoral Care, 'and had betaken themſelves to Try Lay-Cauſes in the *Exchequer*, 'and gave Judgment in Matters of Bloud; That the Beneficed 'Clerks, and ſuch as were in Holy Orders, had divers Churches 'with Cure of Souls; and, according to the Examples of the 'Biſhops, intruded themſelves into Secular Affairs. On the other ſide, the King's Envoy pleaded many things on their Maſter's and the Juſtitiary's behalf, but to very little purpoſe; for the Pope had Commanded, that the Archbiſhop ſhould have his Buſineſs forthwith diſpatched, according as he deſired: However, in his return home he died at *St. Gemma*, three days Journey from *Rome*, and ſo the whole Tranſaction expired with him.

But carries his Cauſe againſt the K.'s Envoys.

And dies in his return home.

This Archbiſhop ſate ſo ſmall a time, that we can make no Character good or bad concerning him, more than that he was a vigorous Aſſerter of the Rights of his See, as appears by his travelling to *Rome* upon ſo ſlight an Errand as the retaining of a Caſtle, and ſome Eſtate that he claimed during the Nonage of the young Earl of *Glouceſter*.

[2] *Id. ib.* The K. would have married the K. of *Scots* Siſter, but is diſſwaded from it by his Nobility, and for what Reaſon.

[2] In *October* the King offered to marry the King of *Scots* Siſter, but the Earls and Barons, and eſpecially the Mareſchal, oppoſed it, alledging, that it was not for his Honour to marry the Younger, when his Juſtitiary had married the Elder Siſter; ſo at length he was prevail'd upon by the Earl of *Bretaigne* and the Mareſchal to deſiſt from that Deſign. After this, he gave the Earl of *Bretaigne* Five thouſand Marks of Silver, and ſo he returned into his own Country.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXI.

[3] *Id. ib.* The Monks of *Canterbury* chuſe *Ralph* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* A.Bp. and preſent him to the K. who confirmed their Choice.

[3] The Monks of *Canterbury* having choſen *Ralph Nevil* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* and Chancellor of *England*, Archbiſhop, they preſented him to the King on the Nineteenth of *September*, who confirmed their Choice, and forthwith inveſted him with the Temporalties, belonging to the Archbiſhoprick: Then the Monks deſired their Elect to allow them Money for their Expences in their Journey to the Court of *Rome*, to procure his Election to be confirmed; but he replied, He thought it was *Simoniacal*, and upon that account would not conſent to allow them one Farthing; However the Monks proceeded in their Journey, and Petitioned the Pope to confirm their Choice; but he being before informed of the Merits of the Perſon by *Simon Langton*, gave them this Anſwer, That the Perſon they had choſe was an Illiterate Man and a Courtier, and if he were promoted to that Dignity, he would concur with the King and Kingdom to ſhake off that Subjection to the See of *Rome*, to which King *John* had long ago ſubmitted it; whereupon the Pope voided the Election and commanded the Monks to proceed to a new Choice of one who would be Faithful, and Devoted to the *Roman* Church.

But the Pope voids the Election, becauſe the Biſhop was a Courrier, and illiterate.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXII.

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 372. The K. meets the Great Men both of the Clergy and Laiety at *Weſtminſter*, and there demands an Aid of them

[4] This Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, and upon the Seventh of *March* he met the Great Men, as well Prelates as Laicks at *Weſtminſter*, to whom he declared That his late Expedition beyond Sea, had involved him in Great Debts, wherefore he was now forced to require of every one a general Aid; to whom *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter* replied in the Name of all the Great Men, ‘That ‘the Earls, Barons, and Knights, who held of him *in Capite*, had ‘Perſonally ſerved him, and had been at great Expences to no purpoſe, whereby they were reduced to Poverty, and therefore of ‘Right they owed the King no further Aid; and then having asked leave of him, all the Laicks departed: But the Prelates anſwered him dilatorily, ‘That many Abbots who were Summoned, were ‘not yet come up, and therefore deſired it might be deferred for ſome ‘time longer, and that a Day might be appointed for all of them to ‘meet together, and conſult what ought to be done in that Affair, which was agreed to by the King; and the *Quindene*, or Fifteenth day after *Eaſter* was appointed for their next meeting.

Which the Earls, Barons, *&c.* refuſe to grant, and deſire leave to go home.

But the Prelates give a dilatory Anſwer.

[5] *Id.* p. 375. Corn and Money taken from the *Italian* Clergymen, and given to the Poor by certain Perſons unknown.

[5] This Year many Men of Good Quality, with others of leſs Note, taking Arms violently enter'd the Barns of the *Roman*, (or *Italian*) Clergy-Men that were Beneficed in *England*, and carried away, and diſtributed their Corn, and ſometimes Money, among the Poor. There were about Fourſcore, and ſometimes more, that were the Authors of this preſumptuous Attempt; but one *William Witham*, (whoſe true Name was *Robert Thinge*, (alias *Twenge*) a Knight, was their chief Leader, to whom they paid a moſt ready Obedience. When theſe Diſorders had reach'd the Pope's Ears, he ſent very ſevere Letters to the King, blaming him for permitting ſuch Rapine to be Executed on Clergy-men; and commanding him upon pain of *Excommunication* and *Interdict*, to make ſtrict Enquiry after the Authors of this Violence, and to puniſh them according to the heinouſneſs of their Offence; that ſo others might be terrified from committing the like: And by his Letters he Commiſſioned

The Pope writes to the K. to make Enquiry into the Authors of this Violence.

Peter

Anno Dom. MCCXXXII.

The Pope alſo appoints Commiſſioners to make Inquiſition, and to *Excommunicate* the Guilty.

Peter Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Abbot of *St. Edmunds-Bury*, to make an *Inquiſition* in the *South* of *England*; and in the *North*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and *John* a *Roman* and Chanon of *York*, to make ſtrict ſearch, and whomſoever they found Tranſgreſſors in this Kind, that they ſhould forthwith *Excommunicate* them, and ſend them to *Rome* to be Abſolved.

[1] *Id. ib.* Many conſiderable Perſons are accuſed and impriſon'd.

Robert Twenge comes to the King, and juſtifies what he had done.

[1] When the Inquiſition was Executed, and Witneſſes Examined upon Oath, a Great many conſiderable Perſons were found either actually guilty of the above-mentioned Rapine, or at leaſt conſenting to it; in which number were ſome of the Biſhops, and others of the King's Clerks, with ſome Archdeacons and Deans, beſides many Knights and Laymen; ſo that divers High-Sheriffs, their Bailiffs, and other Miniſters, were by the King's Command taken up, and Committed to Priſon; ſeveral through Fear fled and could not be found; Nay, *Hubert de Burgh* the Juſtitiary, was himſelf accuſed as a Tranſgreſſor, for that he had granted the King's Letters, together with his own, that they ſhould not be hinder'd in their violent Actings; amongſt Others there came to the King the aforeſaid *Robert Twenge*, and brought with him Five Eſquires, who were his Coadjutors, and openly profeſſed that they had plundered the *Roman* Clergy, to revenge an Injury which he had formerly received by the Pope's Sentence, whereby 'twas endeavoured by manifeſt Fraud to force from him the only Church he had in his Gift; adding withal, That he had rather for a Time be unjuſtly *Excommunicated*, than loſe the Patronage of his Benefice without due Judgment: Then the King and Inquiſitors adviſed him to go to *Rome*, and make out his Right before the Pope, and pray his Abſolution; and the King thereupon gave him Teſtimonial Letters of his Right to the Pope, deſiring him earneſtly for his ſake to give this Knight Audience.

[2] *Id.* p. 376. The Monks of *Canterbury* chuſe *John* their Subprior, Archbiſhop.

But the Pope rejects him, and commands the Monks to chuſe another.

[2] The Convent of *Canterbury* having lately choſe *John* their Sub-Prior, Archbiſhop, he arrived at *Rome* in *Whitſon-Week*, and delivering his Letters of *Election* to the Pope, he commanded ſome of his Cardinals to Examine him, who after Three Days Tryal, profeſſed before the Pope, that they could find no cauſe of Rejecting him; yet however the Pope looked upon him to be too Old and Weak for ſo great a Truſt, and perſuaded him to renounce his *Election*, which he willingly did, and begg'd leave to go home again; Then the Pope granted Licence to the Monks of *Canterbury*, and Commanded them to chuſe ſuch an One to whom he might commit the Paſtoral Care.

[3] *Id. ib.* The *Welſh* make Inroads into *England*, whereupon the King's Councellors upbraid him for ſuffering it.

The K. in excuſe pleads Poverty.

* *Note*, Theſe were yearly Penſions to ſeveral Monaſteries: *Vid.* the *Pipe Rolles*.

[3] This Year about *Whitſon-Week*, the *Welſh* under the Conduct of their Prince *Llewellyn*, made ſeveral Inroads into *England*, and began to Burn and Plunder as they uſed to do: But when *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and ſome other Councellors, told the King it was a great Reproach to his Crown to ſuffer ſuch an Inconſiderable People as the *Welſh* were, thus to Rob and Spoil his Subjects; He anſwered, That his Treaſurers told him, his Revenues would ſcarce afford him Meat and Cloaths, and to ſatisfie the accuſtomed **Alms*, much leſs any thing for Warlike Expeditions; To which they replied, 'That he made himſelf Poor by giving away the Honours, 'Wardſhips, and vacant Dignities which ought to come into the

‘*Exchequer*, ſo that he had the Name, but not the Eſtate and Riches ‘of a King; adding withal, That his Predeceſſors were ſplendid ‘both in Glory and Wealth; and that this proceeded from the ‘great Care they took of their Revenues. Whereupon the King took this Hint, and preſently called his Sheriffs and Bailiffs to an Account, and whoever was convicted of Fraud, was removed from his Office, and forced to pay the Whole into the *Exchequer* with Uſury: He alſo removed *Ranulph Breton* Treaſurer of his Chamber, from his Office, and Fined him a Thouſand Pounds in Silver; and by the Advice of *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, (whoſe Councel the King now in all things followed,) *Peter de Rivaux* his Nephew, a *Poictovin*, was placed in his Room; by which means the King's Coffers were for a while plentifully ſupply'd.

The K. calls his Officers to Account, and gets much Money from them.

[4] About this time alſo, by the Advice of the ſame Biſhop, *Hubert de Burgh* was removed from the Office of Juſtitiary, although (as it was ſaid) he had the King's Patent for it during Life, and *Stephen de Segrave* placed in his Room, on the Twenty Ninth of *July:* Some few days after, the King, being very much incenſed againſt *Hubert*, required him to give an Account of all ſuch Moneys and other Revenues that had paſſed through his Hands, ever ſince he had been Juſtitiary.

[4] *Id. Ib.* *Hubert de Burgh* is removed from being Juſtitiary, and called to an Account for what he had received.

To this *Hubert* anſwered, *That he had King* John's *Charter, whereby he was diſcharged of all Accounts, who having ſo often experienced his Faithfulneſs, would not receive any Account from him:* The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* replied, ‘That that Charter was not valid, after King *John*'s Death, and did not at all bind the preſent King ‘from exacting an Account from him: But to this was added, That ‘he had been Guilty of ſeveral Treaſonable Practices, and had given Treacherous Advice to the King, much to the Prejudice both ‘of *King and Kingdom:* To all which the King required him to anſwer, and ſtand to the Judgment of the Court.

Hubert makes his Defence.

Hereupon *Hubert* ſeeing himſelf much preſſed and ſtreightned, required ſome time to give in his Anſwer, which was with great difficulty obtained, and the Fourteenth of *September* following was the Day appointed: In the mean time he took Sanctuary in the Priory of *Merton*, and being now deſerted by all his Friends, (except the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*) his Enemies daily increaſed, and many other falſe and improbable Crimes, (too large here to be recited) were laid to his Charge; Namely, That he had procured *William* late Earl of *Saliſbury*, *William Mareſchal* late Earl of *Pembroke*, *Faux de Brent*, and *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be Poiſoned; That he had gained the King's Affection by Sorcery and Witchcraft; Others accuſed him of Injuſtice, Extortion, and Rapine; and the *Londoners* entered their Complaint againſt him for condemning their Fellow Citizen *Conſtantine* to be Hang'd without Legal Proceſs: All which Crimes were ſo highly aggravated before the King, that he cauſed it to be proclaimed in *London*, That whoever had any Complaint againſt *Hubert*, ſhould come to him, and he ſhould have Juſtice done him.

And obtains time till *September* to put in his Anſwer.

Many other great Crimes are laid to his Charge.

Anno Dom MCCXXXII

[5] *Id.* p. 377, 378

* *Proceribus.*

A Parliament at *Lambeth*, which grants the K. a Fortieth Part of all Moveables

Hubert de Burgh having taken Sanctuary, durſt not make his Anſwer.

The K. ſends the Mayor of *London* to fetch him out alive, or dead.

The Earl of *Cheſter* perſuades the K. to revoke his Orders for fear of a Sedition.

[5] On the Fourteenth of *September*, the King aſſembled the Biſhops, and other Prelates of the Church, with the Nobles of the Kingdom at *Lambeth*, by whom the Fortieth Part of all the Moveables of Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Clerks, and Laicks, were granted to the King, for the Payment of the Debt he owed the Earl of *Bretaigne*: Then *Hubert* the late Juſtitiary, being called to anſwer the Articles exhibited againſt him, and fearing the King would put him to ſome ſhameful Death, had taken Sanctuary with the Chanons of *Merton*, and durſt not appear in the King's Court, to plead to thoſe Articles, until the King ſhould be in a milder Temper; whereupon in a great Rage he ſent to the Mayor of *London* to force him from thence, and bring him either Dead or Alive: The *Londoners*, glad of this Opportunity to revenge themſelves upon *Hubert*, upon ringing the Common Bell, gathered together in great Numbers, (as it was reported about Twenty thouſand of them) but ſome of the more diſcreet Citizens dreading the ill Conſequences of ſuch Tumults, went to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Houſe in *Southwark*, and deſired his Advice, who told them, That whatever came of it, they muſt execute the King's Precept; but *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter* ſuggeſted to the King, That if theſe Tumultuous Proceedings were countenanced, ſuch a Sedition at any time might be raiſed, as could not eaſily be appeaſed; adding further, That it would be a great Reproach to him Abroad, and eſpecially in *France*, when they heard he thus treated thoſe that had been his Favourites; which ſo prevail'd upon him, that he preſently diſpatched away a Meſſenger, with Letters to revoke his former Precept: At this the Citizens were ſtartled, being diſappointed of their Revenge, yet paying Obedience to the King's Orders, they returned into the City.

[1] *Id. ib.*

Hubert has farther time granted till the Octaves of *Epiphany* to make his Anſwer.

Notwithſtanding which he is drawn out of the Sanctuary by Force, and committed to the Tower.

[1] After this the Archbiſhop of *Dublin* prevailed with the King to grant *Hubert* time till the *Octaves* of *Epiphany* to prepare his Anſwer. In the mean time *Hubert* thinking himſelf ſecure by the King's Letters Patents, deſigned a Viſit to his Wife, who was then at *St. Edmunds-Bury*; but when the King heard of it, he ſent *Geoffrey Craucumbe* with Three hundred Armed Men to apprehend him, and bring him Priſoner to the *Tower*: Upon this, going down, and finding him in *Eſſex* in a ſmall Chappel with the *Croſs* in One hand, and the *Hoſte* (taken from the Altar) in the Other, they wrung them both out of his Hands, and without reſpect to the Place, violently dragg'd him forth; and having Fetter'd and Chain'd his Feet under the Horſe's Belly, they brought him in a moſt reproachful manner to *London*, and committed him to the *Tower*.

[2] *Id.* p. 379.

The Biſhop of *London* rebukes the K. for it.

[2] But *Roger* Biſhop of *London* hearing how *Hubert* had been treated, went in all haſte to the King, and very ſeverely rebuked him for this breach of the Church's Peace; and told him, That if he did not preſently ſet him at Liberty, and ſend him back again to the Chappel from whence he had been taken, he would *Excommunicate* all that were concerned in this Violation of the Church's Privileges.

[3] *Id. ib.*

Hubert is ſent back again to the Sanctuary, and is there kept from all Relief.

[3] The King hereat being terrified, acknowledged his Fault, and him back again to the Chappel from whence he had been taken; but at the ſame time ſent to the Sheriffs of *Hertford* and *Eſſex* upon pain of being Hang'd, to go in their own Perſons, with all the Men of

both Counties, and encompaſs the Chappel, that *Hubert* might neither make his Eſcape, nor receive any Victuals from any one: Then *Luke* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, his only Friend who then ſtood by him, ſupplicated the King with Tears to know his Pleaſure concerning him. Upon this the King offered him his choice of Three things, either for ever to *Abjure* the Kingdom, or be condemned to *Perpetual Impriſonment*, or elſe to confeſs himſelf a *Traitor:* But *Hubert* would chuſe none of them, being conſcious to himſelf that he had done nothing to deſerve ſo ſevere a Proceeding; yet to ſatisfie the King, he ſaid he would be content to quit the Kingdom for ſome time, but would not abjure it for ever: Yet rather than be ſtarved, he at laſt yielded himſelf to the Sheriffs above-mentioned, who brought him up to *London* fettered and chained, and delivered him Priſoner to the *Tower*.

He yields in Part to the K.'s Offers and renders himſelf to the Sheriffs.

About this time was collected the Fortieth Part of all Goods lately granted to the King in the Parliament at *Lambeth:* The Form of the Commiſſion to the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties, and the manner how it was to be levied and collected, is expreſſed at large in the Commiſſion to the Collector, and is to be found in * *Matt. Paris*, f. 380. to which I refer the curious Reader.

The Tax of a 40th part of all Goods now collected.

About the Feaſt of St. *Martin* following, [4] the King was informed, that *Hubert* had much Treaſure lodged with the *Knights Templars*; whereupon he ſent for the Maſter of the *New Temple* to know the truth of it, who acknowledged the Money, but could not tell the Sum, but however refuſed to deliver it, unleſs he was authorized by *Hubert* himſelf: Then the King ſent his Treaſurer, with the Juſtices, or Barons of the *Exchequer*, to *Hubert*, who in the King's Name demanded of him all the Treaſure he had lodged with the *Templars:* To which *Hubert* replied, He would readily ſubmit himſelf and all that he had to the King's Pleaſure, and preſently authorized the *Templars* to deliver all the Keys of his Treaſure to the King; which when he received, he commanded an Inventory to be made, and delivered to him, and the Money to be paid into his *Exchequer*. His Enemies hearing of this great Treaſure, accuſed him to the King of Theft and Fraud, urging, that he deſerved a ſhameful Death: To whom the King replied, That *Hubert* had faithfully ſerved his Unkle King *Richard* and the King his Father, (as he had heard) and if he had done otherwiſe towards himſelf, he ſhould never be put to death; for he had rather appear too merciful than too cruel to one who had ſo often preſerved both his Predeceſſors and Himſelf in great Dangers: And the King being now ſoftned into Compaſſion, regranted to him all the Lands which the King his Father had given him, as alſo thoſe he had purchaſed: And ſoon after, Earl *Richard* the King's Brother, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *Richard* Earl-Marſhal, and *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, became Sureties for his Good-behaviour; whereupon he was ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of the *Deviſes*, under the Cuſtody of Four of their Knights, and then he appointed *Laurence*, a Clerk of *St. Albans*, Steward of the Lands granted him, who had been a faithful Friend, and great Comfort to him in all his Afflictions.

* It is alſo upon Record in the *Tower*. *R.Col.*16. *H.*3. *M.* 2. *Dorſ.*

[4] *Id.* p.381.

Earl *Hubert's* Treaſure ſeized in the New Temple.

The K. refuſes to put him to death.

He is committed to the Caſtle of the *Deviſes*.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXII.

* *Rot. Pat.* 17 *H.* 3. *M* 9 *Dorſ.* Printed in Dr. *Brady's Append.* n. 152.

The ſubſtance of *Hubert's* Compoſition, as it appears on Record.

The Subſtance of this Compoſition or Judgment, is alſo to be found upon * Record in the *Tower*, though it doth not agree in all Points as to the exact Circumſtance of Time, and the Crimes already laid to his Charge: For the Record only recites, ‘That whereas the Pope having wrote to King *Henry* to correct the Injuries that *Hubert de Burgh* had done to the *Roman* Church, and the *Italian* Clerks here in *England*, that thereupon the King ſent to Arreſt his Body, and bring him to anſwer before him eſpecially for that very matter; and that *Hubert* having notice of this, fled into a Chapel, from whence thoſe that purſued him (though they had no Order to do it) took him, and carried him to *London*; That when the King heard of this, being deſirous to maintain the Liberty of the Church, he commanded him to be carried back to the ſame Chapel; in which when he had continued ſeveral Days, he was asked whether he would remain in the Chapel, or go out, and ſtand Trial in the King's Court concerning that Offence, whatſoever elſe ſhould there be objected againſt him by the King and divers others, who had exhibited their Complaints; and that at length he voluntarily choſe to come out, and ſtand to the Law; yet begged the King's Mercy; And that the King's Officers there preſent had received him, carried him to *London*, and delivered him to the Conſtable of the *Tower*; That the King not ſatisfied with this, ſent *Stephen de Seagrave*, then Juſtitiary, *John de Lacy* Earl of *Lincoln*, *Brian de Liſle*, and others, to know whether he was forced, or went out voluntarily? That his Anſwer was, He went out freely, and not for want of Victuals, or any other thing; and that he was aſhamed he had ſtaid there ſo long: That then the King commanded he ſhould be out of the Cuſtody of the Conſtable of the *Tower*, that he might come freely to his Court; and ſo he came to *Cornhul* in *London* upon the Eve of St. *Martin*, and appeared before *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *Richard* the Mareſchal Earl of *Pembroke*, *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, *Stephen Segrave* the Juſtitiary, *Ralph Fitz-Nicholas*, and others, the King's Tenants, or * *Feudataries* there aſſembled; where being accuſed, he would make no Defence, but ſubmitted himſelf wholly to the King's Pleaſure, concerning his Body, Lands, and Goods: That the King, at the Inſtance of the Great Men, and the Petition of *Hubert* with his Friends and Relations, and by the Conſent of his Accuſers, reſpited the Judgment, notwithſtanding it was drawn up in open Court, and voluntarily granted him theſe following Terms, *viz.* That having delivered up to the King all his Lands, Tenements, and Liberties, which he held of him *in Capite*, and of King *John* his Father, and all Writings and Inſtruments that concerned them, he ſhould retain and enjoy the Lands and Tenements which deſcended to him from his Anceſtors, with all the Lands and Tenements he held of others, except the King; yet ſo as he ſhould anſwer to all his other Accuſers, according to the Cuſtom of the Kingdom; and that all his Chattels (whatſoever they were) as well Gold, Silver, Money, or other Goods, ſhould be the King's; and his Body to remain at the Caſtle of *Deviſes*, in the Cuſtody of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, *William* Earl

* *Fidelibus*.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXIII

'of *Warren*, *Richard* the *Mareſchal* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl 'of *Lincoln*, until he took upon him the Habit of the *Friars-Templars*, or was delivered by the Common Council of the King, and 'of all the foreſaid Barons his Keepers, and of all the Great Men 'of the Land: And if he ſhould by any ways or means break, or 'endeavour to break Priſon, or any ways tranſgreſs this Agree-'ment, then the Firſt Judgment was to take effect; and whereſo-'ever, or by whomſoever he ſhould be found, he was to be uſed 'as an Out-law. This Judgment of the King's proved much more 'eaſie, becauſe during *Hubert*'s Confinement in the ſaid Chapel, 'his great Enemy *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter* deceaſed at *Wallingford*-'Caſtle, and dying without Iſſue, his Nephew *John* Son to Earl '*David*, Brother to the King of *Scots*, ſucceeded in the Earldom of '*Cheſter*.

Dr. B.'s *Append.* N. 153

Pr. *Llewellyn*'s Agreement with the King.

Toward the latter end of this Year, in *December*, Prince *Llewellyn* granted and promiſed the King to ſtand to the Determination of *Ralph* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and Chancellor *Alexander* Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, *Richard* the Mareſchal Earl of *Pembroke*, *John de Lacy* Earl of *Lincoln*, Conſtable of *Cheſter*, *Stephen de Segrave* Juſtitiary of *England*, and *Ralph Fitz-Nicholas* the King's Steward, together with *Idenevent*, *Llewellyn*'s Steward, *Werrenoc* his Brother, *Iman Vachan*, and *David* the Clerk, concerning what Amends were to be made for all Exceſſes and Tranſgreſſions on both ſides, and for the reſtitution of all Lands and Poſſeſſions, and what Money was to be paid for Damages ſuſtained, as appears by Agreement, which is ſtill upon Record in the * *Tower*, and bears Date at *Shrewſbury*.

* *Rot. Pat.* 17 *H.* 3. *M.* 9. *n.* 32.

Note, In this Record *Llewellyn* is only ſtiled Prince of *Aberfraw* (in the Iſle of *Angleſey*) as being the chief place of his abode.

[5] *Id.* p. 384.

The Pope orders a General Viſitation of all Monaſteries.

As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, nothing happened this Year conſiderable, but that the Pope ordained a General Viſitation of all Religious Houſes throughout the *Weſtern* Church, as appears by his Letters or Bull in [5] *Matt. Paris*, to the Suffragan Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury*, who were thereby Authorized to viſit ſuch Houſes of *Monks*, *Nuns*, *Chanons* Regular, that lay within their reſpective Dioceſſes, and were not exempt from their Juriſdiction: But for thoſe that were exempt, and belonged particularly to the Pope's own Viſitation, he appointed them Commiſſioners for that purpoſe, who carried themſelves ſo rigorouſly and inſolently in many Places, that they forced divers Abbots and Priors to appeal to the Pope, and after a great deal of Trouble and Money ſpent, all they could obtain, was, to have new Viſitors aſſigned them.

[1] Alſo in Autumn this Year, Maſter *John Blund*, Clerk and Reader in Divinity in *Oxford*, was, by the Monks of *Chriſt-Church* at *Canterbury*, choſen Archbiſhop, and being accepted by the King, went to *Rome* to obtain the Pope's Confirmation.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXIIII

[2] *Id.* p. 384.

The K. turns out the *Engliſh*, and puts in Foreigners in all Places of Truſt.

[2] This Year King *Henry* at *Chriſtmas* kept his Court at *Worceſter*, where, by the Advice of *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, (as it was reported) he removed all his Natural-born Subjects from their Offices and Places at Court, and put Strangers (being *Poictovins*) into their rooms, and would truſt none but the foreſaid Biſhop and *Peter de Rivaulx* his Kinſman; ſo that the Management of all Publick Affairs was now committed to them: Then many *Poictovins* and

Bretaignes being invited into *England*, there came over no leſs than Two thouſand Knights and Eſquires, who were all placed in ſeveral Caſtles in Gariſon, to whom the eaſie King committed the Wardſhips of the Young Nobility, which afterwards much degenerated through their ignoble Marriages with Foreigners: And when any *Engliſh-man* complained to the King of their Oppreſſion,, they found no Redreſs, through the powerful Influence of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Which gives great diſcontent; and the Earl-Mareſchal with others declare it to the K. but without any good effect.

But when *Richard* Earl-Mareſchal ſaw all ſorts of Men thus alike oppreſſed, and the Laws of the Kingdom ſo manifeſtly broken, He, as a Lover of Juſtice, with ſome other Great Men, went boldly to the King, and told him publickly, That by pernicious Councils he had called in *Poictovins* and other Strangers, to the great Oppreſſion of his Natural-born Subjects, and Violation of their Laws and Liberties; wherefore they humbly beſought him to correct theſe Diſorders in the Government, otherwiſe the Earl and the reſt of the Great Men would withdraw themſelves from his Councels, ſo long as he made uſe of Strangers: To whom the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, being then preſent, replied, That the King might call in whomſoever he pleaſed for the Defence of his Crown, and alſo ſuch and ſo many as might reduce his Proud and Rebellious Subjects to due Obedience. When the Mareſchal and the reſt heard this Anſwer, they retired from Court, promiſing faithfully to ſtand by each other till Death in this Diſpute. From whence we may obſerve, That under weak Princes, the often change of Chief Miniſters of State, proves commonly to the Diſadvantage and greater Oppreſſion of the People; for now the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* proved much worſe than *Hubert de Burgh* was before.

The Bp. of *Wincheſter* replies to this Demand.

[3] *Id.* p. 386.

The K. ſummons the Earls and Barons to a Council.

[3] Soon after, the King ſummoned all the Earls and Barons of the Kingdom to meet him at *Oxford* on the Feaſt of *St. John Baptiſt*; but they refuſed to obey his Summons, becauſe they feared and hated the Foreigners that were about him, who now diſpoſed of all things: Then he was adviſed to ſend out a Second and Third Summons, to try whether they would come or no to *Weſtminſter* on the Eleventh of *July* following, promiſing alſo by their Councel to reform whatever was amiſs. But when the Great Men heard, that upon the King's Invitation many Strangers privately and by degrees (with Horſe and Arms) were landed in *England*, and not ſeeing any proſpect of Accommodation, they laid aſide all thought of meeting the King on the Day appointed, and by ſelect Meſſengers declared unto him, That unleſs the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the *Poictovins* were forthwith removed from his Court, *they would by the Common Councel of the Kingdom, force both Him and thoſe Evi Counſellors out of the Realm, and would conſult about creating a Ne King.*

They refuſe to come, and ſend the K. a very ſharp Meſſage.

The Bp. of *Wincheſter's* Advice to the King.

The King and the Court being much ſtartled at this ſharp Meſſage, he was adviſed by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to reduce his Rebellious Subjects by Force, and diſpoſe of their Caſtles and Land to the *Poictovins*, who would defend the Kingdom of *Englan* from ſuch Traitors. The firſt Nobleman that fell under the King Diſpleaſure was *Gilbert Baſſet*, who applying himſelf to the Kin for a Mannour that had been unjuſtly taken from him, was calle

Traito

Traitor, and threatned that if he did not depart the Court, he ſhould be *Hanged:* The next was *Richard Sward* a Knight, that had married *Gilbert Baſſet*'s Siſter, or Neice; the King commanded him to be apprehended and brought before him; and from every Noble and Powerful Man he ſuſpected, he required Pledges for his Fidelity, and by his Letters ordered them to be preſented to him before the beginning of *Auguſt*.

[4] The Nobility being highly incenſed againſt theſe ſevere Proceedings, on the Firſt of *Auguſt* the Earls and Barons came with a great Number of Armed Men to *London* to a * Conference, or Parliament, at a Day by them agreed on; but *Richard* Earl-Mareſchal having received Advice from his Siſter *Iſabel* (Wife to the Earl of *Cornwal*, the King's Brother) that Snares were laid for him, retired into *Wales*; but the Earls of *Cheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Ferrars*, and Earl *Richard* the King's Brother, with many other Earls and Barons came thither; yet nothing was done, becauſe the Earl-Mareſchal and *Gilbert Baſſet* were abſent. Then the King, by the Advice of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and *Stephen Segrave*, ſummoned all that owed him any Military Service to come to *Glouceſter* on the *Sunday* before the Aſſumption of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, (that is, the Fifteenth of *Auguſt*) with Horſe and Arms; but *Richard* the Earl-Mareſchal, and others confederated with him, refuſed ſtill to come: Upon this, the King (as if they had been Traitors) burnt their Towns, deſtroyed their Parks and Warrens, and beſieged their Caſtles; and without any Judgment of his Court, or their Peers, proſcrib'd them, and diſpoſed of their Lands to the *Poictovins*, and commanded their Bodies to be taken where-ever they could be found.

[4]
Id. p. 387.
* *Colloquium.*
The Nobility meet at *London*, but not the Earl-Mareſchal

The K. ſummons his Tenants *in Capite* to appear at *Glouceſter* with Horſe and Arms; but upon their refuſal, they are proſcrib'd, and treated like Traitors.

[5] The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had been ſo cunning, as that by a Thouſand Marks well and ſeaſonably beſtowed, the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Lincoln* were gained over to the King's ſide; for the Earl of *Cornwal* had before left the *Mareſchal*, and returned to his Brother. When the *Mareſchal* ſaw himſelf thus deſerted by theſe Earls, he entred into a Confederacy with *Llwellyn* Prince of *Wales*, and other Chief Men of that Country; and they all took an Oath not to make any Peace but by General Conſent. And now the King having received great Numbers of Foreigners from beyond the Seas, marched with them down to *Hereford*, and from [1] thence, by the Advice of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he ſent the Biſhop of *St. Davids* to defie the Earl-Marſhal, and commanded his Army to march againſt him, and beſiege his Caſtles; One of which was ſo well defended, that the King was afraid he ſhould be baffled, and with Diſgrace forced to raiſe the Siege; whereupon he ſent ſome Biſhops to the Earl, with Offers, That if he would ſurrender the Caſtle to the King, it ſhould be given him entirely back again within Fifteen Days; and farther, That he would correct what was amiſs in his Kingdom by the Councel of his Biſhops, who ſhould be his Sureties. Upon theſe Conditions the Caſtle was delivered to him, and the Day appointed for the performing theſe things was the next *Sunday* after *Michaelmas*-day.

[5]
Id. ib.
The Bp. of *Wincheſter* buys off two great Earls from the Barons ſide.

The Mareſchal confederates with Pr. *Llwellyn*.

[1]
Id. p. 338.

The K. defies the E Mareſchal.

The K. propoſes an Accommodation to the Earl, which is accepted, and he delivers the Caſtle on Terms.

[2] When

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[2] *Id. ib.*

The Earl demands Reſtitution, according to the Agreement.

[2] When the Fifteen Days were expired, the Mareſchal, according to the late Agreement, expected the reſtitution of his Caſtle, and ſent to the King to demand it; but he anſwered him, That he would not reſtore it, but would endeavour to ſubdue his other Caſtles. The Mareſchal finding that neither Promiſes nor Oaths were obſerved by the King's Councellors, beſieged the Caſtle, and without much Difficulty regain'd it.

The Great Men and the *Preaching Friars* ſupplicate the K. to be reconciled to the Nobility.

On the Ninth of *October*, the Great Men met the King at *Weſtminſter*, to reform what was amiſs in the Kingdom, according to appointment, where they all humbly beſeeched him to be reconciled to his Barons and Nobles; alſo the *Preaching Friars* and *Minors* (whom the King much Reverenced) exhorted him to extend his Affection to his Native Subjects, and not to baniſh, ſpoil, and deſtroy them without Legal Proceſs, nor to call them *Traitors* who procur'd the Publick Peace, and by whoſe Councels the Management of all Affairs of the Kingdom ought to be directed. To this the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* replied, *That there were no ſuch* Peers *in* England *as in* France, *and therefore it was Lawful for the King of* England, *by ſuch Juſtices as he was pleaſed to appoint, to baniſh any Guilty Perſons out of the Kingdom, and by Judgment to condemn them.* When the Biſhops heard this, they unanimouſly threatned to *Excommunicate* all the King's Principal Councellors by Name, in the Front of which Liſt were *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Peter de Rievauts*, *Stephen Segrave* Juſtitiary, and *Robert Paſſelew* Treaſurer. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* alledged for himſelf, that he was conſecrated Biſhop by the Pope, and ſo was exempted from their Authority; and therefore to prevent the Sentence, he appealed to his Holineſs. Thereupon the Biſhops *Excommunicated* all thoſe who alienated the King's Mind from his Natural Subjects, and that diſturbed the Peace of the Kingdom. During this Conference, the King by an Expreſs was certified, that the Mareſchal had retaken his Caſtle; at which he was ſo much troubled, that he commanded all the Biſhops to *Excommunicate* him; but they utterly refuſed, becauſe (as they ſaid) he did thereby only recover what was his Right. Thereupon the King Summoned all that owed him Military Service, to meet at *Glouceſter* with Horſe and Arms the Day after *All-Saints*.

The Bp. of *Wincheſter's* Reply.

The Biſhops threaten to *Excommunicate* him, and the reſt of the K's Councellors.

The K. commands the Biſhops to *Excommunicate* the E. Mareſchal, but they refuſe it.

[3] *Id. ib.*

The K. marches into *Wales*, where he is defeated by the Earl's Policy.

[3] The King having gathered together a vaſt Army at *Glouceſter*, marched towards *Wales*; but the Mareſchal had before deſtroyed all the Forage thereabouts; ſo that in a ſhort time, through want o Proviſion, the King was forced to retire with his Army to the Caſtle of *Groſmont* (in *Monmouthſhire*.) The Mareſchal by his Spies underſtanding that the King lodged within the Caſtle, and the greateſt part of his Army quartered without in Tents, he came by Night, entred the Camp, and put the whole Army into ſuch a Diſorder, that they immediately fled, and left Five hundre Horſes, and all their Baggage, for a Prey to the *Mareſchal*; but h would not ſuffer any of the King's Soldiers either to be taken o hurt; by which means only Two of the whole Army (and the too through their own Indiſcretion) fell by the Sword. The Kin ſeeing himſelf almoſt alone, and encompaſſed with Enemies, th he might prevent the Incurſions of the *Welſh*, placed the ravagin

Poict

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Poictovins in his Caſtle, under the Command of *John de Monmouth*, and *Ranulph de Tony*, and ſo returned to *Glouceſter*.

Id. p. 390. The Earl marches towards *Monmouth*, and is like to be taken in an Ambuſh.

Upon this, [4] the *Mareſchal* marched towards *Monmouth*, which which was well fortified and defended by *Baldwin de Gyſnes* and his *Poictovins* and *Flemings*, to whom the King had committed the Town. They underſtanding that the *Mareſchal* was taking a View of the Town with but a ſmall Number of Soldiers, ſallied out, and almoſt ſurprized him by an Ambuſh they had laid; and he had been taken Priſoner, if his own Valour and the Bravery of ſome that were with him had not reſcued him out of their hands: In this irmiſh *Baldwin* was ſo deſperately wounded, that he was taken up alf-dead, which made them leave the *Mareſchal*, and retire with heir Captain into the Town. When the reſt of the Earl's Army eard what had befallen their General, they came with great Fury, nd revenged themſelves upon the Strangers, killing and taking aptive moſt of thoſe that came out of the Town.

Here follows in *Matt. Paris* a long Account of the Propoſals of eace, that were about this time made to the Earl *Mareſchal*, hilſt he quartered at the Abbey of *Margan* in *Wales*; which ſince hey are ſomewhat too long for a place in our Hiſtory, I omit; owever, they deſerve the inquiſitive Reader's Conſideration, beauſe they contain not only all that was objected by the King and is Councellors againſt him, but alſo divers curious Points, relaing to the Antient Right of the Barons of *England* to be Judged y their Peers, as alſo the Chief Heads of the *Mareſchal*'s Defence gainſt thoſe Accuſations.

Id. p. 388. *H. de Burgh* endeavours to eſcape, but without ſucceſs.

[5] About this time *Hubert de Burgh* being ſtill Priſoner in the aſtle of the *Deviſes*, had notice by a Friend at Court, that the iſhop of *Wincheſter* his great Enemy: had earneſtly deſired of the ing the Cuſtody of that Caſtle, that ſo (as it was ſaid) he might ave an Opportunity to diſpatch him out of the way. Upon is Information, *Hubert*, by the Aſſiſtance of Two Servants that aited on him, made his Eſcape on *Michaelmas*-Eve out of the aſtle, and got into the Pariſh-Church; but ſo ſoon as it was nown that he had thus given them the ſlip, divers of the Garion went out with Lances, Clubs, and other Arms to ſeek him, nd they found him in the Church before the Altar, with the *roſs* in his Hand; thereupon they beat and banged him ſeverely, riving him, and the Two that aſſiſted him to make his eſcape, into e Caſtle again, and put him under a ſtrict Guard: But when the iſhop of *Salisbury* heard what was done, he went to the Caſtle, nd commanded thoſe that had thus violated the Privilege of the hurch, to carry him back, and leave him in the ſame ſtate they ound him: But they told the Biſhop, they had rather *Hubert* ould be hanged than themſelves. So upon this peremptory Aner, the Biſhop *Excommunicated* all by Name that refuſed to obey s Commands; and then went with the Biſhop of *London* and her Prelates to the King, and obtained ſo much Favour for *Hurt*, that he was ſent back to the Church on the Eleventh of *Octor* following; yet the King being ſtill very angry at him, ordered e Sheriff of the County to guard the Church, that ſo he might ſtarved for want of Proviſions.

He is retaken, and ill uſed Soldiers.

Who are thereupon *Excommunicated* by the Bp. of *Salisbury*.

Hubert is carried back to the Church.

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Matt. Paris miſtaken in the time of *Hubert*'s return to the Church.

* *Rot. Pat.* 17 H. 3. *M.* 1. Printed in Dr. *B*'s Ap. N. 154.

But notwithſtanding what *Matt. Paris* relates concerning this Affair, 'tis certain *Hubert* was ſent back to the Church before the Eighteenth of *October*, for on the Fifteenth of that Month, the King ſent his Writ or Letter (upon *Record in the *Tower*) to the Good Men of *Wiltſhire*, to let them know, he had ſent *Ralph de Bray*, and *Ralph de Norwich*, as his Juſtices, to receive *Hubert de Burgh*'s Abjuration of the Kingdom, in caſe he would not come out of the Church, and ſtand to the Laws in the King's Court; or elſe to do him Juſtice in his Court if he would come out of the Church, and anſwer there, as he had agreed to do: But if he would do neither, then the *Wiltſhire* Men were commanded diligently to guard the Church and Church-yard, as the Juſtices ſhould direct.

[1] *Id.* p. 389. *Hubert* makes his Eſcape into *Wales*, and there joins with the K's Enemies.

But it is certain, That on the Thirtieth of the ſame Month, [1] *Hubert*, by the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, was taken out of the Church by Force, and being by them Armed like a Common Soldier, made his Eſcape in that Diſguiſe into *Wales*, and joined himſelf to the King's Enemies: *Thus he, who, when he was in power, was all for Abſolute Obedience to the King's Will, now when the Tide was turned, and he came to be oppreſſed himſelf, ſtood up ſtiffly then for Self-defence*; as is commonly obſerved in all Men of *Arbitrary Principles*.

[2] *Id.* p. 385. The Election of *John Blund* to the See of *Canterbury*, declared void by the Pope, and why.

I ſhall conclude this Year with ſome Account of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. [2] *John Blund*, Profeſſor of Divinity in *Oxon*, having been laſt Year Elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (as you have already heard) his Election was declared void at *Rome*, becauſe that after his ſaid Election he had received a Thouſand Marks in Silver from *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as a Preſent, beſides another Thouſand he had lent him before upon his Promotion, which was adjudged to be *Simony* by the Pope.

[3] *Id ib.* The Monks that were ſent to *Rome*, Elect *Edmund* Chanon of *Saliſbury* Archbiſhop, who is confirmed by the Pope.

[3] Yet at laſt his Holineſs was pleaſed to give thoſe Monks, who came along with the Perſon now laid aſide, leave to chuſe *Edmund*, Chanon of *Saliſbury*, Archbiſhop, being a Learned Man, and of a very ſtrict Life, which Election being confirmed by the Pope he ſome time after ſent him over the Pall.

[4] *Id.* p. 387. *Walter* Bp. of *Carliſle* ſeized, going over without Licence.

Thoſe that did it are *Excommunicated* by the Biſhop of *London*.

[4] Alſo ſome time after *Walter* Biſhop of *Carliſle* thinking himſelf injured by the King, took Shipping to paſs beyond Sea, but was ſeized by the King's Officers at *Dover*, who would not permit him to go out of the Kingdom without firſt obtaining his Licenſe; but *Roger* Biſhop of *London* arriving there from *Rome*, and ſeeing the Affront that was done him, *Excommunicated* all thoſe that had laid violent hands upon him; from whence going to the King at *Hereford*, he complained of the Wrong that had been done that Biſhop; but having no redreſs, he renewed the Sentence, upon all thoſe that had done it. The King in the mean time murmuring againſt it, forbad him to pronounce any ſuch Sentence; yet notwithſtanding this, all the Biſhops there preſent agreed with him, and *Excommunicated* all thoſe that had occaſioned this Diſturbance; ſo powerful were the Clergy in thoſe Times.

[5] *Id.* p. 385. A ſtrange appearance of Five Suns.

**See the Figure of it in the Author.*

I cannot here [5] omit a ſtrange Accident that happened on the Eighth of *April* this Year; In the Morning about Sun-riſing there appeared at once four Counterfeit Suns of a reddiſh Colour, beſides the True one, *being placed in the ſeveral Sections of four leſſer Circles made upon one great Circle that encompaſſed the whole Horiſon, *Anno Dom* MCCXXXIII

and paſſed over the Body of the True Sun: For the Scheme of which *Phænomenon*, I refer the Curious Reader to our Author, where he may find it exactly delineated.

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Id. p. 393.

This Year the King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Glouceſter* with a very ſmall Court, becauſe divers of the Great Men, who had ſuffer'd ſo much at the Caſtle of *Groſmont*, were retired, and could make no Appearance.

[1] *Id.* p. 394. The Mareſchal defeats *John* of *Monmouth*.

And ſpoils the Eſtates of the King's Councellors.

[1] The Day after *Chriſtmas*, *John de Monmouth* having gathered together a great Number of Soldiers, deſigned privily to Attack the Mareſchal; but he was Counter-plotted by the other's Policy, and Defeated, and a great number of his Soldiers ſlain on the ſpot, he himſelf narrowly eſcaping: Then the Mareſchal and thoſe that were Confederated with him, Ravaged, Spoiled, and Burnt the Lands, Goods, and Houſes of the King's Principal Councellors, ſo that nothing eſcaped them from the Borders of *Wales* to *Shrewsbury*, which they alſo Burnt.

[2] *Id. ib.*

[2] All this while King *Henry* remain'd with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* at *Glouceſter*, not having ſufficient Force either to oppoſe or repreſs thoſe Devaſtations; from whence he went to *Wincheſter*, and left thoſe Countries to his Enemies.

The Bps urge the K. to make Peace with the Mareſchal, but in vain.

Then the Biſhops were inſtant with the King to make Peace with the Mareſchal; but he refuſed it unleſs he would acknowledge himſelf a *Traytor*, and come in with a *Halter* about his Neck.

[3] *Id. ib.* The King's Councellors contrive the Mareſchal's Deſtruction.

They write Letters to the Juſtitiaries and Great Men of *Ireland*.

[3] But when the King's Councellors ſaw their Houſes burnt, their Lands deſtroyed, and their Friends the *Poictovins* in great numbers ſlain, and themſelves without Remedy, they ſtudied how to ruine the Mareſchal by Treachery, whom they could not Conquer by Force, which at laſt they effected by this wicked Means. They compoſed and wrote Letters in the King's Name, (though without his privity) Sealed with his, and Eleven of their own Seals, and directed them to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* (the King's Juſtitiary in *Ireland*) to *Walter* and *Hugh de Lacy*, *Richard de Burgh*, and *Geoffrey March*, and ſeveral Others the Earl-Mareſchal's Sworn-Men or Feudataries, ſhewing, That although the Mareſchal was proclaim'd a *Traytor*, and, by the Judgment of the King's Court, proſcribed, and diveſted of his Paternal Inheritance, yet he ceaſed not to purſue the King with his wonted Malice; wherefore they required them, as the King's Faithful Subjects, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, whenever the Mareſchal ſhould come over thither, to take him Alive or Dead, and preſent him to the King, which if they carefully perform'd, all his Eſtate and great Poſſeſſions in *Ireland*, ſhould be divided among them; for which they gave them the King's Promiſe, and they themſelves would become Sureties for the Performance of it.

[4] *Id.* p. 395. Who accept theſe Offers.

[4] When the *Iriſh* Noblemen heard the Tenor of theſe Letters, they ſent private Meſſengers to thoſe Councellors with Letters, aſſuring them, That if they could be ſecured by the King's Charter of what they had promiſed them, they would undertake to effect what he ſo deſired. Then theſe Councellors ſtole the Seal from *Ralph* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* the Chancellor, and therewith Sealed a Charter without his knowledge, by which all the Rights and Poſſeſſions of the Mareſchal were to be divided among them; and

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And Invade the Mareſchal's Territories in *Ireland.*

forthwith diſpatch'd a Meſſenger with it to the abovenamed *Iriſh* Noblemen, who no ſooner received it, but they Confederated and reſolved the Deſtruction of the Mareſchal; and in order to it they raiſed a great Army, with which they enter'd his Lands, took his Caſtles, and grievouſly Plunder'd them, that ſo they might provoke him to come over into *Ireland.*

[5] *Id.* p. 395. * *Colloquium.* The K. at a Treaty or Conference with the Bps, rebukes the Bp of *Cheſter* and others of the ſame Order, for Correſponding with the Mareſchal.

[5] On *Candlemas-Day* the King came to a *Treaty at *Weſtminſter*, with the Biſhops and Nobility; wherein he ſeverely rebuked *Alexander* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and ſome other Biſhops, for keeping Correſpondence with the Earl-Mareſchal, as if they endeavoured to Dethrone him; but the Biſhops being highly provoked againſt thoſe who had thus Calumniated them, *Excommunicated* all ſuch as had ſuggeſted theſe things to the King. Then Maſter *Edmund*, the new Archbiſhop Elect of *Canterbury*, (and ſeveral Biſhops of that Province who were preſent at this Conference) went to the King, and repreſented to him the miſerable State that both He and the whole Kingdom were brought into, by his following the pernicious Councels of *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Peter de Rievaulx*, and their Accomplices, to whoſe Advice they aſcribed all the Evil Events, Wars and Calamities that had happened in this King's time; adding withall, That if he did not very ſuddenly remove from his Court thoſe Evil Councellors, and receive his Native and Liege-Subjects into his Councels, and the Management of the Affairs of the Reaſon, (*as is the Cuſtom of other Nations,*) they muſt proceed to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures againſt all Gain-ſayers; The King hereupon anſwered, He could not reform his Councel, untill he had taken their Accounts, and ſo deſired a ſmall Reſpite; Upon which this Conference was diſſolved, and every one went away pretty well ſatisfied, and full of hopes of a ſpeedy Accommodation.

[1] *Id.* p. 397. *Edmund* being Conſecrated A.B. of *Canterbury*, by his Advice, the K. promiſes to reform his Court and Council.

[1] On the Second of *April*, *Edmund* was Conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the King being preſent, and on the Ninth of the ſame Month, He, together with the Earls, Barons, and the New Conſecrated Archbiſhop and his Suffragans and other Prelates, met at another Conference at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the King being firſt admoniſhed by the Archbiſhop, of the deſolate Eſtate of his Kingdom, and of the Danger impending it; and being again threatned with the *Excommunication* not only of all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe the Peace and Reconciliation they now propoſed, but alſo of his own Perſon in caſe he took part with them, He promiſed at laſt to be directed by their Councils; and ſome few days after commanded the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to retire to his Biſhoprick, and mind the Care of Souls, and not concern himſelf any further with the Affairs of the Kingdom.

[2] *Id. ib.* *Peter de Rievaulx* is commanded to give in his Accounts.

[2] He likewiſe commanded *Peter de Rievaulx* to give in his Accounts, and yield up his Caſtles, and depart the Court, aſſuring him upon his Oath, That if he had not been a Beneficed Clerk, he would have cauſed his Eyes to be pulled out; He alſo diſcharged the *Poictovins* from his Service, both in his Court and Gariſons, commanding them to go into their own Country, and never ſee his Face more. Thus having purged his Court, and removed his Evil Councellors, and cleared his Kingdom of Strangers, he ſubmitted himſelf to the Advice and Councels of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops

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by whom he hoped to reduce his unſettled Kingdom to a proſperous Condition.

[3] *Id. ib.* The Mareſchal paſſes into *Ireland* to ſecure his Lands and Caſtles.

[3] Immediately after this, the King ſent *Edmund* now Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Biſhops of *Cheſter* and *Rocheſter*, to *Llewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, and *Richard* Earl-Mareſchal to treat about a Peace; but the latter having before received notice of the Spoils and Rapines that were committed upon his Lands and Caſtles in *Ireland*, and ſeeing the King was gone *Southward*, and had left off his deſign againſt *Wales*, he thought he might lay hold of this Opportunity to paſs over into *Ireland*; ſo taking with him only Fifteen Knights, he went thither.

[4] *Id.* p. 398. Several great Men came to him at his Landing, on purpoſe to betray him.

He raiſes an Army, and at firſt has great Succeſs againſt the *Engliſh-Iriſh* Lords.

But [4] ſo ſoon as ever he Landed, *Geoffrey March*, with the other Great Men of the Kingdom, who had privately Confederated againſt him, came to him, and under colour of Friendſhip, adviſed him to reduce his Enemies by Force, and that he might thereby eaſily bring all *Ireland* under his Obedience: The Mareſchal fearing the innate Treachery of the *Iriſh*, was not willing at firſt to cloſe with this Advice; but *Geoffrey* having reproached him with this, as if it were for want of Courage, and alſo urging his Antient Right by *Lineal Deſcent* from Earl *Richard Strong-bowe*, that had Conquered *Ireland*; and they all giving him a ſeeming Hearty aſſurance of their Aſſiſtance and Fidelity, he raiſed a Great Army, and at firſt proceeded with ſuch Succeſs, that none durſt withſtand him; for he took the City of *Limerick*, and the King's Caſtles as well as thoſe of his Enemies: Upon this the *Engliſh-Iriſh* Noblemen, who had raiſed an Army againſt him, finding they could not prevail by Force, reſolved to try what they could do by Fraud and Treachery; therefore ſending certain *Knights-Templars* to him, they acquainted him, that though he acted as Traiterouſly againſt his Prince in *Ireland* as he had done in *England*, yet nevertheleſs they came to deſire a competent Truce, that ſo they might in the mean time ſend over to the King of *England* to know his Pleaſure, whether he would defend *Ireland* or not; for if he declin'd it, they were then reſolved to ſurrender to him the whole Country, without any farther Strife, or Effuſion of Blood; To which Meſſage, the Earl-Mareſchal (having firſt Juſtified himſelf to be no Traytor by the Laws of the Kingdom) replied, That he was willing to meet them the next day in a certain Meadow to treat of Peace; which anſwer being brought to the *Engliſh-Iriſh* Lords, they were over-joy'd at it, becauſe they knew very well their Forces were more Numerous than thoſe the Mareſchal would bring along with him, and therefore were reſolved not to part without Fighting. Hereupon the Mareſchal asking the Advice of *Geoffrey de Maris* and the other Knights, what was beſt to be done, this *Geoffrey* Treacherouſly diſſuaded him not to grant them any Truce; making him to believe, that ſo ſoon as his Enemies ſaw him armed in the Field, they would all turn their Backs and run away. The Earl too much relying upon this Wicked Councel, came the next day as he had promiſed to the Place of Treaty, with a very ſmall Force, where the *Knights-Templars* mediating between them, they began indeed to treat of Peace; but when the *Iriſh* Lords heard, that he was come thither with but a ſlender Guard, they ſent him poſitive Word, that unleſs he would immediately

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But at laſt he is betray'd by thoſe of his own Party, and being deſperately wounded, is taken Priſoner.

agree to a Truce, they defied him; which Propoſal the Earl, by the Advice of that Traytor *Geoffrey*, and others his Accomplices who aimed at his Ruine, indiſcreetly rejecting, the *Iriſh* Lords immediately marched againſt him, and the Fight being begun, all the *Engliſh-Iriſh* Knights, or Vaſſals, to the Number of above Eighty, either ran away, or went over to the Enemy, together with their Followers, ſo that no more remained with him but Fifteen Knights of his own Family; yet reſolving to die with Bravery rather than baſely yield, he ruſh'd into the midſt of his Enemies with thoſe few Men he had with him, and began to break the Ranks of his Adverſaries; till being deſerted by all the reſt, he was at laſt forced ſingly to defend his Perſon, which yet they durſt not attack, before they had Hamſtring'd his Horſe; and then when he was thus diſmounted, One of them ſeeing his Back unarm'd, wounded him there ſo deſperately with a Dagger, that he was taken up half Dead, and carried Priſoner to a certain Caſtle, which *Maurice* the Juſtitiary had a little before got from him; where being kept cloſe, after Fifteen days (when he was thought on the Mending Hand) he departed this Life, though not ſo much of his Wound, as by the Villainous Roguery of an *Iriſh* Chirurgeon, who run a hot Iron into it, which put him into ſuch a violent Feaver, as ſoon carried him off; and his Body was buried in the Church of the *Franciſcans* in *Kilkenny*.

And at laſt dies by the Villany of an *Iriſh* Chirurgeon.

Thus died this Gallant Man, who deſerved to have lived in quieter Times, and under a King who knew better how to value Men of Worth: [5] Yet when he received the News of his Death, he much lamented the Loſs of ſo brave a Soldier, and ſo good a Subject, affirming, He had not left his Equal in the Kingdom.

[5] *Id.* p. 403. The King laments his Death.

[1] *Id. Ib.* The K. at the deſire of Pr. *Llewellyn* pardons all the proſcribed Noblemen.

[1] The Archbiſhop and Biſhops being now return'd from Prince *Llewellyn*, to the King at *Glouceſter*, and having informed him, That before he began any Treaty with them, he deſired the Noblemen that were Confederated with him, might be received into Favour; the King thereupon ſent out his Letters to all thoſe that were proſcribed to meet at *Glouceſter* on the Nine and Twentieth of *May*, to be reconciled unto him, and reſtored to their Inheritances, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops promiſing them Safe conduct: The Firſt that came to accept the King's Peace, was *Hubert de Burgh*, late Juſtitiary of *England* and Earl of *Kent*, whom the King received very Kindly; after him *Gilbert Baſſet* and *Richard Sward*, with divers other proſcribed Perſons, who were ſeverally received with the Kiſs of Peace, (which was the Cuſtom of that Age, and amounted to a Pardon) and thus they were all reconciled to the King, and had their Rights and Inheritances reſtored to them.

[2] This being done, he gave Prince *Llewellyn* *by Letter ſpeedy Notice of it; and alſo that at the Interceſſion of the ſaid Archbiſhop, he had reſtored to *Gilbert*, Brother to *Richard* Earl-Mareſchal late deceaſed, all his Inheritance, both in *England* and *Ireland*, and received his Homage; and on *Whitſunday* following at *Worceſter* he Knighted him, and gave him the Mareſchal's-Staff; and alſo received *Hubert de Burgh*, *Gilbert Baſſet*, and *Richard Sward* into his Councels.

[2] * *Vid.* Dr. B's Ap. N. 155. where you will ſee the Letter at large from the Record.

The K. gives the Prince of *Wales* notice of his having reſtored to *Gilbert* the New Earl-Mareſchal, his Brother's Inheritance.

Then

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[3] *Id. ib.* *Vid.* D *Brady's* Appendix, N. 156.

Then the [3] Archbiſhop and Biſhops, that were ſent to Treat with Prince *Llewellyn*, made a Truce with him for Two Years, from the Feaſt of St. *James*, (or the Five and Twentieth of *Auguſt* following) upon theſe Conditions: Firſt, *That all Injuries done on both ſides ſince the laſt Truce, ſhould be referred to thoſe that made it.* Secondly, *That all Lands taken from any one in the late War, ſhould be reſtored.* Thirdly, *That all Men and Tenents that had receded from the Fealty of their Lords, and adhered to the contrary Party, might return again without damage or being queſtioned for it.* Of this Truce the King gave notice to his Brother *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, and *Ralph de Tony*, that they might be included in it, if they pleaſed, for their Lands in the Marches.

[4] *Id. ib.* The K. being ſhewn a Copy of the Letter ſent into *Ireland* againſt the late Earl-Mareſchal, utterly diſowns it.

[4] At the ſame Meeting the Archbiſhop produced a Copy of that Treacherous Letter, which was ſent into *Ireland* againſt *Richard* late Earl-Mareſchal; whereupon the King, before the whole Aſſembly of the Biſhops, Earls and Barons, proteſted, That through the Importunity of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Peter de Rievaulx*, and other Councellors, he conſented that his Seal ſhould be put to thoſe Letters, but aſſured them upon his Oath, he never knew the Tenor of them, though it was an Excuſe only befitting ſuch a Prince.

He ſummons his Miniſters to give up their Accounts, and to anſwer the Law.

Then the King ſummon'd the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Peter de Rievaulx*, *Stephen Segrave*, and *Robert Paſſelew*, to appear on the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt* to give up their Accounts, and to anſwer to ſuch Crimes as ſhould be objected againſt them, eſpecially for the late Abuſe of his Seal in the Letter above-mentioned, and ſtand to the Law; but they being Conſcious of their Crimes, and not daring to ſtand a Tryal, ſome of them took Sanctuary in Cathedral and Conventual Churches; and *Robert de Paſſelew* with ſome others fled, (as was believed) to *Rome*, but indeed hid themſelves in a Cellar in the *New Temple*.

[5] *Id.* p. 405.

Peter de Rievaulx appearing to anſwer, is ſeverely treated, and threatned by the King.

[5] Yet the King at the Requeſt of the Archbiſhop, promiſed all thoſe Perſons ſafe Conduct, and appointed them on the Fourteenth of *July* to appear at *Weſtminſter*, to anſwer to the Articles exhibited againſt them; where *Peter de Rievaulx* was the firſt that appeared in a Clerk's Habit, yet with a Dagger at his Girdle, and bowed to the King, at that time ſitting upon the Bench with his Juſtices, who ſo ſoon as he ſaw him, called him *Traytor*, and accuſed him for his Pernicious Councel, and required him to give an Account of his Treaſuryſhip, as alſo the Wardſhips of young Noblemen and Women, with the Eſcheats and other Profits of the Crown, and then told him, he would commit him to the *Tower*; but he ſaid he was a Prieſt, and ought not to be impriſon'd, or be in the Cuſtody of Laymen: The King thereupon replied, That he had hitherto behaved himſelf like a Layman, and as ſuch he required what was committed to his Charge; yet ſaid, That the Archbiſhop was preſent, and if He would undertake for him, he ſhould be delivered into his hands; but the Archbiſhop being ſilent, the King ſent him to the *Tower*, and ſeized all his Lay-Poſſeſſions, becauſe under his Clerk's Habit he had a Coat of Mail, and a Knight's Weapon at his Girdle, which did not become a Clerk; but he remain'd there only Two days, and then was releaſed by the Archbiſhop, carried to *Wincheſter*, and put into the Cathedral there.

Peter inſiſts upon the Privilege of his Prieſthood, which the K. would not allow.

He is committed to the *Tower*, and his Eſtate ſeized.

[1] The

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[1] *Id. ib.*
S. de Segrave alſo called to account.

[1] The ſame Day alſo appeared *Stephen Segrave* before the King, who likewiſe called him *Traytor*; and added, That it was by his wicked Councel that *Hubert* Earl of *Kent* was removed from the Office of Juſtitiary, and impriſoned, and that many of the Nobility were proſcribed: He required Him alſo to give an Account of his Juſtitiaryſhip; yet by the Mediation of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, he gave him time till *Michaelmas* following to prepare for it. Then the King, upon mature Advice, named *Hugh de Pateſhulle* a Clerk his Juſtitiary; He was Son of *Simon de Pateſhulle*, who had formerly managed that Office with great Integrity.

Hugh de Pateſhulle is made Juſtitiary.

[2] *Id.* p. 406.
The K. ſends Aid to the Earl of *Bretaigne*.

[2] This Year, about the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt*, the Truce between the King of *England* and *France* expiring, King *Henry* ſent over to the Earl of *Bretaigne* Sixty Knights, and Two thouſand *Welſhmen*, to enable him to fortifie the weak Places of his Dominions, becauſe the King of *France* had raiſed a great Army, and actually beſieged one of the Earl of *Bretaigne*'s Caſtles; but he was ſoon defeated by the *Engliſh* Forces, and many of the *French* were ſlain there, and all their Baggage taken; which ſo netled that King, that he gathered together what other Succours he could, and was reſolved again to invade *Bretaigne*. This ſo frightned the Earl, that he deſired a Truce till *All-Saints*; which was granted him; but it was upon delivery of thoſe Caſtles, and beſides upon condition, That if in that time the King of *England* came not in Perſon to his Relief, he ſhould deliver all *Bretaigne* and all his other Caſtles to the King of *France*. In the mean time, the Earl ſent to the King of *England*, to deſire him to come over to his Aſſiſtance, or elſe he ſaid he muſt deliver up all *Bretaigne* to his Brother of *France*: But King *Henry* anſwered, The Revenues of his Crown were not ſufficient for the Defence of that Country, as he had found by the Three laſt Years experience; and withal, that he was quite tired with being at ſo great and vaſt an Expence to ſo little purpoſe. So ſoon as the Earl had received this Anſwer, he went directly to the King of *France*, with a Rope about his Neck, and acknowledged himſelf a Traitor, and then ſurrendred to him all *Bretaigne*, with its Towns and Caſtles. Upon this, the King of *France* told him, that he was a *wicked Traitor*, and as ſuch deſerved a moſt ſhameful Death; yet he would grant him his Life, and the Earldom of *Bretaigne* to his Son, as long as he lived; but after his Death, it ſhould be annexed to the Crown of *France*. When King *Henry* heard what he had done, he ſeized on all the Eſtate and Honours that belonged to him in *England*: And ſo this miſerable Earl being deſpoiled of all his Honours and Revenues, both by his open Enemy and ſeeming Friend, betook himſelf to the Seas, and became a notorious Pirate.

K. *Henry* refuſing to give the Earl of *Bretaigne* any further Aſſiſtance, he ſurrenders himſelf to the K. of *France*'s mercy.

K. *Henry* ſeizes all his Eſtate and Honours in *England*; upon which the Earl turns Pirate.

Thus this unfortunate King loſt the beſt and ſureſt Confederate he had, for want of ſupporting him in his great Neceſſity: And this is that Count *Peter*, on whom the Hiſtorians of *Bretaigne* beſtow the Nickname of *Mau-clerk*, or Ill Scholar; for though he had ſtudied in the Univerſity of *Paris*, yet it ſeems that Place did not prove a very good School for Politicks, or elſe he might have met with better Succeſs.

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[3] *Id.* p 409. *Stephen de Segrave* and *Rob. de Paſſelewe* pay each of them 1000 Marks; yet are not received into Favour.

[3] This Year King *Henry* kept his Court and *Chriſtmas* at *Weſtminſter*, with very many Biſhops and Great Men of the Kingdom; and about *Candlemas* after, *Stephen Segrave* and *Robert Paſſelewe* paid each of them a Thouſand Marks for their Ranſoms, but were not received into the King's former Favour, as they expected.

[4] *Id.* p 414. *Iſabel* the K.'s Siſter is married to the Emperor.

[5] *Inter Communia de Term. S. Hillar.* 17. *E.* 3. It is alſo printed at large at the end of Mr. *Petyt's Defence of the Rights of the Commons.*

[4] In *February* following, *Iſabella* the King's Siſter (a moſt Beautiful young Lady of about Twenty Years of Age) was Married by *Proxy* to *Frederick* the *Second* Emperor of *Germany*, with great Pomp and Magnificence, and was conducted thither by the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* and Duke of *Lovain*, who were ſent on purpoſe to wait on her. For this Marriage the King received Two Marks *Scutage* of every Plough-Land, and out of it he ſome time after gave the Emperor Thirty thouſand Marks, as her Portion: Nor was there ever before ſo great a Tax laid upon a *Plough-Land*; and that this Tax was a *Scutage*, and not a *Carrucage* (as *Matt. Paris* here calls it) being laid upon all Eccleſiaſtical as well as Lay-Fees, ſee the Prior of *Coventry*'s Plea in the Office of the [5] King's Remembrance in the *Exchequer*.

[1] *Id.* p. 410. *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* is ſent for to *Rome*, to aſſiſt the Pope in his Wars.

Nothing hapned conſiderable this Year in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, except that about *Eaſter* [1] *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* at the Pope's Command, went to *Rome* to aſſiſt him in his War againſt the Citizens there (between whom and the Pope there was a very great Feud:) for the Pope well knew the Biſhop was very Rich, and alſo very much experienced in Military Matters, being in his Youth brought up under the late Warlike King *Richard*, and indeed underſtood better how to Fight than Preach.

[2] *Id. ib.*

The Pope cauſes the *Cruſado* again to be preached up.

[2] As for other Foreign Affairs, the moſt conſiderable is, That the Ten Years Truce made by the Emperor *Frederick* with the Sultan of *Babylon* being now almoſt expired, Pope *Gregory* thought fit by a Bull, publiſhed for that purpoſe, again to command a freſh Preaching or Exhortation for the *Cruſado*, with large Indulgences to all thoſe who would undertake it; but this ended with the Pope's getting thereby a great Sum of Money into his own Coffers, as you will perceive in due time. I find nothing elſe to have hapned this Year relating to Foreign Affairs, but that (according to the * Annals of the Abbey of *Abbingdon*) the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Hereford* were ſent over into *France*, to conduct the Daughter of the Earl of *Provence* into *England*, the Match having been (it ſeems) concluded ſome time before.

* MS. in *Bib Acad. Cantab*

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[3] *Id* p. 419. The K. marries *Eleanor*, Daughter to the Earl of *Provence*.

[3] This Year the King kept his Court at *Wincheſter*, and on the Fourteenth of *January*, was Married at *Canterbury*, by *Edmund* Archbiſhop of that Place, to *Eleanor*, Second Daughter to *Reymond* Earl of *Provence*; and though her Portion was very ſmall, yet the Wedding was kept with great Magnificence.

[4] She is Crowned Queen at *Weſtminſter*.

[4] On the Nineteenth of the ſame Month, ſhe was moſt ſplendidly and ſolemnly Crowned Queen at *Weſtminſter*: *Matt. Paris* is very particular in deſcribing the Solemnity of this Coronation, and what each Perſon performed in their particular Functions at it; among which, I cannot omit this remarkable Paſſage, That

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The antient Power of the High-Conſtable of *England.*

the Earl of *Cheſter* (as Lord High-Conſtable) carried the Sword o St. *Edward*, called *Curteine*, before the King, in token, *That he i Earl or Count of the Palace, and hath by Right a Power of Reſtraining the King if he ſhould act any thing amiſs.*

[5] *Id. ib.*

[5] On the ſame day, after the Coronation was over, the King went from *London* to *Merton-Abbey*, where he met his Great Men and treated with them about the Affairs of the Kingdom: At thi Time and Place were made the Laws called the Statutes of *Merton* by the Deliberation and Conſent of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbur* and his Fellow Biſhops, with the Major part of the Earls and Baron of *England*; but I ſhall ſay no more of theſe Statutes here, but refe the Reader to the End of this Reign, where I ſhall ſhew Dr. *Brady'* unfair rendring of the Title of this Statute into *Engliſh*; and where alſo I have given you an exact Abridgment of it.

The Emperor ſends to the K. of *England* for his Brother *Richard* to come over to his Aſſiſtance.

The K's Anſwer and Excuſe, why he could not grant it.

To this Place came the Emperor's Meſſengers, with Letter from him, to deſire the King without delay to ſend over *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* his Brother, to his Aſſiſtance, againſt th King of *France*, whereby the King of *England* might not only recover what he had loſt, but alſo much enlarge the *Tranſmarine* Dominions; to whom the King, by the Advice of his Great Men, return'd this Anſwer, That he could not judge it ſafe or expedient t permit one that was ſo Young, and the only Heir apparent of th Crown, and the next hope of the Kingdom, to expoſe his Perſo to the hazard of War: But if his Imperial Majeſty would mak choice of any other of the Nobility or Great Men of the Kingdom they were ready to yield to his Commands, and give him wha Aſſiſtance they were able; And with this Anſwer the Meſſenger returned to the Emperor.

[1] *Id. Ib.*

Great Plunderings and Robberies committed in the Marches of *Wales*, notwithſtanding the late Truce.

[2] **Rot. Clauſ.* 20 *H.* 3. *M.* 16. *Dorſ. Vid.* Dr. *B's* Ap. N. 157.

Whereupon Commiſſioners are appointed to aſſeſs the Damages done on both ſides.

[1] Notwithſtanding the Solemn Truce that had been made between *England* and *Wales* for Two Years, yet during this Time there were ſtill great Plunderings and Robberies committed in the Marches, which they only termed *Interceptions* or Seizures; for it appears by the *Tower* [2] Rolls, That on the Sixth of *March* that Year *Ralph* Biſhop of *Hereford*, with the Dean of that Church, *Walter d Clifford*, and *Walter de Beauchamp*, were again conſtituted Arbitrators or Aſſeſſors of the *Amends*, or ſatisfaction to be made for Damages done on both ſides, and for the Interceptions made (as wa ſaid) by Prince *Llewellyn* of *Aberfraw*, and *Morgan* of *Caerleon*, concerning the Caſtle of *Caerleon.*

[3] *Rot. Pat.* 20 *H.* 3. *M.* 5. *Vid.* Dr. *B's* Ap. N. 158.

The Truce is renewed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for one Year, and on what Conditions.

And it farther appears from the [3] Rolls of this Year, that after this Arbitration or Determination of what *Amends* were to be made on both ſides, *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* on the Eleventh of *July*, renewed the Truce for one Year longer, that is, untill the Feaſt of St. *James* in the One and Twentieth Year of his Reign, between King *Henry* and Prince *Llewellyn*, and all that were openly concerned on either ſide; whereby it was agreed, the King and Prince ſhould remain in the ſame Poſſeſſion of Lands and Tenements, Vaſſals and Homages, as they were the Day of the making this Truce; ſaving to *Morgan de Caerleon* his Lands and Caſtles, which *Gilbert* Earl-Mareſchal had poſſeſſed himſelf of within the time of the Truce. If any Lands or Caſtles had been ſeized during the Truce, no Satisfaction was to be expected for them; but for

Goods

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Goods or Moveables, ſuch *Amends* were to be made by the Arbitrators, who are ſometimes called * *Aſſeſſors*, ſometimes *Dictators of Amends*) and the Truce was ſtill to continue, ſo as no † *Repriſals* or *Diſtreſſes* were to be taken, for any Interception made of Moveables within the time of the Truce, nor for any Difference before the making of it. No new Caſtles were to be built or fortified in the Marches, and thoſe which were demoliſhed might be repaired during the Truce; and the Lands in the Marches were to remain in Common, according to the Stipulation in the laſt Truce.

* *Correctores.*

† *Namia.*

[4] *Id.* p. 429.

A Council of the Great Men at *London*, where the Nobility are much diſcontented, and for what Cauſe.

[4] On the Nine and Twentieth of *April* the King ſummoned the Great Men of *England* to meet him at *London*, to Treat about the Affairs of the Kingdom; at which time they met accordingly, but finding the King to deſpiſe his Natural-born Subjects, and follow the Advice of *William* Biſhop Elect of *Valence*, the Queens Uncle, (and a Stranger lately arrived here) more then was fitting, they were much ſurprized at it, and were alſo diſcontented, becauſe that on the firſt Day of the Aſſembly his Majeſty removed himſelf to the Tower of *London*, but thither none of the Nobility would come at him; upon which he return'd to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, where during this Council, many Things were treated on for the Good of the Realm; and one commendable Act, eſpecially the King there did voluntarily perform, which was, that he removed all Unjuſt Sheriffs, and thoſe that had taken Bribes in the Execution of their Offices, and ſubſtituted Men of better Quality and Eſtates in their Places, who ſhould keep their Hands clean, and not be corrupted by Preſents and Gratuities; yet notwithſtanding he made theſe to ſwear, that they would not accept of any thing beſides Meat and Drink, and that too but very moderately.

The K. removes all Corrupt Sheriffs, and puts in new ones in their Places.

[5] *Id. ib.*

The King of *Scots* demands his ancient Rights

[5] At this Aſſembly the King of *Scots* by his Meſſengers required of the King the Reſtitution of ſuch Rights, as belonged to him by Charter and the Teſtimony of many Great Men; but it ſeems nothing was then determined in that Affair. At the ſame time likewiſe a great difference aroſe between *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, and *Richard Sward*, which the King endeavoured to compoſe, but could not, and thereupon he baniſhed *Sward* the Kingdom. He at the ſame time alſo removed *Ralph Fitz-Nicholas* his Steward, and many other Great Officers of his Houſhold from his Councils, and required the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* his Chancellor, (who had behaved himſelf moſt unblameably in his Office) to deliver up the Great Seal; but he refuſed, affirming, That he had received it by the *Common-Councel* of the Kingdom, and could not therefore reſign it up to any one without their Conſent.

Several Officers of the Court removed.

The Chancellor refuſes to give up the Seal, and his Reaſons for it.

[1] *Id.* p. 431.

[1] At this time the Emperor ſent to demand the Money King *Henry* had promiſed him, as a Portion with his Siſter, which I find was ſtill unpaid, notwithſtanding the late great Tax raiſed for that purpoſe.

Some time in *May*, *Peter de Rievaulx* and *Stephen Segrave* were received into the King's Favour; which ſhews the great Fickleneſs and Inconſtancy of this Prince's Temper, in ſo ſoon receiving into Favour thoſe very Men, whom but ſo lately he had called *Traitors*.

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The antient Power of the High-Conſtable of *England.*

the Earl of *Cheſter* (as Lord High-Conſtable) carried the Sword o St. *Edward*, called *Curteine*, before the King, in token, *That he i Earl or Count of the Palace, and hath by Right a Power of Reſtraining the King if he ſhould act any thing amiſs.*

[5] *Id. ib.*

[5] On the ſame day, after the Coronation was over, the King went from *London* to *Merton-Abbey*, where he met his Great Men and treated with them about the Affairs of the Kingdom: At thi Time and Place were made the Laws called the Statutes of *Merton* by the Deliberation and Conſent of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbur* and his Fellow Biſhops, with the Major part of the Earls and Baron of *England*; but I ſhall ſay no more of theſe Statutes here, but refe the Reader to the End of this Reign, where I ſhall ſhew Dr. *Brady'* unfair rendring of the Title of this Statute into *Engliſh*; and wher alſo I have given you an exact Abridgment of it.

The Emperor ſends to the K. of *England* for his Brother *Richard* to come over to his Aſſiſtance.

The K's Anſwer and Excuſe, why he could not grant it.

To this Place came the Emperor's Meſſengers, with Letter from him, to deſire the King without delay to ſend over *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* his Brother, to his Aſſiſtance, againſt th King of *France*, whereby the King of *England* might not only recover what he had loſt, but alſo much enlarge the *Tranſmarine* Dominions; to whom the King, by the Advice of his Great Men, return'd this Anſwer, That he could not judge it ſafe or expedient t permit one that was ſo Young, and the only Heir apparent of th Crown, and the next hope of the Kingdom, to expoſe his Perſo to the hazard of War: But if his Imperial Majeſty would mak choice of any other of the Nobility or Great Men of the Kingdom they were ready to yield to his Commands, and give him wha Aſſiſtance they were able; And with this Anſwer the Meſſenger returned to the Emperor.

[1] *Id. Ib.*

Great Plunderings and Robberies committed in the Marches of *Wales*, notwithſtanding the late Truce.

[2] *Rot. Clauſ. 20 H. 3. M. 16. Dorſ. Vid.* Dr. B's Ap. N. 157.

Whereupon Commiſſioners are appointed to aſſeſs the Damages done on both ſides.

[1] Notwithſtanding the Solemn Truce that had been made between *England* and *Wales* for Two Years, yet during this Time ther were ſtill great Plunderings and Robberies committed in the Marches, which they only termed *Interceptions* or Seizures; for it appears by the *Tower* [2] Rolls, That on the Sixth of *March* that Year *Ralph* Biſhop of *Hereford*, with the Dean of that Church, *Walter d Clifford*, and *Walter de Beauchamp*, were again conſtituted Arbitrators or Aſſeſſors of the *Amends*, or ſatisfaction to be made for Damages done on both ſides, and for the Interceptions made (as wa ſaid) by Prince *Llewellyn* of *Aberfraw*, and *Morgan* of *Caerleon*, concerning the Caſtle of *Caerleon*.

[3] *Rot. Pat. 20 H. 3. M. 5. Vid.* Dr. *B's* Ap. N. 158.

The Truce is renewed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for one Year, and on what Conditions.

And it farther appears from the [3] Rolls of this Year, that afte this Arbitration or Determination of what *Amends* were to b made on both ſides, *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* on the Eleventh of *July*, renewed the Truce for one Year longer, that is, untill the Feaſt of St. *James* in the One and Twentieth Year of his Reign, between King *Henry* and Prince *Llewellyn*, and all that were openly concerned on either ſide; whereby it was agreed, the King and Prince ſhould remain in the ſame Poſſeſſion of Lands and Tenements, Vaſſals and Homages, as they were the Day of the making this Truce; ſaving to *Morgan de Caerleon* his Lands and Caſtles, which *Gilbert* Earl-Mareſchal had poſſeſſed himſelf of within the time of the Truce. If any Lands or Caſtles had been ſeized during the Truce, no Satiſfaction was to be expected for them; but for

Goods

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Goods or Moveables, ſuch *Amends* were to be made by the Arbitrators, who are ſometimes called * *Aſſeſſors*, ſometimes *Dictators of Amends*) and the Truce was ſtill to continue, ſo as no † *Repriſals* or *Diſtreſſes* were to be taken, for any Interception made of Moveables within the time of the Truce, nor for any Difference before the making of it: No new Caſtles were to be built or fortified in the Marches, and thoſe which were demoliſhed might be repaired during the Truce; and the Lands in the Marches were to remain in Common, according to the Stipulation in the laſt Truce.

* *Correctores.*
† *Namia.*

[4] *Id.* p. 429. A Council of the Great Men at *London*, where the Nobility are much diſcontented, and for what Cauſe.

[4] On the Nine and Twentieth of *April* the King ſummoned the Great Men of *England* to meet him at *London*, to Treat about the Affairs of the Kingdom; at which time they met accordingly, but finding the King to deſpiſe his Natural-born Subjects, and follow the Advice of *William* Biſhop Elect of *Valence*, the Queens Uncle, (and a Stranger lately arrived here) more then was fitting, they were much ſurprized at it, and were alſo diſcontented, becauſe that on the firſt Day of the Aſſembly his Majeſty removed himſelf to the Tower of *London*, but thither none of the Nobility would come at him; upon which he return'd to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, where during this Council, many Things were treated on for the Good of the Realm; and one commendable Act eſpecially the King there did voluntarily perform, which was, that he removed all Unjuſt Sheriffs, and thoſe that had taken Bribes in the Execution of their Offices, and ſubſtituted Men of better Quality and Eſtates in their Places, who ſhould keep their Hands clean, and not be corrupted by Preſents and Gratuities, yet notwithſtanding he made theſe to ſwear, that they would not accept of any thing beſides Meat and Drink, and that too but very moderately.

The K. removes all Corrupt Sheriffs, and puts in new ones in their Places.

[5] *Id. ib.* The King of *Scots* demands his ancient Rights.

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And indeed the Kingdom quickly felt the Effects of their ill Miniſtery, for on the Eighteenth of *June* the King ſummoned the Great Men of *England* to *Wincheſter*, where he by virtue of the Pope's Bull, endeavoured to avoid ſome Grants he had made before he was Married, alledging, They were invalid becauſe they wanted the Pope's Confirmation, to whom he acknowledged the Kingdom by Right belonged; the Great Men were very much ſurprized to find the King thus induſtriouſly labouring to Enſlave his Kingdom to ſuch baſe Conditions: but it proved to no purpoſe; for he was now managed again by much the ſame Hands he was in before.

[2] *Id.* p.432. The K. meets the K. of *Scots* at *York*, and on what occaſion.

[2] This Year the King by the Advice of his Great Men, went to *York* to compoſe ſome Differences between Him and *Alexander* King of *Scots*, the Latter affirming, That he had not only a Charter, but the Teſtimony of ſeveral Biſhops, Earls, and Barons, of King *John*'s Grant of the County of *Northumberland* to him, upon the Marriage of his Daughter *Johanna*; adding moreover, That if he would not peaceably reſtore unto him his Right, he would endeavour to recover it by Force. That which emboldened the King of *Scots* to make ſo high a Demand at this time, was, that he thought *Llewellyn* Prince of *Wales* would be eaſily induced to break the Truce with King *Henry*; and he alſo relied on the Affinity of *Gilbert Mareſchal*, who had married his Siſter *Margaret*; beſides the preſent Hoſtilities beyond the Seas, wherefore the King of *England* having conſulted about the preſent State of his Affairs, and the preſervation of the Peace of his Realm, offered the King of *Scots*, in lieu of the County of *Northumberland*, the Yearly Revenue or Penſion of Eighty Marks in ſome other Place; which though it may now ſeem but a very ſmall Penſion for a Prince, yet was accounted a great Sum in thoſe Days, to be paid in ready Money; and therefore it gave a general Satisfaction to them all: But ſince it required time to ſettle it as it ought, the Conference or Treaty was for the preſent diſſolved.

What encouraged the K. of *Scots* to make ſuch high Demands

The K. to ſatisfie him grants him a Penſion.

[3] *Id.* p 431. A ſtrange Prodigy that happen'd in *Yorkſhire*.

I cannot here omit a ſtrange [3] Prodigy, that happened (as our Author relates) in *May* this Year, near the Abbey of the *Rock* in *York-ſhire*; which was, that for divers Days together ſome Troops of Men on Horſeback appeared to riſe out of the Ground, and dividing themſelves into Parties, ſeem'd to Fight and Skirmiſh one with the other, and at laſt to ſink into the Earth again; the like Apparitions were alſo ſeen this Year in *Ireland*, only thoſe ſeemed ſometimes to march, as if they had return'd from a Battle, wounded and routed, and leading Horſes without Riders; thoſe that ſaw them, not knowing what they were, ran into Churches and Caſtles for Refuge: This laſt Story our Author ſets down from the Relation of the Earl of *Glouceſter*, who affirmed it to be true.

[4] *Id.* p.433. The Fryars go through all *England* to preach up the Pope's Indulgences for the *Holy War*, and to abſolve Mens Sins for Money.

[4] This Year affords us few Eccleſiaſtical Matters worth the noting, only the Preaching Fryars and *Minors*, went now through the Cities, Towns, and Villages in *England*, offering *Plenary Indulgences* to any who upon Confeſſion and Penitence, would undertake the *Cruſado*: Soon after the Pope ſent into *England* Fryar *Thomas* a *Templar*, and one of his Domeſticks, with his Bull, to Abſolve any one from his Vow for that Expedition, upon payment of a certain

Sum towards the defraying the Expences of the *Holy-War*; and whoſoever ſhould pay any Money for this end, although he was under no Vow, yet he ſhould have the Benefit of this Indulgence, which raiſed great Indignation againſt the Covetouſneſs of the *Roman* Court.

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[5] *Id.* p.435. The K. ſummons a great Council or Parliament at *Wincheſter*.

This Year the King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, [5] from whence he ſent out his Writs, Commanding all that belonged to the Kingdom or Government, namely Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots inſtalled, Priors, Earls and Barons, that without fail they ſhould meet at *London* on the Octaves of *Epiphany*, (*i.e.* the Thirteenth of *Jaunary*) to treat about the King's Affairs, and thoſe which alſo concern'd the whole Realm; the Great Men yielded ready Obedience to this Summons, believing ſome great and difficult Affairs were to be tranſacted, and accordingly on St. *Hilary*'s Day, an immenſe Number of * ***Nobility***, that is, the [1] whole Body of the Kingdom, met at *London*; and when they were thus met, and ſeated in the King's Palace at *Weſtminſter*, ***William de Kele*** Clerk, and one of the King's Domeſticks, a Diſcreet Man, and well skill'd in the Laws, aroſe, and as a Mediator between the King and the Great Men, declared the King's Intention and Deſires, and that he was commanded to tell them, *That notwithſtanding what the King had done hitherto, he would for the future be wholly directed by their Councels, who were his Natural and Faithful Subjects, that thoſe that had been his former Treaſurers, had unfaithfully Executed that Office; and that the King's Neceſſities at this time preſſed him to require a further Aid of them; but he would now conſent, that whatever was granted ſhould be both Collected and Diſpoſed of for the neceſſary Uſes of the Kingdom, by Perſons whom they ſhould chuſe and name for that purpoſe:* To which they replied, 'That they had very often granted, and paid ſometimes a *Twentieth*, 'ſometimes a *Thirtieth*, and at other times a *Fiftieth* Part of their 'Eſtates to the King; yet he could never be prevailed with, to re'move or puniſh any one of the Enemies of the Kingdom; That he 'had never enlarged, but rather leſſened his Dominions; and for 'the Aſſiſtance of others, had Extorted very frequently great Sums 'of Money from his own Subjects, as from the Meaneſt Slaves: To this the King anſwered, *That the Paymeat of his Siſter's Portion to the Emperor, and his own Wedding, had very much emptied his Pocket, but yet if they would now grant him a* Thirtieth *Part of their Goods, he aſſured them upon Oath, that he would never again Injure or Oppreſs the Noblemen of the Kingdom*; But they replied, 'That theſe things were 'done without their conſent, and ſeeing they were free from the 'Fault, they ought not to partake of the Puniſhment.

* *Nobilium totalis Univerſitas.*

[1] Who theſe were, ſee *Rot. Cl.* 21 *H.* 3. *M.* 7. *Dorſ.* *Vid.* Dr. *B*'s Ap. N. 159.

The K's Demands for more Money.

The Anſwer of the Great Men.

The K's Reply, and Excuſe for his preſent neceſſity.

[2] *Id.* p. 436. They retire to conſider of the K's Demands, and he alſo deſires to gain the Favour of the Great Men.

And promiſes for the future to obſerve the Great Charter.

[2] After this, they retired, to conſider how they might moderate, and yet alſo ſatisfie the King's Deſires; and on the other hand, the King being much concerned how he might gain the good Will of his Barons; aſſured them, 'That he never endeavoured by the 'Pope's Bull to void thoſe Grants he had formerly confirmed to 'them by his Charter; and if any ſuch thing had been ſuggeſted 'to him, he utterly diſallowed it; and that he would for the future 'inviolably obſerve all the Liberties of the Great Charter; and for their

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and *Excommunication* is ordered to be denounced againſt the Infringers of it.

their better Security, commanded the ſame Sentence that *Stephen* late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had denounced againſt the Infringers of that Charter to be again ſolemnly publiſhed, that that ſo the Violators thereof might be the more inexcuſable. After this, he added the Earl of *Warren*, *William Ferrars*, and *John Geoffry* to his Council, who ſwore they would never be corrupted by Gifts to deviate from Troth, but would always give the King good and wholeſom Advice. Then a *Thirtieth* Part of all Moveable Goods was granted to the King, excepting every Man's Gold and Silver, with his Horſes and Arms, which were to be uſed for the Benefit of the Commonwealth.

Whereupon a 30*th* part of all Moveables is granted to the King.

[3] *Id. ib.* See the manner of collecting it in the Record laſt cited.

[4] And for the due Collection of the aforeſaid *Thirtieth* Part for the Year following, Four Truſty Knights were to be choſen in every County of *England*, to whom the King was to add one Clerk, and they all to be ſworn duly to collect and ſecure the Money in ſome Abbey, Church, or Caſtle; that ſo, if the King ſhould recede from his Promiſe, it might be reſtored to every one again; ſo that when the Collectors came to levy it, 'twas paid on this Condition, *That from thence-forward the King ſhould reject the Counſels and Advices of Foreigners and Strangers and adhere to thoſe of his Faithful and Natural Subjects.* When this was done, the Council broke up, and every one went home reaſonably well ſatisfied, that the King was at laſt prevailed upon to adhere to good Council: So powerful an Advocate is a Prince's Neceſſity, to make him do that which other Perſuaſions could not.

[4] *Id. ib.* *Llewellyn* Pr. of *Wales* put himſelf under the K.'s Protection, and for what Reaſons.

[4] About this time alſo *Llewellyn* Prince of *Wales* being wearied out with continual Wars and likewiſe taken with the Palſie, and which was ſtill worſe, perplexed with the Rebellions of his own Son *Griffyn*, ſent Meſſengers to the King to deſire a Continuation of the League that was between them; and alſo to put himſelf and all his under his Protection, and that he would moreover hold his Lands of him in Fealty, and by an indiſſoluble League promiſed to aſſiſt him in all his Expeditions, with Men, Horſes, and Money, as far as his Ability would reach. The King accepted theſe his Propoſals, and thereupon ſent the Biſhops of *Hereford* and *Cheſter* to confirm them.

[5] *Id.* p. 437. *H. de Burgh* again incurrs the K.'s diſpleaſure, but is ſoon reconciled to him

[5] This Year *Hubert de Burgh* Earl of *Kent* again incurr'd the King's Diſpleaſure, in marrying *Richard* Earl of *Glouceſter* (being then his Ward) to his Daughter *Margaret*, without the King's Conſent; but he was ſoon reconciled again, *Hubert* profeſſing that he did not know the King had deſigned another Match for him; and alſo promiſed to pay a round Sum of Money; and that it ſeems was the powerful Argument which appeaſed the King's Anger.

[1] *Id.* p. 441. *Otho* the Pope's Legate comes into *England* and is received with great Pomp.

[1] As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs we find little, only that about the Feaſt of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* (*i. e.* the Eighteenth of *June*) Cardinal *Otto* the Pope's Legate came into *England*, at the requeſt of the King, but without the Knowledge of his Great Men; for which (it was ſaid) the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* very much blamed the King, as being a thing exceeding prejudicial to his own Dignity, as well as a great Damage to the Kingdom: However, he would not hearken to his Council, but received him (as did alſo

the Clergy) with great Pomp and Ceremony, large Preſents being made him, ſome of which he refuſed (contrary to the Uſage of thoſe who had formerly come from *Rome*) which very much abated the Hatred conceived againſt him; and by his Mediation, *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Hubert* Earl of *Kent*, *Gilbert Baſſet*, *Stephen Segrave*, and *Richard Sward*, were reconciled to each other.

The private Reaſon of this Legate's coming over.

Matt. Weſtminſter relates, That the Reaſon why the King ſent for this Legate into *England*, was, becauſe he repented that he had beſtowed ſuch great Honours and Eſtates upon Earl *Richard* his Brother, and *Gilbert* the Earl-Mareſchal, and others, whom he thought were ungrateful to him; and therefore by private Meſſengers to the Pope, he deſired him that he would pleaſe forthwith to ſend his Legate over hither to reform the State, as if it had been then in apparent danger. This ſhews the Meanneſs of this King's Temper, who that he might domineer over his Subjects by the Pope's means, cared not how much he ſubjected himſelf and his Kingdom to his Exactions.

[2] *Id.* p. 445. Notwithſtanding all the Caution of the late Parliament, the Money there given is ſquandered away upon Strangers

And he being wholly governed by them, it highly exaſperates the Earl of *Cornwal* and other Great Men, who repreſent to the K. the miſerable eſtate of the Nation.

[2] About this time, although according to the Act made in the Council or Parliament at *London*, the *Thirtieth* Part granted to the King was to be collected, and ſecured in certain Monaſteries, or Caſtles, to be diſpoſed of towards the defraying the neceſſary Expences of the Kingdom; yet notwithſtanding all this Caution, the King beſtowed moſt of this Treaſure upon Strangers, who carried it out of the Realm, and he now again wholly relied upon their Councils, which much exaſperated the Great Men, and more eſpecially his Brother *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, who thereupon went to the King, and repreſented to him the miſerable State of his Realm; how that he had ſcraped from, and deprived his Natural Subjects of their Money and Goods, and had laviſhly beſtowed it upon Foreigners; adding withal, that the Archbiſhopricks, and all the Biſhopricks of *England* had been void in his time, except thoſe of *York*, *Bath*, and *Wincheſter*, beſides what aroſe from vacant Abbeys, Earldoms, Baronies, Wardſhips, and other Eſcheats, and yet his Treaſure was never the fuller: Moreover, that he had lately called in the Pope's Legate, whereby he had ſo inſlaved himſelf, that he could do nothing in his Realm, without his Conſent; ſo that he was no longer King, but a Feudatary to the Pope.

[3] *Id.* p. 446. Who were the K.'s principal Adviſers in theſe Proceedings.

[3] His Principal Councellors and Adviſers in theſe things were *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Fryer Geoffery* a *Templar*, Natives born within the Kingdom.

But as for *Simon Montfort*, who is alſo here named by our Authors, as one of the King's New Adviſers, he was Younger Son to *Simon* Earl of *Montfort* in *France*, and was lately come over to make his Fortunes in *England*, having quitted the *French* Court by reaſon of ſome Diſpute he had with Queen *Blanche* the King's Mother; yet did not this render him leſs odious to the *Engliſh* Nobility, as you will find hereafter.

[4] The K. ſummons a Parliament at *York*, where an Agreement is made between K. *Henry* and the King of *Scots*.

[4] On the Fourteenth of *September*, the King ſummoned the Great Men to meet him and the Legate at *York*, to treat upon ſome great Affairs that concerned the Kingdom: The King of *Scots* met him there, to conclude the Difference depending between them. After much Conſultation and Debate, it was agreed, That the

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the King of *Scots* ſhould have Three hundred Pounds in Land by the Year in *England*, for which he ſhould do Homage to King *Henry*; but he ſhould not build any Caſtles upon it, and was to quit all Pretences to any farther Claim. But in the Record it appears to have been but Two hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and was to be out in *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*.

The Legate ſignifies to that King his deſign of viſiting *Scotland*, but is civilly put off by him.

Then the Legate ſignified to the King of *Scots*, that he would go into *Scotland* to treat upon Eccleſiaſtical Affairs there, as he had done in *England*: But that King anſwered him, 'That he never 'remembred any Legate ſent into his Kingdom, and he thanked 'God) there was no need of any now; for neither his Father nor 'any of his Anceſtors had ſuffered any to enter there; and ſo 'long as he was Maſter of himſelf, he would not allow it neither; 'and withal adviſed him to take heed how and when he entred 'into his Land; for he had an Ungovernable People, whoſe Violence and Fury would not be reſtrained. Whereupon the Legate, after he had heard what the King ſaid, altered his Thoughts of ſeeing *Scotland*, and kept cloſe to the King of *England*, whom he found very obſequious in all things: So great a difference there was between the Temper of theſe Two Princes, the one doing all he could to enſlave his Kingdom to the Pope, the other to keep it free.

[5] *Id. ib.* The Legate holds a Synod at *London*, where ſeveral Decrees are made.

[5] So ſoon as the Legate returned out of the *North*, he held a a General Council or Synod of all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors inſtalled of all *England*, in the Weſt-end of St. *Paul's* Church, where a lofty Throne or Seat was erected for him. When all the Biſhops and Clergy were aſſembled, and the Archbiſhops of *York* had taken their Places, the former on his Right Hand, the Latter on his Left, after a ſhort Sermon in Latin, he read aloud, and cauſed to be ratified by the Synod, certain Canons or Decrees, which are ſtiled the Conſtitutions of *Otto* to this day; and for which, ſince they relate wholly to Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, I refer the inquiſitive Reader to our *Lynwood* for further Satisfaction.

The death of *John* the *Scot* Earl of *Cheſter* without Iſſue.

I muſt here likewiſe take notice, that *John*, Sirnamed the *Scot*, Earl of *Cheſter*, dying this Year without Iſſue, (and being poiſoned, as was ſuppoſed) the King annexed that Earldom to the Crown, allowing his Siſter's Fortunes out of other Lands, leſt ſo Noble an Earldom ſhould be divided among Women.

[1] *Id.* p. 457.

[1] I ſhall conclude this Year with that ſad Account which our Author gives us concerning the General Corruption of the Church of *Rome*, 'about this time, and for which (ſays he) it muſt needs 'have incurred God's juſt Indignation, ſince its Chief Miniſters 'and Governours ſeek how to ſcrape Money together, and fill their 'Purſes rather than to gain Souls: They ſtudy how to oppreſs 'Religious Perſons, and to gain other Men's Goods by Penalties, 'as *Uſury*, *Simony*, and other unlawful Means; but never took care 'of Juſtice and Honeſty, or the Inſtruction of the Simple; that 'whoſoever any way obtained an Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, was very 'ſollicitous how much it would yield him; but as for the Name 'of the Saint, to whom his Church was Dedicated, it was the laſt 'thing he enquired into, (if ever he did it at all;) and from

'thence aroſe the Murmurs and Curſes of the People, and hereby 'was God daily provoked: And alſo, That by theſe great Wickedneſſes and Oppreſſions, the *Greek* Church ſet it ſelf up againſt the *Roman*, expelling their * Emperour, and only obeying *Germanus* Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople*: Of which Schiſm our Author gives us a long account, which I omit, not to be thought tedious; though this is ſufficient to ſhew us the ſtrange Defection of the *Weſtern* Church in that Age from its primitive Purity; nor can it be queſtioned, it being related by ſo Impartial an Author as this Monk, who lived and wrote his Hiſtory at this very time.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXV

* This was *Peter* Count of *Auxerre*, a *Frenchman*.

[2] This Year King *Henry* at *Chriſtmas* kept his Court at *Weſtminſter*, and *Simon Montfort*, on the Day after *Epiphany*, married *Eleanor* the King's Siſter (he himſelf giving her) in his own private Chapel: She was the Relict of *William Mareſchal* late Earl of *Pembroke*, and had a very great Jointure. About which time the Pope having heard what great Diſturbances were like to ariſe in *England* upon the calling in, and continuance of his Legate there, ſent his Revocatory Letters to him; but he being very unwilling to depart from a Place where he reaped ſo great a Harveſt, prevailed with the King, Earl *Richard*, and all the Biſhops, to certifie to the Pope under their Hands and Seals, That his Continuance in *England* would be of very great Advantage to the King, the Church, and whole Realm, whereby he obtained Leave to ſtay ſome time longer.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXVIII

[2] *Id.* p. 465. S. *Montfort* marries *Elianor* the K.'s Siſter.

[3] But when Earl *Richard* and the Great Men heard that *Simon Montfort* was privately Married to the Kings Siſter, they were grievouſly enraged at it, becauſe it was done without their Privity and Conſent; and Earl *Richard* went to the King, and gave him very hard Words about it, becauſe contrary to his late Promiſes and Oaths, he ſtill adhered to, and was guided by the Counſels of Strangers. Then *Gilbert* Earl-Mareſchal, and all the Earls and Barons of *England* ſeconded Earl *Richard*, whom they looked upon to be the Man that ſhould free the Land from *Italians* and Strangers; ſo that none now ſtuck cloſe to the King but *Hubert* Earl of *Kent*, whom for his Years, as well as divers other Reaſons, they were not much afraid of. When the Legate ſaw the Danger the Kingdom was in, he applied himſelf to Earl *Richard*, and adviſed him to deſiſt from oppoſing the King his Brother, promiſing him large Poſſeſſions from him, and the Pope's Confirmation of them. To whom the Earl anſwered, That he had nothing to do with the Eſtates of Laymen, but ſhould only concern himſelf with Eccleſiaſtical Matters. But it was not ſtrange that the Earl ſhould be ſo much concerned for the preſent State of the Kingdom, ſeeing he was the only Heir Apparent to the Crown: And although ſo many Profits accrued every way to the King, yet by reaſon of the great Gifts he beſtowed upon the Queen's Relations, the Treaſury was empty, when the Kingdom was on every ſide encompaſſed with Enemies and Strangers, who were enriched with great Church-Revenues, and Benefices given and founded by his Pious Anceſtors.

[3] *Id.* p. 467. The Nobility are highly diſpleaſed at the Marriage, and Earl *Rich.* reproves the K. for it, and is ſeconded by the Barons.

The Legate adviſes the Earl to deſiſt, but is rejected.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXVIII

[4] *Id.* p. 468.

[4] When the Legate heard this, he endeavoured by Admonitions, Entreaties and Threats, to allure or affright the Barons of his Party into a Compliance, but all in vain, for the King ſaw their Inclinations were wholly bent towards his Brother; and therefore when he found he could do no good upon them, he deſired time till the day after the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent* to give his poſitive Anſwer. On the Day appointed the Great Men met at *London*, guarded with Horſe and Arms, to compell the King (if he refuſed) to the performance of the Promiſes; and at laſt, after many long Debates, the King promiſed to ſubmit himſelf to the Determination or Direction of ſome of the moſt Grave and Diſcreet Men; which Agreement was reduced into Writing, and Sealed both by the Legate and the other Nobles.

The Great Men come armed to meet the K. at *London*, where he is fain to ſubmit to them.

Gravioribus Viris.

[5] *Id. ib.*

[5] At this time alſo *Simon Montfort* and the Earl of *Lincoln*, (by their humble Submiſſion and the Interceſſion of Friends, together with ſome Preſents,) ſo wrought upon Earl *Richard*, that he was outwardly reconciled to them, they having firſt given caution to make ſatisfaction for the Injuries they had committed: But this was a great Blemiſh to his Reputation; and his Integrity was afterwards much ſuſpected.

[1] *Id.* p. 468.

Simon Montfort goes to *Rome*, to procure a Confirmation of his Marriage.

[1] *Simon Montfort* finding himſelf neglected by the King, as alſo by Earl *Richard* and the Great Men; and his late Marriage with the King's Siſter like to be made null and void, having borrowed and got together what Money he could, took a Journey to *Rome*, hoping there to procure a Confirmation of his Unlawful Marriage, for the Counteſs his Wife, had ſome time before the ſaid Solemnization, vowed perpetual Celibacy to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, though ſhe had not taken upon her the Habit of a Nun; but during her Husband's abſence ſhe remain'd privately at *Kenelworth* (it ſeems big with Child) expecting the Event of the Journey; but *Simon* by his Money ſo far prevailed with his Holineſs, that notwithſtanding it diſpleaſed *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (who was then at *Rome*) the Pope wrote to his Legate *Otto* to give Sentence for *Simon Montfort*'s Marriage, and on the Fourteenth of *October* he returned into *England*, and was received by the King and all the Court, with all outward Satisfaction and Joy.

And obtains orders for it.

[2] *Id.* p. 469.

Otto the Legate is honourably received at *Oxford*.

[2] Some time after *Eaſter*, the Legate went to *Oxford*, and was honourably received there by the Scholars, and Lodged in the Abbey of *Oſney*; yet his coming thither occaſioned a great deal of trouble to the Univerſity; for one day after Dinner, the Scholars coming to pay their Reſpects to him, they were uncivilly repulſed by the Porter, and ill treated by the other Servants, which cauſed a great many reproachful Words on either ſide; in the mean time a poor *Iriſh* Scholar begging for ſome Relief at the Kitchin-Hatch, the Legate's Chief Cook inſtead of an Alms, caſt a Ladle-full of Boiling Water in his Face; but when a *Welſh* Clerk who ſtood nigh him ſaw this Outrage, he cryed out, *How long ſhall we endure this?* And having a Bow in his hand, forthwith ſhot the Cook (who it ſeems was the Legate's Kinſman) through the Body with an Arrow, upon which he immediately fell down dead; the Legate hearing of this Fray, ſecured himſelf in the Tower of the Church till Night, and by this means made his Eſcape and haſtened to the King (ly-

Where an unfortunate Quarrel ariſes between his Servants and the Scholars, in which his Cook is ſlain.

The Legate goes away and complains to the King.

ing then at *Abbingdon*, and with many grievous Complaints related what had befallen him at *Oxford*: At which the King being moved, ſent Earl *Warren* with ſome armed Men to relieve the Legate's Servants, who were ſtill ſhut up there, and to repreſs the Inſolence of the Scholars. The Earl when he came thither, took about Thirty of them, and impriſoned them in *Wallingford*-Caſtle: Then the Legate (after he was recovered of his Fright) calling to him ſome Biſhops, ***Interdicted*** the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and ***Excommunicated*** all that were Abetters or conſenting to the late Riot.

Anno Dom MCCXXXVIII

[3] *Id.* p. 470.

The Legate Interdicts the City.

[4] Soon after this, he ſummoned all the Biſhops of *England* to meet him at ***London*** on the Seventh of *May*, to treat with him about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; and there the Biſhops offered ſomething in behalf of the Scholars, whereof a great Number were at his Pleaſure impriſoned, and the reſt ready to make their Submiſſions to him; Then after many Intreaties, the Legate was at length prevail'd upon to reſtore them; but upon theſe Conditions, That all the Scholars ſhould meet at St. *Paul*'s Church (which was above a Mile from the Legate's Lodging) and go on foot until they came to the Biſhop of *Carliſle*'s Houſe, and there ſhould put off their Caps, Cloaks, and Shoes, and ſo go to the Legate's Houſe, and humbly beg his Mercy and Pardon; which they ſubmitting to, and performing, the Univerſity was reſtored, and the Legate promiſed it ſhould be no Infamy or Reproach to them.

[4] *Id. Ib.*

The Legate calls a Council of the Biſhops at *London*, who intercede for the Scholars. Which he grants, but upon very hard Conditions.

This Difference being thus compoſed, the King ſent Aſſiſtance to the Emperour againſt his Rebellious Subjects in *Italy*, under the Conduct of *Henry de Turberville*, an Experienced Soldier, who was very ſucceſsful in his Enterprizes, and reduced many Cities to the Emperor's Obedience: The King likewiſe ſent a Letter to the Pope on his Brother-in-Law's behalf, which was taken very ill at the Court of *Rome*, and put a ſtop to all the *Engliſh* Affairs there for ſome time.

[5] *Id. ib.*

The K. ſends Aſſiſtance to the Emperor, which is ill taken at *Rome*.

I cannot omit here to mention the Deceaſe of Two Perſons of Eminent Quality, though of different Sexes; The firſt was *Johanna* Queen of *Scots*, the King's Eldeſt Siſter, who came into *England* the laſt Year to viſit her Brother, and died the Fourteenth of *March*; the other was *Peter de Rupibus*, or *de la Roche*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who deceaſed at *Farnham*, after he had Governed that Church about Two and thirty Years, who though he was a Man of Arbitrary Principles, and had been the cauſe of the King's Breach of *Magna Charta*, and of his advancing of Foreigners; yet to give him his due, he was certainly a Perſon very conſiderable for Policy, and long Experience in State-Affairs, and being very rich, and a great Benefactor to Religious Houſes, no wonder our Author gives him large Commendations, though before he would allow him no very good Character.

[1] *Id.* p. 468.

[2] *Id.* p. 472.

[3] The King had endeavoured all he could to encline the Monks of *Winceſter* to chuſe *William* his Half-Brother, Biſhop Elect of *Valence*, to that Biſhoprick; but he could not prevail with them, for they made choice of *Will. Ralé*; however, the King refuſed him, and ſwore he would never accept of him: Then they proceeded to treat about another Choice, of which when the King heard, he endeavoured to influence or affright them to compliance with him by Promiſes

[3] *Id.* p. 473.

The Monks of *Wincheſter* refuſe to chuſe *William* Bp. of *Valence*, and Elect Bp. of *Chicheſter* for their Biſhop.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXVIII

At which the K. is highly diſpleaſed.

The K. takes the Seal from the Bp. of *Chicheſter*, and appointed two Commiſſioners to keep it.

and Threats, though all to no purpoſe, for they Elected *Ralph Neville* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the Chancellor to that See; which raiſed the King's Indignation to ſuch a degree, that he bitterly reviled and reproached both the Monks and him; and then forcing from him the Great Seal, he delivered the Cuſtody of it to *Geoffrey* a *Knight-Templar*, and *John de Lexington*; but the Profits of the Chancellorſhip ſtill belonged to the Biſhop: Then the King ſent Two Lawyers, *Simeon* and *Alexander*, to the Court of *Rome*, who by Bribes and large Promiſes, procured this Election to be declared void.

[4] *Id.* p. 414.

A Plot againſt the K.'s Life, and the Traitor taken.

He confeſſes who ſet him on, and is executed.

[4] After this, the King being at *Woodſtock* in the Month of *September* there came One to the Court, who it ſeems had been of of ſome Note (for our Author calls him a Literate Eſquire) this Man feigning himſelf to be Mad, would needs have had the King to reſign his Kingdom to him as his Right: The Officers about the King hearing this Inſolence, would have forced him away with Baſtinadoing him, but the King forbad them offering any Violence to him, ſaying he did nothing but what became a Mad-man: However, he was not ſo Mad as he feigned himſelf; for about midnight he got through a Window into the King's Bedchamber, with a long Knife drawn in his Hand, and not finding him there (for he ſlept that Night with the Queen) the Fellow ſearch'd about in other Places: This was diſcovered by one of the Queens' Maids called *Margaret Biſeth*, who (being then at her Devotions) cried out, and with her Noiſe alarm'd the Guard, who preſently coming in upon him, ſecured him till next Morning: Upon Examination, he confeſſed that he was employed by *William de Maris*, the Son of *Geoffrey de Maris*, to Aſſaſſinate the King, and that many others were in the Conſpiracy: Whereupon he was condemned to be drawn aſunder by Horſes at *Coventry*, which was executed accordingly, and his Body being Quartered, was ſent to ſome of the Chief Cities of *England*, to be hanged upon a Gibbet.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXIX

[5] *Gilbert* the Earl-Mareſchal is refuſed entrance into the K.'s Palace; And ſending to know the reaſon, the K. returns him a ſevere Meſſage.

S. Montfort created Earl of *Leiceſter*.

[5] This Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, where whilſt he was one Day at Dinner, *Gilbert* Earl-Mareſchal came with ſeveral of his Friends to the Palace, but were denied Entrance by the Door-keeper: The Earl (ſuſpecting ſomething had been whiſpered in the King's Ear to his Diſadvantage) ſent to him next Day to know why ſuch an Affront was offered to him the Day before? To which Meſſage the King replied, That *Richard* his Elder Brother was a *Traitor* and a *Rebel*, and continued ſo till the time that Divine Vengeance took him; That through the importunate Interceſſion of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (and not his own Merit) he had reſtored to him both his Brother's Office and Inheritance, yet could recall it whenever he pleaſed. The Earl having heard the King's Anſwer, and being now ſatisfied of his Diſpleaſure, retired from Court, and went into the North of *England*. Then, about *Candlemaſs*, the King created *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and received *Stephen de Segrave* again into his Council: So unconſtant was this poor Prince, that he never loved or hated any Man, but according to the Influence and Suggeſtions of thoſe that were about him.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXIX.

[1] *Id. Ib.* *Otto* is again recalled, but at the K.'s Requeſt continued Legate.

[1] This Year the Pope by his Letters called home *Otto* his Legate; but the King fearing his Great Men would unanimouſly oppoſe him next Parliament, preſently diſpatch'd Meſſengers to his Holineſs, with a Requeſt to let him continue ſtill in *England*, to appeaſe the Troubles he expected there; which Licence the Legate ſome time after received by *Simon Norman*, who had been on purpoſe on that Errand; but when the Noblemen that were now come to *London* obſerved this, fearing the Legate's Wiles and the King's Subterfuges, they went home (ſlighting the King's fair Speech as meer Sophiſtry) without doing any Buſineſs.

[2] *Id.* p. 485. The K. again offers the Bp. of *Chicheſter* the Seal; but he refuſes it with good Reaſon.

[2] Soon after *Eaſter*, the King being ſenſible of his own Indiſcretion, in diſcharging the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* from the Chancellorſhip, and removing him from Court, uſed all the Arts he could to prevail with him to return to his Office; but he refuſed it, ſtill remembring how he had been treated by the King, in pronouncing his Election to the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* void, when he had both Served him and his Father ſo long with great Fidelity and Integrity.

[3] *Id.* p. 486. *Frederic* the Emperor *Excommunicated* by the Pope.

[3] This Year in *Lent* Pope *Gregory* by his Bull *Excommunicated* and Anathematized *Frederick* the Emperour, becauſe he juſtified himſelf in ſeizing and detaining certain Lands and Caſtles belonging to the Biſhop of *Sardinia*, and would not hearken to his Holineſs's Admonitions to the contrary. Upon which the Emperour was ſome time after, by the Pope's Mandate, denounced *Excommunicate* in St. *Paul's* Church, and afterwards all over *England*, without any Contradiction; tho the King (as being his Brother-in-Law) had more reaſon than any other Prince to have hindred it; but he was then ſo abſolute a Vaſſal to the See of *Rome*, that he durſt not refuſe any thing that ſhe was pleaſed to impoſe.

See the Pope's Bull in *Matt. Paris*, and the Emperour's Anſwer to it.

[4] *Id.* p. 488. Prince *Edward* born.

But to return to Domeſtick Affairs of greater Importance to *England*: [4] On the Sixteenth of *June* following, Queen *Eleanor* was ſafely brought to Bed of a Young Prince at *Weſtminſter*, who on the Fourth Day after, was Baptized *Edward* by the Legate in the Abbey-Church (although he was no more than a Deacon) the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being preſent, who only Confirmed him in the preſence of ſeveral Biſhops and Great Men.

[5] *Id.* p. 490.

[5] This Year *William*, one of the King's Meſſengers, being convicted of many Crimes, was condemned to die; but to prolong his own Life, he accuſed ſeveral of the Court of Treaſon, and among the reſt *Ranulph Brettan*, Chanon of St. *Paul's*, and Treaſurer, who was by the King's Writ to the Mayor of *London* apprehended, impriſoned. and laid in Irons in the *Tower*: Whereupon the Dean of *London*, with the Chanons, in the abſence of the Biſhops proceeded to *Excommunicate* all that were actually concerned in this Violation of the Church's Privilege; the King being admoniſhed by the Biſhop to correct his Error, and neglecting it, the whole City of *London* was threatned to be *Interdicted*, by the Legate, Archbiſhop, and Biſhop of *London*. Thereupon the King (though againſt his Will) releaſed him; but upon this Condition, That he ſhould appear whenever he ſhould be called upon to his Trial: But the Church would not conſent to it; ſo at length he was ſet at liberty, but diſcharged the Court.

Ranulph Canon of St. *Paul's* is falſly accuſed of Treaſon.

And is ſet at Liberty, tho' diſcharged the Court.

Anno Dom. MCCXXXIX.

Stephen de Segrave being now again become one of the King's Chief Councellors, behaved himſelf with more Prudence and Moderation than formerly; and ſoon after the Perſon that had defam'd *Ranulph* and many others, was executed on a Gibbet; and there he confeſſed, that he accuſed them only to prolong his own Life.

[1] *Id.* p. 497. The K. ſhews his ſudden Diſpleaſure againſt *S. Montfort* and his Lady for no cauſe.

[1] On the Ninth of *Auguſt*, many Great Ladies being met at *London* to accompany the Queen to her Churching; ſo ſoon as the King ſaw *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and his Lady there, he told him he was an *Excommunicated* Perſon, and prohibited both him and her (though his own Siſter) to be preſent at that Solemnity; adding withal, that he had firſt Debauched, and then (to avoid Scandal) Married her, and had gone to *Rome* to procure by Bribes the Pope's Confirmation of this unlawful Marriage: But when the Earl heard theſe ſharp Words from the King, he was quite out of Countenance, and not being permitted by him to Lodge in the Palace of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (which he had lent him) nor able by any means to appeaſe the King's Diſpleaſure, he that Evening hiring a Boat on the *Thames*, with his Lady and ſome few Attendants, took Shipping, and went beyond Sea: But what ſhould be the occaſion of this ſudden Alteration of the King's Favour, beſides the Fickleneſs of his own Humour, I cannot find.

[2] *Id.* p. 498. The Biſhops conſult how to relieve the Church from the Exactions of the Legate, but in vain.

[2] On the laſt of *July*, the Biſhops met at *London*, to conſider upon a very great, but difficult Undertaking, which was how they might relieve the Church of *England* from thoſe many Oppreſſions it lay under, by the perpetual Exactions of the Pope's Legate; but inſtead of eaſing them, he demanded freſh *Procurations* from 'em; to whom they briefly anſwered, *That the Church had been ſo often ſqueezed by him and others from* Rome, *that they could endure it no longer:* So the Synod was diſſolved, not without great Murmurs and Complaints; yet he extorted a great Sum of Money from the Religious Orders.

[3] *Id. ib.* The Legate is refuſed entrance into *Scotland* by that King.

[3] Soon after this the Legate went towards *Scotland* with a Guard of *Engliſh*, to ſecure himſelf from any treacherous Attempts; but before he entred that Kingdom, he was met by the King of *Scotland*, who told him plainly, ‘ That never any Legate had entred there before, and there was no occaſion for any at this time; for *Chriſtianity* (he thanked God) flouriſhed there, and the Church was in a proſperous Condition: But when Words began to multiply and grow high on both ſides, and the King was about to prohibit his Entrance, then through the Interceſſion of the Great Men of *England*, it was agreed under the Hand and Seal of the Legate, that this ſhould not be drawn into a Precedent; whereupon (as the Chronicle of *Melroſs* informs us) the Legate entred *Scotland*, and held a Council or Synod at *Edinburgh*, and having ſcraped together what Money he could there, returned into *England*.

[4] *Id.* p. 515. Articles of High Treaſon are again exhibited againſt *H. de Burgh*.

[4] About this time ſeveral Articles of Treaſon and High Miſdemeanours were again, by the King's Order, exhibited in his Court againſt *Hubert de Burgh* Earl of *Kent*, pretended to be committed by him while the Management of the King's Affairs paſſed through his

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his Hands: To all which he anſwered by *Laurence* a Clerk of [1] *St. Albans* (his ſure Friend in all his Adverſities) with ſuch Modeſty and Submiſſion, and yet ſo fully to the purpoſe, that all that heard him were ſatisfied with the Earl's Innocence; although the King and all his Lawyers or Pleaders did what they could to prove him Guilty: However, the King's Wrath was no whit abated, until he had reſign'd into his hands Four of his beſt Caſtles, namely, *Blanch-Caſtle*, *Groſmund* in *Wales*, *Screnefrith*, and *Hatfield*. The Articles againſt the Earl and his Plea to them, are very long, together with their Anſwers, and are found at large in the [1] Additaments of *Matthew Paris*, to which I refer the curious Reader.

[1] Id. p. 516. Which are anſwered on his behalf by *Laurence* a Clerk.

[1] p. 149.

[2] But to ſay ſomething of Foreign Affairs; This Year the Pope wrote to the King of *France*, to let him know, that he had by the Advice of his Brethren the Cardinals, *Excommunicated* and Depoſed *Frederick* the Emperor, and had made choice of Count *Robert* the King's Brother to ſucceed him in the Empire; and then promiſed not only his own, but alſo the Aſſiſtance of the Univerſal Church to eſtabliſh him in the Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Crown: To which the King of *France* (by the prudent Advice of his Council) anſwered, That he knew not by what Authority ſo great a Prince was Depoſed, nor was ſatisfied that the Crimes laid to his Charge were ever proved; and if they were, it ought to be done by the Act of a General Council, and not by the Pope, who was his Capital Enemy: Nor had he found ſo much Religion in his Holineſs as in him; and therefore would not be engaged in ſo dangerous an Affair. Which when the Pope's Envoys heard, they went away confounded: Then there was ſent ſolemn Ambaſſadors from the King of *France* to the Emperor, and they gave him a full Account of the late Meſſage from the Pope; to which the Emperor made a Noble and Generous Reply, highly reflecting upon the Pope's Piety; which ſince it is not within our Province, I refer the Reader to our Author.

[2] *Id.* p. 517.

Robert Brother to the King of *France*, choſen Emperor by the Pope and Cardinals.

The King of *France* declines to engage himſelf in that Affair.

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[3] This Year K. *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, where he Knighted *Baldwin de Rivers*, and then made him Earl of the *Iſle of Wight*, and Married him to to the Daughter-in-Law of his Brother *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*: Then on the *Octaves* of *Epiphany* (or Thirteenth of *January*) the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, with many Great Men, met at *London*, the Legate being preſent, where before the King in his own Court, the Biſhops made grievous Complaints of his Injuries, Oppreſſions, and Deſolations, that were brought upon the Church by his means, contrary to his Charters and Oaths, by keeping many Churches void for a long time, and taking the Profits of them to his own Uſe; as alſo for hindring Canonical Elections: And about Thirty Chapters of Cathedrals ſeconded the Biſhops in their Complaints againſt the King; and at length they proceeded to *Excommunicate* all thoſe his Councellors who had enclined his Mind to ſuch Enormities.

[3] *Id.* p. 523.

Complaints againſt the Injuries and Oppreſſions laid upon the Church.

Thoſe who moved the K. to theſe Enormitie are *Excommunicated*.

This

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[4] *Id.* p. 524. The Emperor's complaint againſt the K. and on what ground.

[4] At which time alſo the King received an Expreſs from the Emperor, wherein he complain'd, that ſure the King had forgotten he had married his Siſter, when he had ſuffer'd the Pope's Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt him to be publiſhed in his Realm, and had inconſiderately called in, and ſtill continued in his Kingdom, the Pope's Legate, as *Coadjutor* in theſe Practices againſt him; wherefore he deſired that the Legate might be thruſt out of *England* as an Enemy and Pillager of his Subjects; to whom the King moſt ſhamefully anſwered, *That he ought to obey the Pope, and his Eccleſiaſtical Commands becauſe he was his Tributary and Feudatory:* However, after ſome Conſultation with himſelf, he adviſed the Legate to leave his Kingdom, leſt by his ſtay here he ſhould incenſe the Emperor; the Legate reply'd, That he had called him into his Kingdom, and therefore required ſafe Conduct for his Return. Thus the King, inſtead of Excuſing, rather ſhewed himſelf guilty of greater Weakneſs; yet he being willing ſomewhat to appeaſe the Emperor, wrote to the Pope on his behalf, beſeeching him, that for Affinity's-ſake, he would deal more mildly with him: But in the mean while, the Legate was not Idle in Collecting and Forcing the Clergy to pay their *Procurations*. Moreover, hearing (as he ſaid) that ſome that had undertaken the *Cruſado*, and were unable to fight, had gone to *Rome* for Abſolution from their Vow, he by his Letters invited all ſuch as were deſirous of Abſolution, and willing to ſpare their Labour and Expences, to come to him, and upon the Payment of a Sum of Money, they ſhould be Abſolved from their Oath, ſince he had received the Pope's Command, that he ought not barely to Abſolve them, but alſo to compel them to redeem their Vow, that is, to compound for their Abſolution by Money.

The K's mean Anſwer, yet at laſt he adviſes the Legate to withdraw.

Vid. Dr. B's Ap. N. 168, 162.

[5] *Id. ib.* *Simon Montfort* returns into *England*, and kindly received by the K.

[5] In *April* following *Simont Montfort*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, return'd again into *England*, and was very kindly received by the King and Court, but he deſigned to make no ſtay here, only to furniſh himſelf with Money by ſale of his Lands and Woods for his Journey to the *Holy-Land*; but his Lady being big again with Child, remained ſtill beyond Sea.

A great difference between the Scholars and Townſmen of *Oxford*.

About this time alſo there aroſe ſuch a Difference between the Citizens and Scholars of *Oxford*, that many of them removed from thence, and ſettled at *Cambridge*, where the Scholars had before obtained certain Liberties from the King againſt the Townſmen; and that by his Grant or Charter: About the ſame time alſo the King cauſed the Citizens of *London*, and the Wardens of the *Cinque-Ports*, with many others, to ſwear Fealty to Prince *Edward*, his Eldeſt Son.

The K. cauſes the Citizens of *London* to ſwear Fealty to Pr. *Edward*.

[1] *Id. Ib.* *Llewellyn*, Pr. of *Wales* dies, and *David* his Son ſucceeds, who does Homage to the King for that Principality.

[1] *Llewellyn* Prince of *North-Wales* died this Year in *April*, after a long Reign of Fifty ſix Years, Prince *David* his Eldeſt Legitimate Son ſucceeded him, who on the Fourteenth of *May* following performed to King *Henry* his Homage for that Principality, and the Lands which King *Henry*'s Barons held there; and then both the King and Prince ſubmitted themſelves as to all Diſputes and Differences between them, to the Arbitrement of Cardinal *Otto* the Popes Legate, and the Biſhops of *Norwich* and *Worceſter*, with the Earl of *Cornwall*, and *John de Monmouth* on the King's Part; and on Prince *David*'s Part were appointed the Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, *Idenevet*

Vaghan, and *Eynguan Vaghan*; and both Parties bound themſelves by Oath, that they would ſubmit to the Juriſdiction and Sentence of the Legate, ſo long as he ſtaid in *England*, to compel either Party by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, who ſhould not obſerve the Articles of the ſaid Arbitration, or who ſhould refuſe to make ſuch Amends for any Tranſgreſſions againſt them, as he ſhould Award. Then they ſubmitted themſelves to the Juriſdiction and Coertion of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Succeſſors; and farther by this Peace, all the Homages of the Barons of *Wales* were to be performed to the King; and all Burnings, Slaughters, and other Miſchiefs done on both parts were to be remitted.

The K. and new Prince ſubmit themſelves to the Arbitrament of the Pope's Legate, concerning all Differences between them

This Agreement is not to be found in any of our Printed Authors, but is upon [2] Record in the *Tower*.

[2] **Rot. Clauſ.* 24 *H.* 3. *M.* 4. *Dorſ.* *Vid.* Dr. *B's* Ap. N. 163.

[3] About that time the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and ſome of the Great Men of *England* met at *Reading*, to hear from the Legate what the Pope's demands were. When they were aſſembled together, and Silence was made, the Legate declared the Pope's Care and Charge in ſecuring the Peace of the Church againſt the Aſſaults of the Emperor *Frederick*; wherefore, for that and his Holineſs's Support, he required on *Fifth* Part of all their Goods: The King had before given his conſent to it, affirming, He neither would nor durſt oppoſe the Pope; but the Biſhops looked upon this as an inſupportable Burthen, and that it highly concerned the *Engliſh* Church; wherefore tney deſired time to deliberate upon an Affair of ſo great Importance.

[3] *Id.* p. 526. An Aſſembly of the Biſhops and Great Men of *Reading*, where the Legates demands a Fifth Part of all Goods.

[4] After ſome conſideration, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* conſented to pay the *Fifth* Part of his Rents, which amounted to Eight hundred Marks, and the reſt of the Prelates of *England* followed his Example.

[4] *Id.* p. 527. At laſt the Bps conſent to pay it.

[5] But ſome time after, when the Archbiſhop ſaw the Church of *England* was every day more and more oppreſſed, ſpoiled, and deprived of its Liberties, without any hopes of Remedy; and that the Eight hundred Marks he had given the Pope availed nothing; he not long after left *England*, and retired to the Abby of *Pontigniae* in *France*.

[5] *Id.* p. 532. The A.B. being tired out, leaves *England*.

[1] Some time after, the King ſent Juſtices-Itinerant, through all the Counties of *England*, who under the pretence of correcting Enormities, and doing Juſtice, only gathered a great Sum of Money for the King and the Pope's Legate's Uſe, who now remitted over to him a vaſt Sum of Money, by one of his Clerks; and thus the King and the Pope ſhared all the Riches of the Kingdom between them.

[1] *Id.* p. 533. The K. ſends Juſtices-Itinerant all over *England*, to fleece the People.

[2] But to add ſomewhat more concerning the Papal Oppreſſions; This Year the Pope ſent his Precepts or Breves, directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Saliſbury*, commanding them to prefer no leſs than Three hundred *Romans* or *Italians* to the firſt vacant Benefices in *England*, and not to collate any Others, till they were all ſufficiently provided: [3] And the Pope had alſo lately ſent into *England* one *Peter Rubeus* to be his Collector, who went about to the Chapters of Religious Houſes, and of ſome he gained a Promiſe to pay ſo much Money for uſes not mentioned, but only as ſuch a Biſhop, or ſuch an Abbot, had

[2] *Id.* p. 532.

[3] *Id.* p. 333. *Peter Rubeus*, the Pope's Nunçio, his cheating Contrivance to ſqueeze Money out of the Religious Houſes.

engaged

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Two Abbots repreſent this Grievance to the King, who receives them with Frowns, and leaves them to the Legate to do what he pleaſed with them

engaged to do before, and then urged their Examples to Others, whereby many were ſeduced and cheated of their Money: But when the Abbots were ſenſible of this deteſtable Practice, two of them, namely the Abbots of *St. Edmunds*, and *Battle-Abbey*, went to the King, and made known their Grievance to him, urging, That if ſuch Exactions were ſuffer'd, the Baronies they held of him would not anſwer the Services that were due to his Crown; and therefore they humbly beſought him for Remedy and Redreſs; But the King received them with Frowns, and told the Legate, (who was then preſent) that he might do what he pleaſed with them; adding, That he would lend him one of his Caſtles to impriſon them; upon this ſome yielded to the fore-mentioned Exactions; but others refuſed to bring themſelves under ſuch a deteſtable Servitude.

[4] *Id.* p. 334. The Bps are alſo tried, but they cunningly put it off.

[4] Thereupon the Legate with *Peter Rubeus*, met the Biſhops at *Northampton*; but they being warned by the late Example of the Abbots, they could get no poſitive Anſwer from them, but only ſeveral Exceptions againſt theſe Contributions, too long here to inſert. Then he ſummoned the Rectors of the Churches in *Berkſhire* to attend him and his Accomplices, and endeavoured both by Promiſes and Threats, either to allure or affright them into a Compliance; [5] But they reſolutely ſtood it out, affirming, They ought not to contribute any thing againſt the Emperour, becauſe he neither was Convicted nor Condemned by the Judgment of the Church, nor yet had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Patrimony of St. Peter: They alſo farther urged, *That as the* Roman *Church had its own Patrimony, ſo other Churches had theirs alſo, by the Grants and Beneficence of Kings, Princes, and other Great Men, no ways Tributary to the Church of* Rome. And likewiſe, *That although the Care of the Church belonged to the Pope, yet the Dominion and Property did not.* Again, *That their Revenues were ſo ſmall, that they could ſcarce ſupply them with Neceſſaries; therefore they ought not to be compelled to any ſuch Contribution.*

[5] *Id.* p. 335. The Rectors of Churches in *Berkſhire*, are alſo tamper'd with, who refuſe to conſent, and give divers notable Reaſons againſt it.

[1] *Id.* p. 536. The Legate's Policy to gain his Ends.

[1] When the Legate and his Partiſans ſaw the great Unanimity and Firmneſs of the Clergy to each other, they endeavoured to divide them, and ſo went to the King, and ſoon inclin'd him to favour the Pope's Cauſe. Then his Inſtruments tamper'd with divers Biſhops and Archdeacons, ſome of whom they gained by Promiſes of Preferments and Rewards; by which means the Unanimity and Firmneſs of the *Body of the Clergy was broken.

**Univerſitas.*

[2] *Id. ib.* The Earl-Mareſchal is reconciled to the King.

This Year alſo [2] *Gilbert* the Earl-Mareſchal was, through the powerful Interceſſion of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, reconciled to the King, and *Maurice*, Juſtitiary of *Ireland*, came to *London*, and by the King's means the Earl-Mareſchal and he were made Friends, and all the Faults of Earl *Richard* were paſſed by; [3] And ſoon after this *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, having the Year before taken upon him the *Croſs*, began his Pilgrimage to the *Holy-Land*, and having recommended his Son *Henry* to the King his Brother's Care, took Shipping at *Dover*; not long after, *William Longeſpee* Earl *Saliſbury*, with ſeveral other *Engliſh* Noblemen followed him: And ſoon after this *Simon Norman* the Chancellor, and the King's chief favourite, and the Legate's cloſe Friend, was removed from the Chan-

[3] *Id* p. 536. *Richard* E. of *Cornwall* goes on Pilgrimage to the *Holy-Land*.

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Chancellorſhip, and all his other Preferments, except the Archdeaconary of *Norwich*.

The Death of *Edmund* A.B. of *Canterbury*: His Character.

[4] *Id.* p.545.

This Year likewiſe *Edmund* A.B. of *Canterbury* died of Grief in *France*; a Pious and Conſtant Prelate, [4] who did whatever he could by his Letters to make the Pope ſenſible of the Oppreſſion the *Engliſh* Church then lay under, by reaſon of the King's keeping the Biſhop's Sees ſo long vacant, purely for his own Advantage; as alſo his interpoſing by Letters and Menaces, to hinder the due Elections of Biſhops and Abbots: but Pope *Gregory* was ſo far from contributing to have theſe Abuſes redreſs'd, that he rather join'd with the King in promoting them; ſaying, That it was contrary to the King's Prerogative to reſtrain him; ſo that all the Archbiſhop's pious Intentions came to nothing: and this made the King hereafter more bold to impoſe the Election of *Boniface*, his Wife's Uncle, upon the Monks of *Canterbury*, contrary to the Liberties of that Church: But as for this Archbiſhop, he was not long after Canonized a Saint by the Council of *Lyons*.

[5] *Id.* p.829.

Thomas Earl of *Flanders* arrives in *England*, and is Nobly preſented by the K.

[5] But before I conclude this Year, I cannot omit ſome other Paſſages, which though of leſs Moment, yet deſerve our notice: Among which, is the Arrival of *Thomas* Earl of *Flanders* in *England*, with a great Retinue, being received by the King himſelf, attended by the Citizens of *London* in great State; whither as ſoon as he came, he was preſented with Five hundred Marks in New-Coined Sterling Money, and had a Penſion of as much more granted him, to be Yearly paid out of the *Exchequer*, in lieu of the Homage which he then paid the King for it; ſo having received divers rich Preſents from him, he, after ſome time, took his Leave, and return'd into his own Country. From whence we may obſerve, how eaſie King *Henry* was to part with ſo much ready Money for a meer Ceremony; and beſides, this ſhews us, that Homage was paid in thoſe Days by one Prince to another, not only for Lands and Territories, but for Penſions in Money too.

[1] *Id.* p. 532.

The *Jews* of *Norwich* Circumciſe a Boy, and intend to Crucifie him. For which Four of them are Executed.

[2] *Id.* p. 409. *Sub Anno* 1235

[1] This Year alſo, the *Jews* of *Norwich* privately ſtole away, and Circumciſed a *Chriſtian*-Child, intending to Crucifie him before *Eaſter*; but the Boy being miſſed by his Parents, and upon ſearch found in a certain *Jew*'s Houſe, all the Men of that Religion in the City were preſently ſeized; and Four of them being convicted of this Crime, were drawn at Horſe-Tails, and then hanged upon Gibbets. This is the Second Offence of this Kind which we find recorded by our [2] Author, to have been committed by the *Jews* of this Place in five Years time; and if ſo, it declares their horrid Cruelty to, as well as Hatred for the *Chriſtian* Religion.

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[3] *Id.* p. 564.

The King Knights the Legates Nephew, and another Foreigner, and gives them good Eſtates.

[4] *Id.* p 549

[3] This Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Weſtminſter*, being attended by many of the Great Men, where he Knighted the Legate's Nephew, and another, a *Provincial*, and gave them plentiful Eſtates in Land; and four days after, the Legate received Letters from the Pope, commanding him without any more delay to come to *Rome*: Then having taken his ſolemn Leave of the King, with many Sighs and Embraces, they parted, and he taking Shipping at *Dover* the Day after *Epiphany*, left *England*; [4] No Man but the King lamenting his Departure; for he had ſo pillaged the Clergy, that (ſetting aſide the Holy Veſſels and Ornaments of their Churches)

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he left them not ſo much, as he had Extorted from them; beſides Three hundred rich Benefices and Prebendaries that were appropriated to the Pope's Creatures, kept for his own Uſe.

[5] *Id.* p. 550. The Earl of *Savoy* arrives in *England*.

[5] Alſo about this time, *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, the Queen's Uncle, (on whom the King had before conferr'd the Earldom of *Richmond*) arrived here in *England*, and had very great Donatives beſtowed upon him: Some time after, the *Jews* were Fined, and forced to pay the King Twenty thouſand Marks, upon pain of being Baniſhed, or perpetually Impriſoned.

[1] *Id.* p. 554. The Author's Account of the inſatiable Avarice of the *Roman* Church.

The Pope's unreaſonable Demands from the Abbot and Convent of *Peterburgh*.

The Monks refuſe to comply.

[1] At this time (ſays *Matt. Paris*) by the procurement or permiſſion of Pope *Gregory*, the inſatiable Avarice of the *Roman* Church, ſo much increaſed, that confounding Right and Wrong, and laying aſide all ſhame, like a common Strumpet that receives all Comers, ſhe counted *Uſury* but a ſmall Fault, and *Simony* as none at all: So that ſhe infected other Countries with her Contagion, and *England* amongſt the reſt, of which though he ſays he could ſhew many Examples, yet thought fit only to afford us this ſingle Relation, That the Pope had wrote to the Abbot and Convent of *Peterburgh*, commanding them to grant him one of their beſt Parſonages of the Yearly Rent of a Hundred Marks, (yet if it were double that value it would pleaſe him ſo much the better) and he would Rent it out to them again at a Hundred Marks by the Year, and the reſidue ſhould be their own; he likewiſe wrote to ſeveral *Italians* that were Beneficed in *England*, to ſollicite and further it by their Admonitions, if not, to compell them to a Compliance with his Deſires; But the Monks anſwered, They could do nothing without the King's Conſent, who was their Patron and Founder, and that alſo their Abbot was now abſent; thereupon the *Italian* Clerks who came over into *England*, going to *Peterburgh*, were very inſtant with them to do it, though without either the Privity of the King or their Abbot; but this the Monks utterly refuſed, yet deſired they might not be preſſed for an Anſwer till their Abbot came home, whom, in the mean time, they acquainted with the whole Buſineſs:

[2] *Id.* p. 555. The K. diſpleaſed with the Practice of the *Italian* Clerks.

[2] Whereupon he preſently ſent *William de Burgh* his Chaplain, to the King, to let him know how dangerous the Conſequence of ſuch a Matter might prove. When the King was made ſenſible of the Detriment the Church would hereby ſuſtain, and deteſting the Covetouſneſs of the Court of *Rome*, he ſtrictly prohibited them from proceeding any further in ſuch *enormous Attempts*: But this is the firſt Example of the King's Courage, in refuſing the Pope's Unreaſonable Demands.

[3] *Id. ib.* *Boniface* of *Savoy* is by the King's means choſen A.B. of *Canterbury*.

[3] In *April* following, the Monks of *Canterbury*, through the Contrivance and great Induſtry uſed by the King in that Affair, Elected *Boniface* of *Savoy*, (a Graceful Perſon, yet whoſe Learning and Parts were wholly unknown to them) Archbiſhop of that Place, who was approved of and confirmed both by the King and the Pope.

[4] *Id.* p. 565. *Gilbert* Earl-Mareſchal killed at a Torneament by his Horſe.

[4] This Year, on the Seven and Twentieth of *June*, *Gilbert* Earl-Mareſchal was kill'd by the Unrulineſs of his Horſe, whoſe Reins breaking in a Tourneament at *Hertford*, he was flung down, and his Foot being engaged in the Stirrup, cauſed him to be almoſt kick'd to Death; and at the ſame time *Robert Say* one of his Knights was

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was likewiſe ſlain, and divers Eſquires wounded and hurt: yet could not theſe unfortunate Accidents make the Noblemen quit this rough and dangerous Recreation, notwithſtanding they had the Pope's Inhibitions, and the King's Commands to the contrary.

[5] *Otto*, the Pope's Legate, had, at his departure, left behind him, *Peter Rubeus*, and *Peter de Supine*, armed with the Pope's *Bull*, by which they had Power to collect *Procurations*, to *Excommunicate*, *Interdict*, and by ſeveral ways to extort Money from the *Engliſh* Church; by which Authority this *Peter* carried himſelf as if he had been a Legate, and wrote to divers Abbots in a Commanding manner to make them contribute under the name of *Procurations*; and in the mean time *Peter de Supine* went by the King's permiſſion into *Ireland*, carrying the Pope's Bull, where with great ſeverity he exacted the like unreaſonable Payments, and then return'd back into *England* in Autumn, bringing over no leſs than Fifteen hundred Marks from that Poor Kingdom.

[5] *Id.* p. 556. *Peter Rubeus*, and *Peter de Supine*, are left by the Pope's Legate to extort Money from the Clergy.

[1] As for Civil Affairs, this year affords little, only that *Griffin*, the Baſe Son of *Llewellin* Prince of *Wales*, was treacherouſly impriſon'd, by his half Brother *David*, who would not be perſwaded to releaſe him: Upon this *Richard* Biſhop of *Bangor* firſt *Excommunicated* him, and then applied himſelf to King *Henry* for farther Remedy; whereupon he ſent to *David*, and ſeverely blamed him for his Treachery and Unkindneſs to his Brother, and commanded him to give him his Liberty; To whom *David* return'd a Malepart Anſwer, affirming, That *Wales* would never enjoy Peace, if he were ſet free: [2] But when *Griffin* underſtood this, he ſent privately to King *Henry* to let him know, That if he would procure him his Liberty, he would become his Vaſſal, and pay him Two hundred Marks a year for his Land, and Swear Fealty to him, and would alſo aſſiſt him in ſubduing the Rebellious *Welſh*: At the ſame time alſo *Griffin* the Son of *Madoc*, a moſt Potent Man among the *Welſh*, promiſed the King his utmoſt Aſſiſtance, if he would but enter *Wales* with a good Force.

[1] *Id.* p. 569. *Griffin* is treacherouſly dealt with by his Brother Prince *David*, who is therefore *Excommunicated* by the Biſhop of *Bangor*.

[2] *Id.* p. 570. *Griffin*, to obtain his Liberty, promiſes to become the K's Vaſſal.

[3] The King having ſuch an Advantageous Offer made him, joyfully accepted it, and ſummoned all who owed him Military Service to meet him at *Glouceſter* with Horſe and Arms at the beginning of Autumn, and from thence with a great Army, he marched towards *Cheſter*, which ſo affrightned Prince *David*, that he preſently capitulated, and inſtead of ſeting his Brother free, delivered him up to the King; But the Poor Man's Condition was not at all the better for it, becauſe he was immediately ſent Priſoner to *London*, with ſeveral Noblemen of *Wales*, that were Hoſtages for Prince *David*, under the Conduct of *John de Lexington*, to be ſecured in the *Tower*: Then about Eight days after *Michaelmaſs* Prince *David* came to *London*, and having done his Homage, taken an Oath of Fealty, and given Security to the King to obſerve the Peace, he was diſmiſſed, and ſo returned home in ſafety: Theſe things were done between the Eighth of *September*, and *Michaelmaſs* following.

[3] *Id. Ib.* The King accepts the offer, and prepares to march into *Wales*.

David frighted with this News, makes an Agreement with the King, and delivers up his Brother to him.

He is impriſon'd in the *Tower*.

David does his Homage to the King, and returns home.

But ſince we may receive a great deal of light, as to the Hiſtory of theſe *Welſh* Tranſactions, from the *Tower* Records, I ſhall give you an Abſtract of them from Dr. *Brady*'s *Hiſtory* and *Appendix*, Where

A more exact Account of the *Welſh* Tranſactions from the *Tower* Records. *Id.* p. 578.

Anno Dom. MCCXLI.

* *Cart.* 25 *H.* 3. M. 3. *Dorſ. vid.* Dr. *B-*'s *Ap.* N. 167.

where it appears by a Charter of this year, * That ſome time before Prince *David* had thus delivered into the King's hands his Brother *Griffin*, *Senana* his Wife complain'd to him, that Prince *David* had Impriſon'd her Husband, with his Son *Owen*, for whoſe Releaſe ſhe, in the Name of her ſaid Husband, offer'd the King Six hundred Marks, provided that he by the Judgment of his Court, and according to the Law of *Wales*, would put him in Poſſeſſion of that part of his Father's Inheritance, which he ought to enjoy, and which *David* by Force then with-held from him; At the ſame time alſo ſhe undertook, that her Husband his Heirs ſhould pay to the King and his Heirs Three hundred Marks *per Annum*, *viz.* one Third part in Money, another Third part in Oxen and Cows, and the laſt Third part in Horſes, at *Shrewsbury*, to be deliver'd to the Sheriff of *Shropſhire:* She alſo Engaged for her Husband, That if at any time any *Welſhman* rebell'd againſt the King or his Heirs, he ſhould at his own Coſt compel him to give Satisfaction; and for the Performance of all this, in the Name of her Husband *Griffin*, ſhe offer'd the King as Pledges, or Sureties, *Ralph Mortimer*, *Walter de Clifford*, *Roger de Montealt*, Steward of *Cheſter*, with ſeveral other Noblemen, her Friends.

* *Vid.* Dr *B-*'s *Ap.* N. 168.

* *Ib.* N. 169.

* Then follow the ſeveral Inſtruments or Charts of thoſe Noblemen to the King, That what *Senana* had propos'd ſhould be truly perform'd; † After theſe, are ſet down the ſeveral Charts of *Mereduc ap Howel*, *Owen ap Howel*, and thoſe Noblemen of *Wales* that favour'd *Griffin*'s Cauſe, which alſo Teſtifie, That they had Sworn Fealty to King *Henry*, and would faithfully ſerve him with all their might during their Lives whenever he wanted their Aſſiſtance; with ſome other Articles needleſs to be here recited: And for the Obſervation of theſe things, they put themſelves under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops of *Hereford* and *Coventry*, whom the King had appointed to *Excommunicate* their Perſons and *Interdict* their Lands, if they did any thing contrary to this Agreement; which bears Date *Auguſt* the Sixteenth.

Yet notwithſtanding, all theſe fair Propoſals and Articles came to nothing, for Prince *David* out-bid his Brother *Griffin*, and inſtead of ſetting him free, (as he ought to have done) deliver'd him up to the King (as you have heard) who kept him Priſoner, till he broke his Neck by a fall, in endeavouring to make his Eſcape out of the *Tower*, as you will find hereafter.

* *Cart.* 25 *H.* 3. M. 3. Dr. *B-*'s *Ap.* N. 164. The King had ſummon'd Pr. *David* to appear before him at *Worceſter*.

The ſame * Roll alſo gives us a more exact Account of ſome other former Proceedings with this Prince *David*, than what we find in our Hiſtorians; for it there likewiſe appears, that the King had the *February* before ſummon'd *David* Prince of *North-Wales* to appear before him at *Worceſter*, to appoint Arbitrators in the room of ſuch as were named in the Inſtrument of Peace made between them the year before, (and who were then beyond Sea) that they might do Juſtice according to that Form. It thereby farther appears, that *David* came not, but ſent Three Meſſengers to the King, but indeed without ſufficient Power to do what was required; and therefore the King by a Letter, dated the Nineteenth of *February*, commanded him by virtue of his Allegiance (all Excuſes laid aſide) Perſonally to appear at *Shrewsbury* a week before *Palm-Sunday*, before

fore ſuch Commiſſioners as he ſhould ſend thither to Tranſact that Affair; and a day in the laſt week in *April* was aſſigned for him and the Lords Marchers to appoint Arbitrators in the Place of thoſe beyond Sea, who were to do and receive Juſtice according to the Form of Peace agreed on between the King and him.

And we farther find by another * Record of this very year, that Prince *David* in obedience to the King's Letters, ſent *Thudy* his Steward, and *David* his Chancellour, and *Philip ap Ivor*, as his Procurators or Commiſſioners, with full Power to do what was ſo deſired; and that *Ralph Mortimer*, *Roger* Steward of *Cheſter*, and others for themſelves, and the reſt of the Lords Marchers, appear'd, and deſired that Juſtice might preſently be done according to the Proofs and Allegations of Witneſſes at *Shrewsbury*, before *Stephen de Segrave*, and his Fellow Judges, who were ſent thither for the King; where, after Two days Debate, inſtead of *Otto* the Legate, (who was at firſt appointed, but was gone away) the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Norwich* and *Coventry*, *John Fitz-Geoffrey*, *Hubert Fitz-Matthew*, and *Walter de Clifford*, were choſen (in his ſtead) Arbitrators, and another day was then ſet, a month after *Whitſunday*, at *Maneford-bridge* beyond *Shrewsbury*, to hear what Proof could be made out concerning the Injuries done on either ſide; on which day the Matter being fully heard, another day was appointed for Judgment to be given by the Arbitrators, according to the Proofs before them.

* *Rot. Cl.* 25 *H.* 3. *M.* 8. *Dorſ.* Dr. *B-'s App.* N. 165.

New Arbitrators choſen between the King and Pr. *David.*

And it alſo appears by another * Letter of the King's to Prince *David*, bearing Date from *Merlbridge* the Fifteenth of *July*; and which is alſo upon † Record, that not long after this the King was inform'd, That *David*, contrary to his Oath lately taken, had confederated with, and drawn off the Sons of *Madoc*, and certain of the King's Subjects in *Kerry*, and had received them into his Country; and that he had begun to commit Burnings and Slaughters in the Lands of *Ralph Mortimer*, and others the King's Feudataries; and alſo had by Force ſeized the Lands of *Owen Vaughan*, and his Nephews, againſt all Right and Juſtice, and which had been adjudged to them in the King's Court; That he had cauſed a Ship belonging to *Cheſter* to be ſtayed in his Country laden with Wheat and other Victuals, making no Satisfaction to thoſe that own'd the Goods; That when the King ſent his Commiſſioners to *Shrewsbury*, *David*, in Contempt, neither came, nor ſent any Procurators to meet them; wherefore he admoniſh'd him, that he ſhould not fail to acquaint him before the Firſt of *Auguſt*, what Satisfaction he would make for theſe Outrages committed by his Orders.

* *Rot. Cl.* 25 *H.* 3. M. 7. *Dorſ.*
† Dr. *B-'s App.* N. 166.

The King had notice of a Confederacy by Pr. *David* againſt him.

[4] Whereupon on the Nineteenth of the ſame month, Prince *David* deſpairing to ſucceed by Force, ſealed his Charter of Submiſſion to the King, which is found at large in *Matt. Paris*, and is alſo upon * Record in the *Tower*, to this effect:

[4] *Id.* p. 570.

Prince *David* Seals a Charter of Submiſſion to the King, with the Articles therein contained.

Firſt, That he would deliver his Brother *Griffin*, or *Gruffith*, and his Son, to the King.

Secondly, That he would ſtand to the Judgment of the King's Court, whether *Griffin* ought to be kept Priſoner, or not; and alſo for the Portion of his Father's Inheritance, which he claimed according

* 25 *H.* 3. M. 1. *Dorſ.*

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cording to the Cuſtom of *Wales*, and was to hold of the King *in Capite*.

Thirdly, That he would reſtore to *Roger de Monte-Alt*, Steward of *Cheſter*, his Lands of *Montalt*, (or, as it is now commonly called *Mould*,) with its Appurtenances.

Fourthly, That he would reſtore to the other Barons Marchers all ſuch Lands, Lordſhips, and Caſtles, as had been taken from them, ſince the beginning of the Wars between King *John* and his Father *Llewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*.

Fifthly, That he would defray all the Charges of King *Henry* in the laſt Expedition againſt him.

Sixthly, That he would make Satisfaction for all the Injuries done by him, or his, unto the King or his People; and alſo that he would reſtore unto him all the Homages which King *John* had, or which he ought to have, eſpecially of the Noblemen of *Wales*.

Seventhly, The Land of *Elleſmer*, with the Appurtenances, was to remain to the King for ever.

Eighthly, That *David* would not receive any of the King's Subjects within his Country of *Wales*, that were Outlaw'd or Baniſhed.

Ninthly, And that for the Performances of this, he would give Pledges and Security according to the King's Will and Pleaſure, and obey all his Commands, and ſtand to the Law in his Court.

* 5 *H* 3. M. 2. *Dorſ. vid.* Dr. *B*-'s *App.* N. 171. He ſeals another Charter, wherein he engaged, that he and his Heirs would faithfully ſerve the King, *&c.*

After this, on the Thirty firſt of *Auguſt*, he Seal'd another Charter to the King, (extant on * Record) freely and willingly; whereby he engaged, that he and his Heirs ſhould faithfully ſerve the King and his Heirs, and aſſiſt him all the days of their Lives; and if at any time they ſhould act contrary to that Engagement, then all his Lands and Territories ſhould be forfeited to the King, for him and his Heirs to enjoy them for ever; and for the farther Confirmation of this Agreement, he cauſed the Biſhops of *Bangor*, and *St. Aſaph*, to put their Seals, as Witneſſes, to this Charter.

I have been the more particular in theſe Tranſactions, not only becauſe I find them mention'd by none beſides Dr. *Brady*, but alſo to ſhew the infidelity of theſe *Welſhmen*, who having begun a freſh and needleſs War againſt King *Henry*, Three years after fled to the Pope for Protection, as the Reader will find anon. But to return to our *Engliſh* Affairs.

[5] *M. P.* p. 572. *Walter*, Brother to the late Mareſchal, is at firſt refuſed by the King to be inveſted in his Earldom, and Office, but is afterwards prevailed upon to grant him them.

[5] About this time *Walter* the *Mareſchal*, next Brother to *Gilbert* late deceaſed, applied himſelf to the King, to be inveſted in his Office and Inheritance; but the King in a great Heat and Paſſion denied him both, urging againſt him the Treaſons and Diſobedience of his Brother, as alſo his own Undutifulneſs in being at the Torneament at *Hartford*, contrary to his Commands; but at length through the Interceſſion of the Queen, the Biſhop of *Durham* and other Noblemen, he was prevailed with, the *Sunday* before *All-Saints*, to reſtore him to the Honour, Office and Eſtate of his Brother, and to inveſt him with his Earldom and *Mareſchalſie*, reſerving only to the Crown Two Caſtles in *Wales*, *Kaermarden* and *Cardigan*, which the King Garriſoned to ſecure his new Acquiſitions there.

[1] I

Anno Dom. MCCXLI.

[1] *Id.* p. 561. The *French* King makes his Brother *Alphonſo* Earl of *Poictou*, which much diſpleaſes King *Henry*.

[1] I ſhall conclude this year with an Account of Forreign Affairs; *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, and Titular Earl of *Poictou*, being now in the *Holy Land*, *Lewis* King of *France* on *Midſummer-day*, Knighted his Brother *Alphonſo*, and inveſted him with the Title, and Earldom of *Poictou*; moſt part of which that King now enjoyed by the Conqueſt of King *Philip* his Grandfather: at this Affront, offer'd to himſelf as well as his Brother *Richard*, King *Henry* was highly incenſed, but it ſeems to no purpoſe.

[2] *Id.* p. 570. Tin Mines, when firſt diſcovered in *Germany*.

[2] This year alſo Tin Mines were firſt diſcovered in *Germany*, both finer and more plentiful than thoſe in *England*, which Mettal before was no where to be found but in *Cornwal*; by which Diſcovery the Price of Tin was very much leſſened abroad.

[3] *Id.* p. 578. The Deceaſe of the Empreſs the King's Siſter. And of *Eleanor* of *Bretagne* his Couſin.

[3] *Id.* p. 574.

[2] The ſame year deceaſed Two Ladies of the Blood Royal of *England*; Firſt, *Iſabella*, Empreſs of *Germany*, the King's Eldeſt Siſter, who died in Child-bed, to the great Grief of the Emperor her Husband; [3] The other was *Eleanor*, Daughter of *Geofrey* Earl of *Bretaigne*, and Siſter to Duke *Arthur*; who having been kept Priſoner many years, now deceaſed in the Caſtle of *Briſtol* without ever being Married; She is ſaid to have been a Lady of a high Spirit, and who inſiſted upon her Right to the laſt; but tho King *Henry* might obtain by her death a more indiſputable Title to the Crown, than he had before, yet I do not find that the King of *France*, or any other Forreign Prince, ever eſpouſed her Intereſt, or made any ſcruple to acknowledge *Henry* as Lawful King all her Life-time.

[4] *Id. Ib.* The Death of Pope *Gregory*, upon which happen'd a great Schiſm at *Rome*.

[4] As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, Pope *Gregory* dying about the end of *Auguſt* this year, for Grief (as was ſuppoſed) that he could not ſubdue the Emperor *Frederic*; Immediately upon this Pope's deceaſe, there happened a great Diviſion among the Cardinals at *Rome* about the Election of a new Pope, Five of them chuſing *Geoffrey* Archbiſhop of *Milan*, (whoſe *Election* the Emperor congratulated) and the other Three Cardinals chuſing *Romanus*, (late Legate in *France*) which produced a great *Schiſm* in the *Roman* Church, no Pope being Lawfully choſen till the year following.

[5] *Id. Ib.*

[5] Not long after the death of the Pope, the Emperor diſpatched a Meſſenger to give King *Henry* the firſt notice of it, that ſo he might ſeize the Money the Pope's Collectors had gathered in *England* for his Holineſs's Uſe; but they were too quick for him, and eſcaped into *France* with all their Prey; yet afterwards being met with by the Emperor's Servants ſomewhere in his Dominions, they were taken and impriſoned, and all their Treaſure paid into the Imperial Exchequer.

Anno Dom. MCCXLII.

[1] *Id.* p. 578.

[1] This year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Weſtminſter*, where *Peter* of *Savoy*, Earl of *Richmond*, being now reſolved to return home, reſigned up into the King's Hands all thoſe Caſtles which were committed to his cuſtody, leſt his ſudden Advancement ſhould diſpleaſe the Great Men of *England*; but before he had taken Shipping, he was remanded by the King, and perſwaded, (tho ſeemingly againſt his will) to accept the Government of *Dover* Caſtle.

Anno Dom. MCCXLII.

[2] *Id.* p. 579. A War begun in *France* by the Earl of *Marche*, (King *Henry*'s Father in Law) and on what occasion.

He applies himſelf to the King for Protection, offering to help him to recover his loſt Dominions.

The King thereupon calls a Parliament at *London*.

[2] But the chief Affair of this year was, That *Hugh* Earl of *Marche* (a Principal Nobleman of *Poictou*, and who had Married King *Henry*'s Mother) having through the Pride of that Princeſs refuſed to do Homage to *Alphonſo*, Brother to the *French* King, now Earl of that Province; *Hugh* thereupon applied himſelf to the King of *England*, his Son in Law, for Protection, perſwading him, That by the help of the *Poictovins* and *Gaſcoigns*, with the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Arragon* and Earl of *Tholouſe*, he might eaſily recover thoſe Dominions he had loſt; Whereupon the King giving credit to theſe Pretences, wrote to all the Great Men of *England*, *viz.* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, and Barons, ſtreightly Commanding, That they ſhould all meet at *London* on *Tueſday* before *Candlemaſs-day*, to Treat of ſuch difficult Matters, as would not bear any delay.

Id. Ib. The Earl of *Cornwall* returns home from the *Holy Land*.

In the mean time, *viz.* the day after *Epiphany*, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, landed at *Dover* from his Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, where he had made an Honourable Truce with the Sultan of *Babylon*, and was received by the King, Queen, and Nobility, with all the Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection imaginable. Upon his return to Court, the *Poictovins* endeavour'd all they could to incline him to a War with *France*, for the Recovery of *Poictou*, which was to be his when regained, who thereupon confirmed the King in his Reſolution to attempt it.

[3] *Id* p.580,581. The Parliament being met, diſſwade the King from engaging in a War againſt *France*, and their Reaſons for it.

The King not being able to prevail with the whole Body of the Nobility, diſcourſes with them apart, but to little purpoſe.

They giving him very reſolute Anſwers.

[3] At the day appointed all the Nobility of *England*, as well Prelates as Earls and Barons, met at *London*, according to their Summons; but when they were aſſembled, and underſtood that the Earl of *Marche* had engaged the King in a War againſt *France*, they reſolved to oppoſe both him and the *Poictovins* who adviſed it, *adding, They had been taxed and pilled, as the meaneſt Slaves, and what had been thus extorted from them, was unprofitably ſpent; and therefore they would not conſent that any more Money ſhould be granted to be ſo vainly waſted and thrown away.* When the King ſaw he could not prevail with the whole Body, he would needs try what he could do with them ſeverally, and therefore ſent for them one by one, urging, that ſuch an one had promiſed ſo much, and another the like; but this Stratagem only took with a few, and proved ineffectual as to the Majority; Then he attempted thoſe Great Men, which were his Favourites and Domeſticks, urging, That they were Military Men, and ought to be very deſirous to have the ancient Rights of the Kingdom recovered, and the Injuries done to it vindicated by force of Arms, therefore he wondred with what confidence they could oppoſe and deſert him, when he had Promiſed and Sworn to proſecute what he had undertaken; but they alſo anſwered, *That great Sums of Money had been granted already, and the Profits of the Crown had been very extraordinary, yet all this Treaſure was waſted and gone, and the Kingdom nothing advantaged by it*; Moreover they very much wondered, he would undertake ſo hazardous a War, without ever conſulting his Natural Subjects; and that the Truce between Him and *France*, was not as yet expired, which both Kings had Sworn inviolably to obſerve: beſides, thoſe Noblemen that adviſed him to this War, were the King of *France*'s Subjects, and the King might expect but little Faith from ſuch who had

proved *Traitors* to their Natural Prince, adding withal the unſucceſsful Attempts that his Predeceſſors had made in this nature; when the King heard all their Anſwers, he was much diſpleaſed, and in a great Paſſion ſwore, *That their Words ſhould neither afright nor hinder him from proſecuting what he had deſigned; but that after* Eaſter *he would paſs over-Sea, and try the Fortune of a Battel:* And ſo the Parliament was diſſolved.

At which the K. is highly diſpleaſed, and falls into a Paſſion.

[4] This is our Author's Account of this *Colloquium*, or Parliament, wherein he mentions much harſh Language given unto the King by the Great Men, even unto his face: Upon which Paſſage [5] Dr. *Brady* obſerves, That in the Relation which immediately follows this, and which (this Author ſays) was written as a perpetual Memorial of the Barons Anſwer to the King, it appears they never ſpoke, nor had any perſonal Conference with him, but only heard his Pleaſure, and the Buſineſs he had with them, from his Commiſſioners or Meſſengers, *viz.* *Walter* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, and *Walter* Provoſt of *Beverley*, by whom, upon mature Deliberation, 'They adviſed the King rather to ſend to his Couſin of *France* for Satisfaction, if he had done any thing contrary to the Articles of the Truce between them, and not to declare War until the time thereof were expired; but if he had done any Injury that could be proved, and that then he denied Reſtitution, they would aſſiſt him according to their Abilities: Then they reckoned up the many Aids they had given him, and remembred eſpecially the laſt of a *Thirtieth* Part of their *Moveables*, which was by ſtipulation to have been expended by the Advice and Overſight of Four Barons, for the Benefit of the King and Kingdom: And ſeeing they had never heard that any of it was expended by their Advice, they believed the King had all that Money by him, which he might now make uſe of: And farther minded him, That by keeping ſo many Biſhopricks vacant in his hands, as alſo by the Eſcheats of the Lands of Earls, Barons, and Knights, by Fines and Amercements which his Itinerant Juſtices had ſet upon Counties, Hundreds, Cities, Burghs, and Towns, he had of late raiſed great Sums of Money; inſomuch, that by ſuch Exactions and other Aids already given, the People of the Kingdom were ſo impoveriſhed, that they had ſcarce any thing left them to ſubſiſt upon: And ſince the King, after their giving the laſt *Thirtieth* Part, had never obſerved the *Great Charter*, yet had engaged by another Additional Charter, That ſuch Exactions ſhould never be brought into Conſequence; they anſwered poſitively, That at preſent they would grant him no further Aid. But when the King's Commiſſioners asked them, What if the King of *France* ſhould break the Truce before it expired? to pacifie them they then farther engaged, on the behalf of the King, That if he had Injured any of the Great Men, he would make them Satisfaction according to the Judgment of *Peter* of *Savoy* and others of his Council. To the *Firſt* the Barons anſwer'd, as they had done before; and to the *Second*, they ſaid, That they heard the ſame things formerly, when they granted the *Thirtieth* Part of their Moveables; but whether they had been performed or not, they left that to the

[4] *Id.* p. 541.
[5] *Compl. Hiſt.* p. 582.

The Anſwer of the Barons in a Body more civil than what they ſpoke ſeverally and a-part.

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‘ King himſelf to conſider: And ſo remained reſolute in not granting ‘ him any Aid at all.

Dr. *Brady* would make the Author inconſiſtent with himſelf, without juſt cauſe.

Here the Doctor farther remarks, That there is not one Word of any *Billingſgate*-Language or Reviling of the King, with which he ſays this Monk's Relations do very much abound. Thus the Doctor would fain make his Author (to whom he gives much Credit in other Matters) to contradict himſelf in this Relation: Yet I can ſee no Reaſon for ſuch a Concluſion; for this Author was then living, and might very well write an Account of what paſſed between the King and Barons at their firſt Meeting, and before they were retired to conſult in a Body, and to whom being ſo aſſembled he ſent his Deputies above-mentioned, by whom they returned him this laſt ſolemn Anſwer, the former paſſing only by way of Diſcourſe.

But if *Matt.Weſtminſter* may be credited in this Affair, the King diſcourſing with divers of the Prelates apart (uſing the Subtilty of the *Roman* Legates) brought them at laſt to his Will, and got a good round Sum of Money from them, which was in great part diſtributed to ſuch Knights as wanted it to go over with him. This Author alſo further relates, That the King being ſtill preſſed by Meſſages from the Earl of *March*, and other Great Men of *France*, he ſcraped together all the Money he could raiſe, beſtowing the whole *Lent* in this Employment, looking upon thoſe who refuſed to aſſiſt him, as his declared Enemies, and vexing them by his Officers with many Oppreſſions; for the Earl of *March* had ſent him word, That he need only take care to provide Money, for as to Men he would procure them.

[1] *Id.* p. 582.

The K. ſummons all his Military Tenants according to the uſual Tenor; but inſtead of their Services to bring Money.

He commits his Kingdom to the Abp. of *York*, and paſſes beyond Sea.

A Marriage agreed on between the K.'s Daughter and the K of *Scots*.

[1] Againſt *Eaſter* the King ſent out his Summons to all thoſe that owed him Military Service, to meet him at *Portſmouth*, not with Horſe and Arms, according to the uſual Tenure, but (in lieu of their Service) to bring each a good Sum of Money with them (which our Author ſays was more like a Banker than a General:) So the King having committed the Cuſtody of the Kingdom to the Archbiſhop of *York*, and received into his Favour the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, formerly his Chancellor, and recalled *Ralph Fitz-Nicholas*, and *Godfrey Craucumb* to Court, took Shipping at *Portſmouth* with Queen *Eleanor*, Earl *Richard*, and Seven other Earls, and landed at *Gaſcoigny* at the Mouth of the River *Garonne*, where they were received by *Reginald de Ponts*, and the Great Men of *Xantoigne*: And in the mean while, for the better Security of his Affairs at home, a Marriage was agreed upon between his Daughter *Margaret*, and *Alexander* Eldeſt Son to the King of *Scots*; and that part of the Kingdom which bordered upon *Scotland*, was thereupon committed to the care of that King, during the time King *Henry* ſhould remain beyond Sea.

The *French* King ſets out a ſmall *Fleet*.

But let us ſee what was doing in the mean while in *France*: When King *Henry*'s Deſigns were known to King *Lewis*, he preſently equipped Twenty four Galleys to hinder the *Engliſh* from landing at *Rochel*; and *Peter* Earl of *Richmond* and the Biſhop of *Hereford*, being ſent into *Poictou* to ſecure what Friends and Aſſiſtance they could among the People of that Province, they hardly eſcaped being

ing taken by the *French*; therefore they returned into *England*, without effecting any thing conſiderable.

[2] The King of *France* was not idle all this while, but prepared a mighty Force, which conſiſted of Four thouſand Knights compleatly Armed, and Two thouſand Eſquires, beſides of Croſs-bow-men and Common Soldiers as many more. The War was commenced by his ſeizing of the Goods and Perſons of the Merchants both in *England* and *France*, that King firſt beginning it, to his great Diſhonour, ſince it had not been practiſed in *France* till that time. Then King *Lewis* marched with his Army, and ſate down before *Fonteney*, a ſtrong Caſtle of the Earl of *March*'s: During this Siege, the King of *England* ſent *Ralph Fitz-Nicholas* and *Nicholas de Molis*, to the King of *France* to declare War, unleſs he would agree to his Demands: The King received them civilly, letting them know, 'That he much wondred he could ſo openly break 'the Truce, that had been confirmed by their mutual Oaths to 'laſt for Three Years: Adding further, That he was ſo far from 'breaking the Truce, that he was willing it ſhould be continued 'for Three Years longer, and would conſent to deliver to their 'King the greateſt part of *Normandy* and *Poictou*, provided he 'would not hinder him from revenging himſelf upon thoſe 'Enemies and Traitors, who only truſted to their King's Aſſiſtance; 'and admired that his Couſin of *England* ſhould think he infringed 'the Truce in the leaſt, when he endeavoured only to correct and 'repreſs the Inſolence of his own Rebellious Subjects; and yet admir'd 'that he ſhould be ſo much wheedled by the Earls of *March* and '*Tholouſe*; and therefore thought that he had violated the Truce, 'in thus receiving and encouraging his Rebels and Enemies.

[2] *Id. ib.* And makes much greater Prepararations by Land; with the Number of the *French* Army.

K. *Henry* ſends Meſſengers to K. *Lewis*, who are kindly received.

The Anſwer that was returned by them, was very advantageous for the King.

[3] With this Anſwer the Meſſengers returned to the King of *England*, who being over-perſuaded by the crafty *Poictovins* againſt his own Intereſt, would by no means embrace thoſe Honourable Propoſals, but utterlo refuſed to renew the Truce; and ſent ſome *Knights Hoſpitallers* in his Name to defie the King of *France*, becauſe he made War upon his Father-in-Law the Earl of *March*.

[3] *Id.* p. 588. Who is perſuaded by the *Poictovins* not to accept of it.

[4] When King *Lewis* found theſe ſo fair Overtures of Peace thus ſlighted, though he expreſſed his Sorrow that the King of *England* ſhould be ſo drawn in by the Earls of *March* and *Thoulouſe*, yet ſhewed himſelf moſt concerned for the Oaths his Father had made to King *Henry*, when he left *England*, of delivering up his Dominions in *France*. But one of his Great Men replied, That the Oath wos Mutual, and the King of *England* had violated it on his part, when he broke his Promiſes to *Lewis*'s Accomplices, and cauſed *Conſtantine* a Citizen of *London* to be hanged for defending your Father's Honour. This poor Pretence ſatisfied the King's Scruples for the preſent; and then he proceeded to make a vigorous Attack upon the Caſtle of *Fonteney*, which after Fifteen Days Siege, was gained by Aſſault, contrary to the Confidence of all the *Poictovins*, and the Earl of *March*'s Son who kept it, who with all his Accomplices, being above Four hundred, were made Priſoners: But when ſome about the *French* King adviſed, that they might be executed for a Terror to other Rebels, he replied, *The Son has obeyed his Father, and the reſt the Command of their Lord*, *and upon that account*

[4] *Id. Ib.* K. *Lewis* ſeems concerned for the Oath his Father had made to King *Henry*; and is ſatisfied by one of his Great Men.

His Succeſs againſt the Earl of *March*; takes his Son Priſoner, and refuſes to put him to death.

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They are ſent Priſoners to *Paris.*

neither of them deſerved Death; a wiſe and merciful Anſwer, and worthy ſo pious a Prince: However he ſent them Priſoners to *Paris.*

This put the reſt of the Defendants of the Earl of *Marche* his Caſtles into ſuch terrour, that ſome of their own accord came in, and delivered up their Keys to the King of *France*; and others Capitulated upon his appearing before them: After which, That King took divers other Caſtles of the Earls, ſome by Force, and others by Surrender.

[5] *Id.* p. 589. The Earl of *Marche*, and the *Poictovins* repent their having begun this War.

K. *Henry* being fail'd by them is much diſtreſſed.

[1] *Id.* p. 590. The Earl of *Marche* denies his Promiſe to the K. and lays the Fault on his Wife.

Earl *Richard* goes to the *French* Camp, and obtains a ſhort Truce.

[5] Theſe uninterrupted Succeſſes made the Earl of *Marche* and his *Poictovins* almoſt deſperate, but they now began to repent they had ever engaged themſelves againſt their Lord the King; in the mean time the King of *England* came before the City of *Tailleburgh*, and Encamped in a Meadow over againſt it; but when the King of *France* heard of it, he marched with his Army towards that Place, and ſo ſoon as the Citizens had notice of his approach, they went out to meet him,and opened their Gates to him and his Army: The King of *England* ſeeing himſelf thus diſappointed, and that he muſt now Fight the *French* with the few Men he had with him, he called to the Earl of *Marche*,and asked him,How he had performed his Promiſe of procuring Men enough to baffle the *French*, if he ſupplied him with Money? The Earl replied, He never made any ſuch Promiſe: Then Earl *Richard* produced the Charter of Agreement between them; which the other denied it was ever made or ſealed by him,or that he had ever encouraged the Undertaking of this Expedition, [1] but that it was the ſole Contrivance of his Wife, the King's Mother. When he heard the Earl's reply, he was very much concern'd at it; but Earl *Richard* ſeeing the danger the King was in of being made a Priſoner, preſently diſarmed himſelf, and with a Truncheon in his Hand went to the *French* Camp, where he was kindly and honourably received; and being introduced to the King's Preſence, he deſired a ſhort Truce, which the King granted for one Day and the Night following.

During which the K. flies to *Xaintes.*

A ſharp Engagement between the *Engliſh* and *French.*

So ſoon as the Earl had obtained this, he return'd to King *Henry*, and adviſed him to make his Eſcape with as much ſpeed as he could, otherwiſe he would be taken Priſoner; Thereupon the King following his Counſel, took Horſe that Night, and never ſtopped till he came to *Xaintes*; and the whole Army followed him, though not without great hazard, and ſome loſs. The next day the King of *France* decamped, and marched with his Army towards *Xaintes* in purſuit of King *Henry*; then after ſeveral Skirmiſhes, and ſome few days interval, both Armies met not far from *Xaintes*, where they had a ſharp Engagement; and had the *Engliſh* equalled the *French* in number, they had gained the Victory, which the *French* Hiſtorians relate to have fallen to them: But the Number of thoſe that were ſlain on either ſide is not mentioned; the Priſoners that were taken were exchanged; and thoſe that behaved themſelves with moſt Courage and Reſolution in this Battle, were *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk*, *John de Burgh*, *Warin de Montchenſy*, with divers others.

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[2] *Id.* p. 591. The Earl of *Marche* endeavours to be reconciled to the King of *France.*

[2] When the Earl of *Marche* ſaw how ſucceſsful the King of *France* was in every thing he attempted, and that his Strength daily encreaſed, he began to conſider how he ſhould regain his Favour, and be reconciled unto him, and therefore privily ſent to the Earl of *Bretaigne* to deſire him, that he, with the Biſhop of *Xaintes*, would uſe their Endeavours with the King of *France* to procure his Pardon; Upon this they both went to the King, and aſſured him, That the Earl of *Marche* was ſenſible how much he had offended againſt his Majeſty, and implored his Mercy and Favour, deſiring he might obtain Pardon, under what Conditions he pleaſed to impoſe.

[3] *Id. ib.* He deſerts K. *Henry*, and enters into the *French* Service, and on what Terms.

[3] The King of *France* accepted the offer, and was reconciled unto him upon theſe Terms: *Firſt*, That whatſoever Places belonging to the Earl the King had poſſeſſed himſelf of during this War, ſhould be for ever annexed to the Crown. *Secondly*, That all thoſe Caſtles that were then in his poſſeſſion, whether of his Own, or his Vaſſals, which were judged any ways prejudicial to the King of *France*, ſhould be delivered into his hands for three Years, and then not to be reſtored, unleſs the King was ſatisfied of his Fidelity. *Thirdly*, That he ſhould with Two hundred armed Men enter into his Service, and faithfully ſerve him for Three Years at his own Charges, againſt all Enemies of the Church and Crown of *France*. *Fourthly*, That he ſhould ſurrender up his Charter, whereby the King of *France* was obliged to pay him Ten thouſand Pounds a Year for defence of the *Marches*, and ſhould quit any ſuch claim for the future: And farther the *French* Hiſtorians relate, That the Queen his Wife, and her Sons, were all Sworn to obſerve the Covenants now made. To theſe hard Conditions this proud Earl was now reduced to obtain his Pardon, and then was preſently ſent againſt the Earl of *Tholouſe*, his old Friend, and the King of *England*'s Confederate.

[4] *Id.* p. 592. K. *Henry* loſes the Affections of the Citizens of *Xaintes*; and on what Occaſion.

The King informed of his being like to be taken, flies to *Blaye*.

[4] All this was concluded privately, without the knowledge of K. *Henry*, who had by Charter given the City of *Xaintes* to *Hugh le Brun*, the Earl of *Marche*'s Son, the King's Half-Brother, without the Conſent of the Citizens whereby he loſt their Affections; for that they hated *Hugh*, as being an inſolent Young Man: However, the King thought himſelf ſafe and ſecure there, till he was informed by one from the *French* Camp, That King *Lewis* deſigned to come and beſiege that City very ſuddenly, and was reſolved not to ſtir from thence till he had made him his Priſoner; which was likewiſe confirm'd by another, who aſſured him, That the Earl of *Marche* was revolted to the *French*, and if the King continued there one Night longer, he would be beſieged. King *Henry* being by this Second Meſſenger pretty well perſuaded, that the News was true, fled preſently to *Blaye* a Town in *Gaſcoigny*, about Forty or Fifty *Engliſh* miles from *Xaintes*, and his Army followed him as faſt as it could, but was ſo harraſſed with the length and ſuddenneſs of the March, that they were unfit a good while for any Service: Upon this the Cities of *Xaintes*, *Ponti*, and all the reſt of *Poictou* forthwith ſubmitted to the King of *France*; only *Hertold* Governor of *Mirabel*-Caſtle went to the King of *England*, and implored his Protection; To whom the King replied, He was betrayed by the Earl of *Marche*, and was ſcarce able

Whereupon all *Poictou* ſubmits to the K. of *France*.

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able to ſecure his own Perſon, and therefore gave him leave to act according to his diſcretion: Thereupon he went to the King of *France*, and ſubmitted himſelf to his Mercy and Protection; to whom the King replied, That he only had behaved himſelf faithfully to his King, and therefore received the Caſtle and himſelf very kindly, and having firſt taken an Oath of Fealty, reſtored it to him again.

[5] P 411, 412. & *Dein.* *William de Nangis* gives a more particular Account of this Tranſaction.

[5] *William de Nangis* in his Life of King *Lewis* under this Year, and in the relation of this Story, is in ſome things more particular, and in others leſs than *Matt. Paris*, though in the main they agree; The *French* Hiſtorian ſaith, That the Earl of *Marche* ſent his Eldeſt Son, *Hugh*, who made Peace with the King of *France* upon theſe Terms, *viz.* That ſuch Territories and Places as the King of *France* had taken from his Father, ſhould remain to the Earl of *Poictou*, the King of *France*'s Brother, and his Heirs; but as to the reſt of the Lands the Earl of *Marche* and his Wife, with their Children, were to ſtand to the Pleaſure and Courteſie of the King of *France*, for whoſe greater Security the Earl was to deliver up three ſtrong Caſtles, *viz.* That of *Marpin*; his Caſtle upon the River *Creuſe*; and Caſtle *Archard*; all which preſently received Gariſons, and that thereupon the Viſcount of *Thoars*, and moſt of the Barons and Great Men of *Poictou*, did Homage to the King of *France*.

[1] M.P. p. 594. K. *Lewis* for ſeveral Reaſons makes a Truce with K. *Henry* for Five Years.

[2] *Wil. de Nangis.*

[1] In the mean time, the King of *France* reſolved to purſue the King of *England* to *Blaye*, and from thence to *Bourdeaux*, if he fled thither; but ſecret Factions among the Nobility, as alſo the want of Victuals and Forage, but eſpecially the Peſtilence which raged in his Army, being deprived of near Fourſcore Noblemen who were either Dead, or carried home Sick; together with his own Indiſpoſition, (being naturally of a tender Conſtitution) made him alter thoſe meaſures he had before reſolved upon; ſo that inſtead of purſuing the War, he made a Truce with the King of *England* [2] for Five Years, and then returned into *France* by *Xaintes*, and in a ſhort time recovered his Health. This unfortunate Expedition is an Inſtance, that the Kings of *England* have ſcarce ever ſucceeded in any Enterprize, when they have offered to undertake it without the Advice and Conſent of the Great Council of the Kingdom. But whilſt King *Henry* was engaged in this unlucky War, the Queen his Wife lay-in at *Bourdeaux*, of a Daughter called *Beatrix*.

[3] *M. P.* p. 595. Three Marks Scutage laid upon every Knight's Fee in *England*.

Several of the Nobility deſire leave to return into *England*.

William de Maris is taken, and Executed.

[3] During the King's being in *France*, a Scutage was exacted throughout all *England* of every Knight's Fee Three Marks, or (as *Matt. Weſtminſter* relates) but Twenty Shillings; In the mean while, King *Henry* having retired to *Bourdeaux*, ſpent his time with his Queen in Idle Jollity, as if no Diſhonour had befallen him; and during his ſtay there, (about *Michaelmas*) Earl *Roger Bigod*, with the Earl of *Wincheſter*, and many other Great Men, came to the King, deſiring leave to return into *England*, which he granted them. Alſo about the ſame time *William de Maris*, a Knight of *Ireland*, having been long Outlaw'd with divers of his Accomplices, exerciſed Piracy in the *Welſh* and *Iriſh* Seas, making the Iſle of *Lundy* (of which they had then poſſeſſed themſelves) their Receptacle; but being there ſurpriz'd by ſome that were ſent for that Purpoſe, and brought to *London*, he and Sixteen more of his Company were

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were condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quarter'd; but at his Execution he utterly denied, that he had ſuborned the Mad-fellow (already mentioned) to take away the King's Life.

[4] *Id.* p. 595. The King's Unkindneſs to *Wil. de Ros*, a Northern Baron

Which is repreſented to the K. by his Brother Earl *Richard*.

[4] About this time likewiſe, the King treated *William de Roſs*, a Baron of the *North*, very unkindly, who after he had ſpent all his Money in his Service, and ſo could not ſtay any longer in *France*, becauſe he had not wherewithall to maintain himſelf, had notwithſtanding his Lands ſeized without the Judgment of his Peers; But when Earl *Richard* perceived how hardly he had been dealt withal, he went to the King and blamed him for it; but he was received by him with great Paſſion and ſome Threats, to which Earl *Richard* made no return; but when he ſaw the King continued obſtinate, and would not be guided by his Advice, [5] He, with *William* the *Mareſchal*, the Earl of *Hereford*, and many other Great Men, left him at *Bourdeaux*, and came over into *England*, though not without great danger of Shipwreck, being driven upon a certain Iſle on the Coaſt of *Cornwall*.

[5] *Id.* p. 596. Who with *William* the Mareſchal, and other Noblemen, returns into *England*.

[1] *Id. ib.* The K. writes to the A. B. of *York*, to ſend him over Proviſions and Cloaths for Army.

As alſo to ſeize the Eſtates of thoſe that had deſerted his Service.

[1] In *October* following, King *Henry* ſent to the Archbiſhop of *York*, (to whom he had committed the Government of the Kingdom in his abſence) commanding him to ſeize the Grain belonging to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and all other Biſhopricks that were vacant, with the Bacon, Salt, and other Winter Proviſions; as alſo to provide a great quantity of Cloath for his Soldiers, and without delay to ſend them to him at *Bourdeaux*, which was done accordingly: Moreover, he commanded the Archbiſhop, that he ſhould confiſcate the Eſtates of thoſe that withdrew themſelves from his Service; but the Archbiſhop prudently declined to execute thoſe ſevere commands, becauſe he knew that Neceſſity had forced them to retire; and alſo they that continued with the King at *Bourdeaux*, (namely *Simon* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, and ſome other Noblemen) had contracted ſuch vaſt Debts, that they were reduced to Great Want.

[2] *Id ib.* The K's Extravagance at *Bourdeaux* reduces him to great Neceſſity, notwithſtanding the Supplies that had been ſent him.

[3] *Id.* p. 597. He writes again to the A.B. for more Supplies, and to take the Wool belonging to the *Ciſtercian* Order.

A notable Anſwer of an Abbot of that Order.

[4] *Id.* p. 598.

[2] The King at this time gave himſelf wholly up to ſoftneſs, and unprofitable Expence of Money, and was now abſolutely Govern'd by the Councel of the King of *Arragon* and Earl of *Tholouſe*, who yet never ſtood by him in any Exigency; however he was ſtill deluded and led away by them, as alſo by the *Poictovins* and *Gaſcoigns*; ſo that notwithſtanding the Scutage he had Extorted, and the many other ſupplies of Money and Proviſions, beſides the Cloaths for his Soldiers; yet [3] he was reduced to ſuch great ſtreights, that in *October* he again wrote to the Archbiſhop of *York*, his Juſtitiary or Lieutenant, to deſire of the *Ciſtercian* Order, one Year's Profit of all their Wooll, from which they endeavoured by divers plauſible pretences to excuſe themſelves; but when they were preſſed by the Archbiſhop to comply with the King's deſires, who always was ready to ſuccour their Neceſſities, One of the Abbots of that Order anſwered, *That the King was ſworn to do Juſtice, and they never deſired any thing of him in particular, which he was not obliged to do for them in general*; *Let him therefore* (ſaid the Abbot) *Govern us by Law, and commit no Oppreſſion contrary to Juſtice*; [4] *and then if he would give them any thing for the Health of his Soul, and the good State of the Kingdom, they were ready to receive it*: An honeſt blunt Anſwer, and worthy an old *Engliſh* Abbot.

[5] This

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[5] *Id. ib.* The K. does little in *France*, ſave ſubduing ſome *Gaſcoigne* Rebels. *John Manſel*, at the taking of a Church, near being kill'd. Being recovered, is made one of the K.'s Chief Councellors.

[5] This Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmas*, and ſpent the reſt of the Winter at *Bourdeaux*, without doing any thing conſiderable, except the ſubduing ſome *Gaſcoign* Rebels, who had fortified certain Caſtles belonging to the King's Feudataries within the Diſtrict of that City; the Particulars of which our Author does not think worth mentioning, only that at the taking of a Church belonging to a Monaſtery called *Verrines*, which was held by theſe Rebels, a certain Clerk and ſpecial Councellor of the King's, called *John Manſel*, a Stout and Brave Man, having had his Leg broken by a Stone let fall from the top of the Church, had been there killed by a ſhower of Stones caſt upon him, had he not been ſaved by the broad Targets of ſome of his Friends, and being carry'd off and recovered, was by the King not long after admitted as one of his Chiefeſt Directors, for his great Courage and Fidelity: This I take notice of (though otherwiſe of no great Moment) to inform the Reader upon what ſcore this Man became one of the King's Chief Miniſters of State, and of whom you will hear a great deal hereafter.

He writes for freſh Supplies to the Abp. of *York*.

From *Bourdeaux* in the beginning of *March* following he again wrote to the Archbiſhop of *York* to ſend him more Proviſions and Money, complaining he had received neither, ſince the Abbot of *Eveſham* came to him. This amazed the Archbiſhop, who had ſo lately ſent ſuch large Supplies; but he thought that the Sea had devoured it; wherefore he made further Proviſions both of Victuals and Money, and deſigned to ſend them unto him: But the Wardens of the Cinque-Ports refuſed to undertake it, unleſs he would provide a Convoy of Ships ſufficient to protect them againſt the Piracies of the Earl of *Bretaigne* and thoſe of *Calais*, who had already thrice ſet upon them, and ſpoiled them of their Men, Ships, and Goods, to their irreparable Loſs and Damage: But when the Archbiſhop heard their Anſwer, he ſignified the ſame to the King, and deſired him to haſten his return into *England*.

The Wardens of the Cinque-Ports refuſe to carry it.

[1] *Id.* p. 600. The Truce renew'd between *France* and *England*, and on what Conditions.

[1] On St. *Gregory*'s Day (being *March* the Twelfth) the Five Years Truce between the King of *England* and *France* was ſolemnly confirmed by both Parties; and by this Agreement the King of *France* was to retain whatever he had got by the Sword, nay even thoſe Caſtles which the King of *England* had acquired by the help of the *Gaſcoigns*, were to be reſtored to him; and he was alſo to pay to the King of *France* Five thouſand Pounds *Sterling* every Year: to ſo mean Terms was this poor Prince by his own Raſhneſs and Obſtinacy now reduced.

[2] *Id. Ib.*

[2] I cannot here paſs by one very remarkable Paſſage in our Author, tho' it is omitted by Dr. *Brady* in his *Compl. Hiſt. viz.* That about this time the City of *London* was compelled to a moſt grievous Ranſom, (which is there called a Taillage) made after this manner: The King's Officer came to this and that Citizen in particular, telling him, That the King being now engaged in a Foreign War, and in great want of Money, he muſt lend him ſuch and ſuch a Sum: And thus they extorted from the poor Citizens what they pleaſed to rate them at; but all this and more our Author ſays

Money extorted from the City of *London* by way of Loan.

ſays the Citizens would have willingly lent, if they had been ſatisfied it was beſtowed for the good of the King and Kingdom. I have noted this, to let the Reader ſee, that forced Loans to the Crown, though they were no new things, yet were always looked upon as againſt the Rights and Liberties of the City and Nation; but this Dr. *B.* endeavours to conceal.

[3] *Id. ib.* The K.'s paſſage into *Engriand* retarded by many croſs Accidents.

[3] About the ſame time the King wrote to the Archbiſhop to provide ſuch a Fleet as might ſecure his Paſſage into *England*; and farther commanded all the Great Men to be in a readineſs at *Portſmouth* to receive him at his Landing: But by many croſs Accidents his Paſſage was ſtill delayed; for either the Queen was not as yet well recovered from her lying in, or elſe had ſome other Infirmity; and beſides, the Citizens of *Bourdeaux*, and all the *Gaſcoigns*, were unwilling to part with ſo profitable a Gueſt, being liberal in his Bounties to them; ſo that his departure raiſed a Tumult among them, which he hearing of, after he was embarked, was forced to land again, and return to *Bourdeaux* to appeaſe it: And on the other hand, the Archbiſhop and Great Men of *England* were tired out with their long attendance: But at length, after he had ſettled *Gaſcoigny*, and committed the Government of that Country to *Nicholas de Molis*, he again took Shipping, and landed at *Portſmouth* on the Twenty fifth of *September*, and was received at *Wincheſter* by almoſt the whole Nobility, with all the Demonſtrations of Joy and Reſpect they could ſhew; by the Citizens of *London* with variety of ineſtimable Preſents; and by the Clergy with a pompous Proceſſion on the Thirteenth of *October* following.

He commits the Government of *Gaſcoigny* to *N. de Molis*.

He lands in *England*, and is received at *London* with great Demonſtrations of Joy.

[4] *Id. p.* 605. The K. makes the *Jews* pay him a great Sum of Money.

[4] The King, ſoon after his return, forced the *Jews* to pay him a great Sum of Money, and took from one *Aaron* a rich *Jew* of *York* no leſs than Four Marks of Gold, and Forty thouſand Marks of Silver: As for the Gold which every *Jew*, both Man and Woman paid, he did them the Favour to receive it with his own Hands, but left the receipt of the Silver to his Officers: The Abbots alſo and Priors preſented him with many rich Gifts; and if he did not anſwer his Expectation, he rejected them, and required others of greater value.

[5] *Id.* p. 606. E. *Rich.* marries *Cincia*, Daughter to the Counteſs of *Provence*.

[5] After which, on the Firſt of *November*, *Beatrix* Counteſs of *Provence*, the Queen's Mother, arrived in *England*, being received at *London* with great State and Magnificence; ſhe brought with her her Daughter *Cincia*, who was married to Earl *Richard* at *Weſtminſter*, on the Twenty third of that Month; and the Marriage was celebrated with great Pomp and Feaſting, there being no leſs than Thirty thouſand Diſhes provided for the Wedding Dinner.

[1] *Id. ib.* The Election of P. *Innocent* IV.

[1] This Year afforded no Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of moment, except the Election of a new Pope, after the See had been vacant a Year and half; he was called by the Name of *Innocent* the *Fourth*, but before known by that of *Senebaldo* of *Genoua*: And ſo ſoon as he was Conſecrated, he confirmed the Conſecration denounced by his Predeceſſor againſt *Frederick* the Emperor.

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[2] *Id.* p. 613. The K. keeps his *Chriſtmas* at *Wallingford*-Caſtle. The Counteſs of *Provence* leaves *England*.

[2] This Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Wallingford*-Caſtle, being nobly entertained by his Brother Earl *Richard*, as likewiſe were moſt of the Nobility; his Lady *Cincia* appearing there alſo, with the Counteſs *Beatrix* her Mother: ſhe ſoon after, upon the news of the Earl of *Provence* her Husband's being very ſick, took her ſolemn Leave of the King and Court, and embarking at *Dover*, had a good Paſſage to her own Country.

[3] *Id.* p. 368. The K. ſummons a great Council, and deſires an Aid.

[3] I ſhall now return to Secular Affairs of greater moment: Immediately after *Chriſtmas*, the King ſummoned the Great Men of the whole Kingdom, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, and Barons, to meet at *Weſtminſter*; and being there aſſembled, he with his own Mouth demanded a *Pecuniary Aid* of them, with which he indeed deſigned to bring the King of *Scots* to Reaſon (who now began to oppoſe him;) Yet the King only pretended, that he had the Year before by their Advice paſſed into *Gaſcoigny*, where he had contracted great Debts, of which he deſired them to eaſe him. To this the Barons anſwered, They would conſult together about it. Then the Archbiſhops, Abbots, with the Priors treated of it apart by themſelves; and after that, they asked the Earls and Barons, if they would pleaſe to conſent to what they had reſolved, in relation to their Anſwer to the King's Demands? Who replied, That without the whole * *Body* or *Community* of the Kingdom, they would act nothing; and then by common Aſſent, there were choſen on behalf of the Clergy *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, and *Worceſter*; and on behalf of the Laiety, Earl *Richard* the King's Brother, Earl *Roger Bigot*, *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Earl *Mareſchal*: On behalf of the Barons, *Richard de Montfichet*, *John de Baliol*, with the Abbots of *Ramſey* and *Bury*: And what theſe Twelve ſhould agree, ſhould be communicated to the whole *Body*, that ſo nothing ſhould be offered to the King without the Common Aſſent.

The Clergy treat of it by themſelves.

* *Univerſitas Regni.*

They agree.

[4] *Id. ib.*

The Reſult of their Reſolutions ſeems to be thus: [4] That becauſe the Charter of Liberties, which the King had regranted ſome time before (and for the Obſervation whereof *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had ſworn and undertaken) was not kept; nor the Aids ſo often given, diſpoſed of to the Benefit of the King and Kingdom, and that through the Fault of the Chancellor, Writs were granted contrary to Juſtice, they therefore deſired, that ſuch a Juſtitiary, and ſuch a Chancellor might be made, that the State of the Kingdom might be eſtabliſhed upon its former Baſis. But all theſe reaſonable Requeſts proved ineffectual; for the King (leſt he ſhould be thought to do any thing by Compulſion of this Council,) would not grant the Petition of the Great Men, only promiſed in general to amend what he was by them informed to be amiſs. Whereupon their Meeting was adjourned until Three Weeks after *Candlemas*: But they firſt reſolved, That if in the mean time the King would of his own accord chuſe ſuch Councellors, and take ſuch care of the Rights or Laws of the Kingdom, as to ſatisfie the Great Men, then they would give him an Aid; yet on that condition, That it ſhould be expended for the Benefit of the Kingdom, by Advice of the Twelve Repreſentatives above mentioned. When the

The K. refuſing to grant their Requeſts the Council is adjourned.

the King ſaw he could not prevail upon them in a joint Body, then tried the Clergy a-part, what they would do upon the Pope's late Letters, in which he exhorted them to give the King a liberal Aſſiſtance in Money.

[5] *Id.* p. 640. The K. tries the Clergy a-part, to obtain an Aid of 'em, but without effect.

[5] But the King finding he could do no good with the whole Clergy, deſired the Prelates (that is, all Biſhops, Abbots, and Deans) that they would meet in the Infirmary of the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*; and when they were thus aſſembled, the King ſent the Earl of *Leiceſter* and other Noblemen to perſwade them to contribute ſome Money towards the War of *Gaſcoigny*, and to repreſs the Inſolency of the *Welſh*: But whilſt they were debating about it, the King came to them himſelf, and repeating his former Requeſts, farther told them, *That his Honour and theirs ſhould be inſeparable*: But when they deferred their Anſwer, and deſired longer time to adviſe about it, the King withdrew: The laſt Reſult of the Biſhops and Prelates was, That they could not divide themſelves from the *Common Aſſent* or *Agreement* of the Great Men of the Kingdom; and ſo all Affairs were put off till their next Meeting, and then this Synod broke up.

[1] *Id.* p. 641. A new method of Government deſign'd in this Parliament.

It alſo appears by our Author, [1] That this great Council or Parliament had contrived a new Method of Government, which they intended to have offer'd to, and put upon the King, if they could; to wit, That Four of the moſt Potent and Diſcreet Men of the Kingdom ſhould be choſen by *Common Aſſent*, and then ſworn of the King's Council; and theſe ſhould tranſact all Affairs relating to both King and Kingdom, and ſhould do Juſtice to all, without reſpect of Perſons; and that theſe ſhould ſtill follow the King, and Two of them at leaſt were always to be preſent with him, that ſo they might hear and relieve the Complaints of Perſons oppreſſed: The King's Treaſury was likewiſe to be managed by them, and all Aids were to be expended as they thought moſt for the Advantage of the Nation: In ſhort, they were to be the Conſervators of the Publick Liberties; and as they were choſen by *Common Aſſent*, ſo they were not to be removed out of their Office but by the ſame *Aſſent*; when one died, another was to be choſen by the Three Survivors: And without the Conſent of theſe Four, the Great Council was not to meet. So that if this Deſign had taken effect, the King had been a meer Cypher, and had had little or no ſhare in the Government.

But the Deſign is defeated, and why

[2] *Id.* p. 613.

The Pope's Nuncio's unreaſonable Demands.

But it ſeems this Project came to nothing, by reaſon that the Clergy, who had a great hand in theſe deſigned Alterations, were now taken up with other Affairs that more nearly concerned them; [2] for about this time Pope *Innocent* had ſent a Clerk or Chaplain of his called *Martin*, as his Nuncio into *England*, with Power to Excommunicate and Suſpend whomſoever he ſhould find refractory to his Commands; which Authority he ſoon exerciſed on ſeveral Prelates, until they would make ſuch a Proviſion for the Pope's Clerks and Kinſmen as he demanded, who thought no Revenue under Thirty Marks *per Ann.* worth their acceptance. Moreover, he directed his Letters to ſeveral Abbots and Priors, ſtrictly enjoining them to ſend him ſuch Horſes as were fit for the Pope's own Chaplain; and if they refuſed, and made any excuſe, though

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never ſo reaſonable, they were forthwith ſuſpended, as particularly the Abbot of *Malmesbury*, and the Prior of *Merton*, until they would make full Satisfaction: And when any Prebendaries of Churches became void, he preſently ſeized them, and by virtue of the Pope's Authority, diſpoſed of them as he pleaſed; and gave one of the Richeſt Prebendaries of *Salisbury* to a little Boy, who was the Pope's Nephew, againſt the Will of the Biſhop and the whole Chapter.

[3] *Id.* p. 642. The Pope demands Money of the Clergy.

And what yet further perplexed them, was, [3] that this Mr. *Martin* produced other Letters from the Pope, in which he required a great Sum of Money of them to pay off the Debt, that his Predeceſſor *Gregory* had contracted in a War (as he pretended) for the Catholick Faith, Eccleſiaſtical Liberty, and the Patrimony of the Church.

[4] *Id.* p 643. The Parliament meet again.

The K. promiſes better to obſerve the Charter of Liberties, under pain of *Excommunication*.

Theſe Tranſactions, and ſeveral others of this Year, are not put together in due Order of Time, as they ought to have been by our Author, and therefore I have endeavoured to correct that Defect as well as I could: I ſhall now give an account of what was done at the next Seſſion of this Parliament; [4] When the Great Men and Prelates met again at *London* according to their late Adjournment, Three Weeks after *Candlemas*, to treat about the King's Demands of an Aid, he there again renewed and promiſed entirely to keep the Charter of Liberties, which he had ſworn to at his Coronation, and gave the Biſhops leave, in their reſpective Dioceſes, to Excommunicate himſelf and all others, that ſhould act contrary to it in any Article: Yet for all this, he could only obtain Twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee to marry his Eldeſt Daughter, of all thoſe who held of the King *in Capite*, the one half to be paid at *Eaſter*, and the other half at *Michaelmas*.

Id. p. 643.

When Mr. *Martin* the Pope's Nuncio ſaw that the Great Men had given the King this Aid, he preſſed his Buſineſs to the Clergy as earneſtly as he could, making them a very cunning Speech, That ſince they had aſſiſted the King their Temporal Lord, could they now do leſs for their Spiritual Father the Pope? But the Prelates were as cunning as the Legate, and laying their Heads together, anſwered by the Mouth of the Dean of St. *Paul's*, That what he demanded, particularly concerned the King, the Archbiſhops, and all the Biſhops and Prelates of *England*; and that ſince the King by reaſon of Sickneſs, and the Archbiſhops and ſeveral Biſhops were likewiſe abſent by reaſon of Buſineſs, they could not for the preſent give him any other poſitive Anſwer: Upon which Words came in *John* the *Mareſchal*, and forbid all the Prelates, who held Baronies of the King *in Capite*, to oblige their Lay-Fees to the See of *Rome*, whereby the King would be deprived of the Service due to him. Nor did the Legate meet with any better Succeſs upon other freſh Letters, which he produced from the Pope in a leſſer Aſſembly of the Prelates, who met during the abſence of the reſt, and then gave Mr. *Martin* their poſitive Anſwer, That the preſent Poverty of the Kingdom, and their Fears of new Wars which were like to break out upon them, would not permit them to conſent to this Exaction; beſides, many other good Reaſons were added, which the Reader may find in our Author, and more at large in the Annals

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Annals of *Burton*, if he will give himſelf the leiſure to peruſe them: And then upon the Nuncio's threatning of them, they only ſubjoin'd, That they were alſo afraid of the Emperor's Threats, if they gave any Money; for he had by his Letters lately forbid both the King and them to contribute any thing to the Pope; ſo that it ſeems all the Nuncio could do, was to lay his hands on the Revenues of vacant Benefices, and to ſcrape Money together by all the extortive means he could think of. But to return to Temporal Matters:

[5] *Id.* p. 616. He makes Alterations in Court and Council.

[5] In the ſame Month of *February*, the King made ſome Alterations in his Court and Council, which whether they were for the better or the worſe, I will not determine, only that he put in Sir *Paulinus Pipor* Steward of his Houſhold, and took *John Manſell* Chancellor of St. *Paul*'s, into his Council; and Mr. *Lawrence* of St. *Martin*'s was made Preſident of his Council, and his Procurator in all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; This *John Manſell* was one in Orders, and being a very Politick Perſon, was afterwards made one of the King's Chief Miniſters and Favourites.

[1] *Id. ib.* *Griffyn* Brother to Prince *David*, falls from the *Tower*, and daſhes out his Brains.

Not long after, [1] on the firſt day of *March*, hapned an Accident, which though it was of no great moment, yet ſeems to have encouraged *David* Prince of *Wales* to rebell; for *Griffyn* his Half-Brother, being weary of his long Impriſonment in the *Tower*, having made a long Line of the Furniture of his Chamber tied together, thought to ſlide down by it from the top of a Tower; but the Rope breaking with his weight, he being a very large and heavy Man, he fell down, and daſh'd out his Brains: He was a Perſon of great Courage, and as long as he liv'd, his Brother the Prince would never have dared to attempt any thing againſt the King, for fear he ſhould thus have been let looſe againſt him; but being thus taken off, it was no wonder if the Peace did not long continue.

[2] *Id.* p. 638. The *Welſh* rebell againſt K. *Henry*.

[2] For in the beginning of this Summer, the *Welſh* Prince, notwithſtanding the ſolemn Oaths and Charters which he and his Great Men had made to King *Henry*. in token of their Homage and Subjection to him, they revolted from his Obedience, and made War upon him and his Lord *Marchers*, *viz.* the Earl of *Clare*, the Earl of *Hereford*, *John de Monmouth*, *Roger de Montault*, and other Potent Barons, who gathering their Forces by the King's Command, came to an Engagement with the *Welſh*, in which there fell about an hundred on both ſides.

[3] *Id. Ib.* The King of *Scots* renounces his Homage to the King.

[3] Then on the Eleventh of *June*, the King being at *St. Albans*-Abbey, received the ill News of the *Welſh* Inſurrection; at which time alſo he heard, that the King of *Scots* had publickly declared, That he would not hold the leaſt Piece of Earth of the King of *England*; for ever ſince the laſt Marriage of the *Scottiſh* King with the Daughter of *Engelram de Cuſcey*, a Potent Nobleman of *France*, and an utter Enemy to King *Henry*, the good Intelligence between the Two Crowns was ſo much abated, that at laſt it ended in an open War.

[4] *Rot. Cl.* 28. *H.* 3. M. 8. *Dorſ.*

For not long after, the Quarrel between theſe Two Princes roſe to that heighth, [4] that King *Henry* ſummoned all the Great Men of *England*, as well Biſhops and Abbots, as Lay-Barons, who held

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K. *Henry* ſummons all Tenents *in Capite* to march againſt the K. of *Scots*.

The Peace is renewed between them; and on what Terms.

[5] *Id.* p. 646.

held of him *in Capite*, to provide their Services ready at *New-caſtle* upon *Tyne*, to force the King of *Scots* to make Satisfaction, unleſs he would hear their Advice, where they appeared accordingly at the appointed time, being the Fifteenth of *Auguſt*, and they had a ſerious Treaty about this Weighty Affair; and then by the Mediation of Earl *Richard*, and other Great Men of both Nations, there was a Peace made upon theſe Terms, That the King of *Scots* and his Heirs, ſhould keep Perpetual Faith and Friendſhip towards his Liege-Lord King *Henry* and his Heirs; That he ſhould not make any Leagues with the King's Enemies; That the Peace ſhould ſtand Good, that was made in the Preſence of *Otto* the Pope's Legate at *York*; as alſo the Agreement concerning a Contract of Marriage to be made between the King of *Scot's* Son, and the King of *England's* Daughter, all which appears by [5] King *Alexander's* Charter; which yon may find at large in our Author, as alſo the Pope's Bull to confirm it.

[1] *Id.* p. 647.

The *Welſh* make freſh Invaſions on the *Engliſh* Marches, and rout the Forces of the Lords Marchers.

No ſooner had the King diſpatched theſe great Affairs in the *North*, but he was called back by a freſh Inſurrection of the *Welſh*, [1] who having now invaded the *Engliſh* Borders, burnt and plundered all before them; when the King too much deſpiſing the Forces of his Enemies, diſbanded moſt part of his Army, and going himſelf for *London*, only ſent *Herebert Fitz-Matthew* with Three hundred Horſe to ſubdue them; whereupon the *Welſhmen* taking Courage fell upon and deſtroyed the Forces of the Earl of *Hereford* and *Ralph de Mortimer* before *Herebert* could get up to them, and when he attack'd them the Day after, they put him to flight, and ſo they continued Victors for the reſt of this Year.

[2] *Id.* p. 650.

The K. requires an Aid againſt the *Welſh*, but is denied.

[2] In the beginning of *November*, the King again Aſſembled the Great Men of the Kingdom, of whom he required an Aid againſt the *Welſh*, which was denied him; but whether it was out of anger because of the King's late ill Conduct, in not ſending greater Forces againſt them, or that the Nobility thought they might be reduced without an Aid in Money, I can not determine.

[3] *Id.* p. 627.

[4] *Id.* p. 650.

David Pr. of *Wales* privately offered the Pope to hold his Country of him, at an Yearly Tribute.

[5] *Id.* p. 651. Recited at large in our Author.

But not long after, the King received news, which highly incenſed Him and the Great Men againſt *David* Prince of *Wales*; [3] who deſiring to caſt off the Yoke of Subjection to King *Henry* his Uncle, and notwithſtanding the Charters of Homage and Subjection which he had made to the King about Three Years ſince [4] ſent privately to the Pope, ſome time laſt Summer, offering to hold his Countrey of him at the Yearly Tribute of Five hundred Marks, provided he would protect him againſt King *Henry*, and for a round Sum of Money obtained the Pope's [5] *Bull*, directed to the Abbots of *Aberconrwey* and *Kemere*, by which he conſtituted them his *Inquiſitors*; whether Prince *David* by Force and Fear was compelled to ſtand to the Arbitration of the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* and others; and if they found it to be ſo, then to diſpenſe with Releaſe, and make void his Oath and Engagements; and by vertue of which *Bull*, the ſaid Abbots ſummoned the King to appear before them on the *Vigil*, or Eve of *St. Agnes*, (that is, *January* the Twenty Firſt) at *Keyrus* in *Wales*, to anſwer Prince *David* concerning the Contents of the ſaid *Bull*: But when the King had received this Inſolent Summons from theſe Abbots, it ſo enraged Him

and

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and the Great Men of the Kingdom, that they reſolved to march againſt the *Welſh* as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit.

The Account the *Welſh* Hiſtorians give to juſtifie their Prince's breaking the Peace.

But ſince the *Welſh* Hiſtorians give a far different and larger Account of the Grounds and Progreſs of this War, I ſhall from Dr. *Powell's* Chronicle under this Year, ſhew you what they aſſign as Reaſons to Juſtifie Prince *David* in thus breaking the Peace, which he had ſo ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve; as *Firſt*, That King *Henry* had the Year before began very much to oppreſs the *Welſh*, by turning them out of their Eſtates without any juſt Title, or ſufficient Cauſe, and that after the Death of *Griffyn* above-mentioned, King *Henry* had Entituled his Eldeſt Son *Edward* to the Principality of *Wales*.

And to give you all the *Welſh* Tranſactions of this Year together, though confuſedly ſet down by our Authors; Upon this News, Prince, *David* underſtanding the King's deſign to diſinherit him, uſed all the means he could for the Defence of his Juſt Right; but finding himſelf unable to withſtand the *Engliſh*, reſolved to effect that by Policy, which he could not obtain by Force; wherefore the Year before he privately ſent Meſſengers to the Pope, complaining againſt the King of *England*, as you have already heard above.

Dr. *Powel's*. Chron.

Prince *David* finding no Remedy from the Pope, takes up Arms and Invades the *Engliſh* Borders.

Then Prince *David* finding that the Pope only minded his own Intereſt, and delayed to do Juſtice upon his Complaints againſt the King of *England*, thought it was to no purpoſe to wait any longer for his Deciſion, but judged it more adviſeable to vindicate himſelf by the Power of his Arms: Having therefore muſtered up his Forces together, (being now reconciled to, and followed by moſt of the Nobility of *Wales*) he drew his Army towards the *Marches*, to be revenged upon the Lords of thoſe Parts already mentioned, who (as he pretended) had injured and oppreſſed his People, and with theſe Noblemen he fought divers times this Summer, with various Succeſſes.

But as for this Relation, though it may be in great part true, eſpecially as to what concerns Prince *David*'s addreſſing himſelf to the Pope for Protection againſt King *Henry*, yet I do not find from any good Authority, that the *Welſh* Prince had received any Provocation from King *Henry*, ſufficient to Juſtifie him in the breach of the laſt Articles of Peace between him and the King; for there is no mention in our *Engliſh* Hiſtories concerning any ſuch violent taking away of the *Welſhmens* Eſtates, as is given us in the above-mentioned Relation; and if there had been any ſuch thing, yet could it no ways have vindicated this War, ſince he ought by the ſaid Articles to have firſt complained to the King for redreſs, before he had taken up Arms; and if he had not been then ſatisfied in his Lawful Demands, he might have had ſome colour of righting himſelf by War: But as for King *Henry*'s Entitling his Son *Edward* to the Principality of *Wales*, (for which Dr. *Powell* quotes no leſs an Authority, than the Records of the *Tower*, yet without giving us the Year, or Number of the Roll,) I find no ſuch thing mentioned in any of our Hiſtorians; though when any ſuch Record can be found, I ſhall agree with this Author's Relation, but till then I think I may boldly affirm, that there is no ſuch thing. And

The *Welſh* Hiſtorians not to be credited in this Point.

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as for Prince *David*'s Allegation to the Pope, that his late Charters of Homage and Fealty to King *Henry* were gain'd by Force and Fear, it is certain, the Matter of Fact was otherwiſe, and that Prince *David* being then in perfect Liberty, might have defended himſelf if he had pleaſed, againſt the King's demands, ſuppoſing he had thought them too Unjuſt and Unreaſonable to be comply'd with.

[1] *Id.* p.614. The K. of *Fr.* his offer to his Subjects that had Eſtates in *England* and *France*; But K. *Henry* wou'd not leave the *Normans* to their Choice.

But it is now time to look abroad, and ſee what was done in Foreign Parts, during this buſie Year in *England*; about the beginning of which [1] the King of *France* aſſembled at *Paris* all ſuch of his Subjects that had Poſſeſſions in *England*, and declar'd to them, That he thought they could not ſerve faithfully two different Lords at the ſame time; and then gave them their Choice to whom they would adhere; and after that they were to relinquiſh their Lands and Poſſeſſions in the other Prince's Dominions; upon this ſome kept their Eſtates in *England*, and left thoſe in *France* and came over hither, whilſt others did the contrary, according to their different Intereſts and Inclinations. When this was made known to the King of *England*, He commanded all the Eſtates that the *Normans* then enjoy'd in his Realm, to be forthwith ſeized to his own uſe, and would not give them their Liberty of choice, (as the King of *France* had done,) which Prince they would adhere to, which was by the *French* looked upon to be a Breach of the Truce: But their King was not ſo well recovered of his late Sickneſs, or at leiſure to proſecute this pretended Violation by a new War, but wiſely endeavoured to appeaſe and repreſs the querulous Invectives his *Norman* Subjects made againſt the King of *England*.

As for the Affairs of *Germany*, I find little conſiderable to have happened this Year, only that the Emperor *Frederick*, the King's Brother in Law, about the beginning thereof, ſent Mr. *William D'ocra*, and others his Ambaſſadors with Letters to the King, offering to juſtifie himſelf from the Imputation of Contumacy and Diſobedience to the Pope, and that he would ſubmit his Cauſe to the Judgment of the Kings of *England* and *France*, and the Baronage of their Kingdoms; and then complaining of the Pope's Severity and Injuſtice, deſired the King not to permit any Contributions in Money to be made to him by his Subjects, threatning beſides, if the King did not comply with his deſires, to revenge it upon ſuch of the *Engliſh*, whom he ſhould find within his Dominions.

As to ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, as had no dependance upon the Civil, I find none conſiderable, only that *William de Rawle* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, having been long kept out of *England*, and from his Biſhoprick, by the King's Unjuſt Severity, was about Midſummer, by the Pope's Mediation call'd home, and reſtored to the King's Favour, at which all true *Engliſhmen* were much rejoiced, except ſome Court-Chaplains, who being Fomenters of Diſcord, were afraid, leſt his Prudence ſhould render them wholly uſeleſs, by promoting the Welfare of both King and Kingdom.

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[2] *Id.* p. 653. The King Knighted *John Gateſden* a Clerk in Orders.

[2] The King now kept his *Chriſtmas* at *London*, with many of his Noblemen, where he Knighted *John Gateſden* a Clerk in Deacon's Orders, who having by his Prudence and Induſtry in Publick Affairs acquir'd a good Eſtate, he reſign'd his Benefices, and ſoon after married the Daughter of *Roſe de Bruis*, and leaving off the dangerous Care of Souls, aſpired to the Dignity of a Nobleman.

[3] *Id. ib.* The Queen brought to Bed of a Son.

[3] On the Sixteenth of *January* following the Queen was brought to Bed of a Son, who was Chriſt'ned *Edmond*, and afterwards created by his Father, Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Derby*.

[4] *Id* p 654, 655 The War renewed againſt the *Welſh* with ill Succeſs.

[4] So ſoon as the Seaſon would permit, the War was afreſh renewed againſt the *Welſh*; for in the beginning of *Lent* the Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Montgomery*, with ſuch Forces as he had with him, by a Stratagem overcame the *Welſh*, and killed above Three-hundred of them; but the ſame Week, Prince *David* to revenge this Defeat, waſted the *Engliſh* Borders with Nocturnal Incurſions, againſt whom when the Militia of the Country began to March, they were aſſaulted by the *Welſhmen* in the narrow Paſſes and Streights of the Mountains, with Darts, Arrows, and Stones, one of which knock'd down, and kill'd on the Place *Herbert Fitz-Matthew* (already mentioned) Chief Commander: The *Engliſh* were ſo diſmay'd at this, that they preſently retreated, carrying off the Dead Body along with them. The *Welſh* being animated with this Succeſs, Prince *David* muſtered up his Forces, and laying Siege to the Caſtle of *Montalt*, took it by Aſſault, and killed moſt of thoſe he found in it, but miſſed of *Roger de Montalt* the Owner of it, whom he thought to have found there. I read of nothing further done againſt the *Welſh*, till towards the End of this Summer, notwithſtanding the King and his Nobilities late reſolutions of undertaking a ſpeedy Expedition againſt them; but it ſeems they were ſo taken up with contriving how to put ſome ſtop to the Papal Exactions, that they could not mind Military Affairs.

[5] *Id.* p. 657. The Pope's Nuntio continues his Extortions.

[5] For *Martin* the Pope's Nuntio ſtill continued his wonted Oppreſſions of the *Engliſh* Church and Clergy, by his unjuſt Extorting of *Procurations*, and by conferring great Benefices upon the Pope's Creatures and Relations; and our Author tells us, that his Greedineſs and Extortions, were ſo Notorious, that he conceals the Particulars out of meer Reverence to the *Roman* Church: Yet notwithſtanding, the King ſtill ſupported the Nuntio againſt the Clergy, becauſe his Lord the Pope might do him the like good Turn, whenever there was occaſion for it.

[1] *Id.* p. 657. Some of the Great Men order the Pope's Meſſenger to be ſeized.

[1] But at laſt Matters were reduced to that Extremity, that they required ſome ſpeedy Redreſs, and therefore ſome Great Men deploring the lamentable State of the Church and Kingdom, took the Courage to give Orders, That if any more Bulls from the Pope came into *England* to chouſe the People of their Money, they ſhould be ſtopt. Now it happened about this time, that a Meſſenger from the Pope arrived at *Dover*, whom the Warden of that Port preſently ſeized, with all his Bulls and Letters, containing divers new Inventions for Money; but when Mr. *Martin* heard of his being taken up, he went preſently to the King, and made his Complaint of it: But he not daring to own the Action, immediately gave or-

Whom the K. releaſes.

der, that the Meſſenger ſhould be releaſed, and all his Bulls and Letters reſtored to him, which was done accordingly, though it was ſo much to the King's Diſhonour, as well as to the Prejudice of the Kingdom.

[2] *Id.* p. 658. The K begins to be ſenſible of the Avarice of the *Roman* Church The vaſt Revenues of the *Italians* in *England*.

Yet ſome time after, his Eyes began to be opened, for about *Whitſuntide* following, he ordered a ſtrict Enquiry to be made in each County of the true Value of the Livings and other Benefices which the *Italian* Clergymen then enjoyed in *England* by the Gift of the Pope; and they were found to amount to Sixty thouſand Marks *per Annum*, which then exceeded the whole Revenue of the Crown; upon this Report the King came to himſelf, and being moved with Anger, began to deteſt the inſatiable Avarice of the *Roman* Church, yet durſt he not in Perſon declare againſt it, only

[3] *Id.* p. 659. The Repreſentative Body of the Kingdom write a bold Letter to the Council at *Lyons*.

he permitted a bold but elegant Epiſtle to be written in the Name of the General Body or *Repreſentative* of the whole Kingdom, in which they ſet forth the *Execrable Extortions* and *Exactions* of the Pope's Legates and Nuntioes, and ſent it to the Council then ſitting at *Lyons*, by Earl *Roger Bigod*, ***John* Fitz-Geoffrey**, ***William* de Cantelupe**, ***Philip* Baſſet**, *Ralph* ***Fitz-Nicholas***, and Maſter ***William*** *Powerie* their Clerk or Secretary, in the Name of the whole Body of the Nation, who were to declare the inſupportable Burthens thereof; as alſo by reaſon of the Pope's Exacting the Tribute, granted by King *John*, to which they had never conſented, and ordered them to ſeek for Redreſs againſt it.

[4] The Military Men reſolving to hold a Tourneament ſend a ſevere Meſſage to *Martin* the Nuntio, commanding him to be gone.

But the high and active Spirits of the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry could not endure ſo much delay, therefore they reſolved to take a more ſpeedy Courſe; but the King fearing before-hand their violent Proceedings forbad them to meet, upon the Account of a Tournament: yet for all this, on the Thirtieth of *June* (not long after) they aſſembled in a great Body both at *Luton* and *Dunſtable* in *Bedfordſhire*, and there reſolved to bear no longer with the Pope's Nuntio: from thence they ſent *Fulk Fitz-Warin* (one of their Number) to the New-Temple at *London*, to Mr. *Martin* the Pope's Nuntio, and chief Inſtrument of his Exactions. When *Fulk* came thither, he looked upon him very ſternly, and *bad him begon out of* England *immediately*: Who commands me to do this, ſaid Mr. *Martin*? Is it your ſelf? To whom *Fulk* anſwered, *No, not I, but the whole Body of armed Knights, that lately appeared at* Luton *and* Dunſtable, *do by me command you to be gone*; and bad him be gone again, or elſe he and his Followers ſhould in Three days be cut in Pieces. Mr. *Martin* much affrightned at this rough Salutation, went immediately to the King, and told him what he had heard, and deſired to know if it were done by his Authority? The King told him he was not the Author of any ſuch thing; *But my Barons* (ſaith he) *can ſcarce contain themſelves from an Inſurrection againſt Me, for that I have ſo long ſuffered your Depredations and Injuries in my Kingdom*: Upon this Diſcourſe with the King, he requeſted his Paſſ-port to be gone, which was readily granted, and for his greater Security the King ſent with him *Robert Norris*, one of the Mareſchals of his Court, to conduct him to the Sea-ſide, and ſo embarking he went away, to the great Satisfaction of the Kingdom.

Whereupon the K. not being willing to protect him he is forced to go away.

[5] But

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[5] *Id.* p. 660.

[5] But I muſt not here omit a remarkable Paſſage in our Author, ſince it ſhews the Inſolence and Haughty Temper of this Pope; for when this *Martin* return'd to him and complained of his harſh Uſage here, the Pope remembring that not only King *Henry*, but the Kings of *France* and *Arragon* had lately refuſed him admittance into their Kingdoms, he preſently bending his Brows, ſaid to himſelf, (yet ſo loud that he might be heard) *Well, we muſt make Peace with the Head*; (meaning the Emperor) *That ſo we may humble theſe Rebellious Petty Princes*; *for the great* Dragon *being once pacified, the ſmaller* Serpents *will be eaſily trampled under Foot.*

[1] *Id* p.666,667. The Procurators of the *Engliſh* Nobility at the Council of *Lyons*, repreſent their Grievances;

*i.e. The Tribute granted by K. *John*

Vid. The Epiſtle in *M. Paris. ib.*

But to return again to *England*: We may obſerve that this *Engliſh* roughneſs did more good, than all their Remonſtrances to the Council of *Lyons*: [1] For when the Procurators of the Body of the Nobility of *England* betore-named had arrived there, Mr. *William Poweric* their Clerk or Secretary propounded the Grievances of the Kingdom of *England*, and on behalf of the ſaid Body lamentably complained of the Tribute* injuriouſly impoſed on the Kingdom by the Court of *Rome*, to which neither the Anceſtors of the ſaid Nobility, nor they themſelves had ever conſented, nor ever could conſent; whereupon they deſired Juſtice, and ſpeedy Remedy; to which Complaint the Pope made no immediate Anſwer. Then *William Poweric* after a little Silence preſented the Epiſtle it ſelf, which declared at large the many Extortions made in *England* by the Legates and Nuntio's of the *Roman* Church.

[2] *Id.* p. 668.

Eſpecially that wicked Clauſe of *Non-obſtante* in the Pope's Bulls.

[2] Theſe Letters being publickly read, the Pope would return no poſitive Anſwer to them, for he ſaid, That ſo weighty an Affair required great Deliberation; ſo the Anſwer was for that time deferr'd, though the Ambaſſadors preſſed for a ſpeedy One: Yet however, they then added one more Great and Important Grievance to all the reſt; to wit, the Violent Oppreſſion and Impudent Exaction, occaſioned by that wicked Clauſe of *Non-obſtante*, which was frequently inſerted into the Pope's Bulls and Letters; which deſerves our Notice, ſince the like Clauſe (though copied from the *Roman* Court) within ſome Years then following, crept into the King's Charters, as you will find hereafter.

[3] *Id ib.* The Ambaſſadors not obtaining a Satiſfactory Anſwer, leave the Council.

[4] *Id.* p. 696.

[5] *Id.* p.697.

But as for theſe Ambaſſadors above-mentioned, [3] when they had waited a great while at the Council to no purpoſe, they were at laſt fain to depart thence without any Satisfactory Anſwer; yet at length after their departure, I find in this [4] Author, (though under the next Year) that the Pope during this Council granted a Bull directed to all Patrons of Churches both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular, that they might freely preſent whom they pleaſed to the Benefices, in their Gift, without any Lett or Hinderance of himſelf or his Legates. [5] And alſo another, that upon the death of the Incumbent, being an *Italian* one of the ſame Nation ſhould not immediately ſucceed: But theſe, as all other Privileges ſignified nothing, by reaſon of the Bar of a *Non-obſtante*, whenever he pleaſed to make uſe of it.

[1] *Id.* p.681.

[1] However, theſe Ambaſſadors did not fail, before their departure, to make a ſolemn Oath or Proteſtation, that they would never pay, nor permit to be paid to the *Roman* See, that deteſtable Tribute granted by King *John*: But the Politick Pope paſſed by

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The Pope makes the *Engliſh* Biſhops atteſt K. *John's* Charter by their Seals.

But the King ſwears never to pay that Tribute.

and diſſembled all theſe Things; yet was ſo far from giving up any thing, that he only waited for an Opportunity of acting more ſeverely; and therefore to let the King ſee he would keep what he had got, he not long after ſent to all the Biſhops of *England*, ſtreightly commanding them, that each of them ſhould ſet his Seal to that Charter of Tribute which King *John* of unhappy Memory had long ſince granted, that being thus ſtrengthned it might be the better perpetuated for Time to come; which theſe Timorous Biſhops performed, to the Unſpeakable Prejudice of the King and Kingdom, as well as Reproach of themſelves. But when he had heard what they had done, he fell into a great Paſſion, and ſwore, That although the Biſhops had thus baſely Complied, yet he would ſtand firm for the Liberties of the Kingdom, and would never whilſt he lived pay this Penſion or Tribute any more. And without doubt he then meant to do, as he ſaid; But alas! This Poor Prince had neither the Courage nor Conſtancy to ſet himſelf free; for not long after he return'd to his wonted Tameneſs and Submiſſion: This (as alſo the Paſſage concerning *Non-obſtante's*, when they firſt began) I thought fit to take notice of, being omitted by Doctor *Brady* in his Compleat Hiſtory. But to return to Civil Affairs.

[2] *Id*. p. 660. The K. ſummons all Military Tenents to attend him into *Wales*.

[2] About the end of *June*, the King by his Letters ſummoned all the Earls, Barons, Knights, and others, who owed him Military Service, that they ſhould prepare to attend him into *Wales*; ſince he, being no longer able to endure the Ravages and Incurſions of that Nation, was reſolved forthwith to make an Expedition thither: In order to which the King not long after came to St. *Paul's* Church, and there civilly took leave of the Citizens, according to the Cuſtom of that time.

[3] *Id*. p. 682, 684. The K. does not arrrive there till *Auguſt*, but then the *Welſh* retreat to their Faſtneſſes.

The K. having only built a Caſtle on the Borders, returns home.

[3] Yet notwithſtanding all theſe great Preparations, the King did not reach *Wales* with his Army, till the beginning of *Auguſt*, upon whoſe arrival near *Snowdun*, the *Welſhmen* retreated to their Mountains, Woods, and Faſtneſſes, and took their opportunity now and then to deſtroy ſome Parties of the *Engliſh*; ſo that all that the King did in near Two Months time, was, to build the Caſtle of *Ganoc*, which when he had finiſhed, with great difficulty, and put a ſtrong Garriſon into it, the Winter now too faſt approaching, he, firſt having deſtroyed all the Victuals and Forage upon the Borders, and in the moſt Inner parts of *Wales*, returned into *England* with his Army, preſently after the Feaſt of St. *Simon* and *Jude*.

[4] *ib*. The *Iriſh* deſtroy the Iſle of *Angleſey*.

[4] This Summer alſo, the *Iriſh* by the King's Command landed in the Iſle of *Angleſey*, (which was the Place of Refuge for the *Welſh*) and burnt and deſtroyed the whole Country. I have nothing farther to note concerning this Expedition, but that the King then ſent to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* his Juſtitiary of *Ireland*, to paſs over into *Wales* with ſome Forces to aſſiſt them; But he coming too late, though he had a fair Wind to tranſport his Men, was for this Neglect put out of his Office of Juſtitiary, and *John Fitz-Geoffrey* ſent thither in his ſtead.

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[5] *Id.* p. 686. The Death of *Walter* the Earl-Mareſchal, who is ſucceeded by *Anſelm* his Brother, but he dies not long after.

[5] Nothing elſe remarkable happened this Year in *England*, except the Death of *Walter* Earl of *Pembroke*, Mareſchal of *England*, about the End of *November* or Beginning of *December*; and although his Brother *Anſelme* (then Dean of *Saliſbury*) ſucceeded him in his Honours, yet he dying without Iſſue three days before *Chriſtmas*, the Noble Earldom of *Pembroke*, with a vaſt Eſtate in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, fell to be divided between his Five Siſters, who were married to divers great Noblemen of *England*.

Thus fail'd this Noble Family of *Striguil*, in the Third Generation, after it was raiſed to that Heighth by Earl *Richard* their Grandfather, the Firſt *Engliſhman* who obtained the Kingdom of *Leinſter* in *Ireland*, partly by Marriage, and partly by Sword, as you have already heard: but whoever is curious to enquire into the Cauſe of the ſudden Failure of the Heir-Males of this Houſe, may find it in our Author, who aſcribes it to the Curſe of an *Iriſh* Biſhop upon Earl *William* their Father, for taking away ſome Lands belonging to his See, and upon his Son's refuſing to reſtore them, he prayed that God would ſhew ſome remarkable Judgment upon his Family: But for this I do not give you my own, but the Author's Opinion. *Id.* p. 687.

[1] *Id* p. 661.

I ſhall here conclude with ſome Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which have no dependance upon the Civil. [1] This Year the King began to pull down the old Abbey-Church at *Weſtminſter*, and new build it in that Magnificent manner in which it remains to this Day, it being one of the moſt lofty Fabricks in *Europe* of the *Gothick* Model.

Id. ib.

The Pope having left *Italy* for fear of the Emperour, came the laſt Year to *Lyons*, where ſome time after, he Confirmed and then Conſecrated *Boniface* of *Savoy* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with his own hands, being a Prelate better skill'd in Matters of War, than thoſe of Learning, having been promoted to this Dignity in reſpect to his High Birth, and near Relation to the Queen.

Whilſt the Pope continued at *Lyons*, he there held a pretended General Council, to which divers Biſhops of *England* were ſummoned, ſome of whom went thither, but others excuſed themſelves from this troubleſome Journey, by reaſon of their publick Employments, or Old Age.

Id. p 668.

In this Council the Emperour *Frederick* was again *Excommunicated*, and *Depoſed*, as far as the Pope and Council were able to do it; but the Emperour valued it not, for He kept the Crown-Imperial on his Head as long as he lived, in ſpight of his Holineſs and all his Adherents: Here likewiſe many Decrees were made, which being only either for the Reformation of the Clergy, or Advancement of the Papal Power, I omit.

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[2] *Id.* p. 691. A great *Chriſtmas* kept at *London*.

[2] This being the Thirtieth Year of King *Henry*'s Reign, he kept his *Chriſtmas* at *London*, in the Company of his Queen and her Siſter, the Queen of the *Romans*, with her Husband King *Richard*, many other of the Noblemen of the Kingdom being likewiſe preſent with him; where they enjoy'd and refreſh'd themſelves Cheerfully and Pleaſantly, after the Hardſhips of the late *Welſh* Expedition; but before *Twelf-tide* the King received the ill News, that his Mother-in-Law, *Beatrice*, Counteſs of *Provence*, had contrary to her Promiſe

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K. *Henry* received news that his Mother-in-Law the Counteſs of *Provence* had delivered all that Country to the K. of *France.*

Promiſe and Agreement, delivered up all that Country to the King of *France*, together with Sixteen Caſtles and their Territories, which King *Henry* was to have enjoyed as part of his Wife's Portion, and as his ſhare of that Earldom; and for the fortifying and maintaining of which Caſtles, the King had expended for divers Years before no leſs than Four thouſand Marks; This ſhe did in conſideration that *Beatrice* her Youngeſt Daughter ſhould marry *Charles* Brother to King *Lewis* , as was ſome time after performed.

But the *French* Hiſtorians more truly relate, That *Raymond* the laſt Earl of *Provence* left his Fourth Daughter *Beatrice* by his Teſtament ſole Inheretrix of that Earldom , and that in her Right *Charles* Duke of *Anjou* became Earl of *Provence*, in which Family it continued for divers Generations.

[3] *Id.* p. 695. *David* Pr. of *North-Wales* dies.

[4] *Vid.* Dr. *P.*'s *Chron.* p. 314 The *Welſh* Nobility Elect *Llewellyn* and *Owen* Princes of *Wales.*

[3] In the beginning of the Spring , *David* Prince of *North-Wales*, the King's Nephew , deceaſed , in the Sixth Year of his Reign, who dying without Iſſue, the Lords and Barons of *Wales* ([4] paſſing by *Gladys* his Siſter and Heir, becauſe ſhe was married to the Lord *Roger Mortimer* an *Engliſh-man*) at a Great Council of their Nobility Elected *Llewellyn* and *Goche* his Brother, Baſe Sons to *Gryffith* (Brother of *David*) Princes of *Wales:* Which ſhews that the *Welſh* Nobility at that time thought their Princes to be Elective, and that they could *alter whenever they pleaſed the Common Courſe of Succeſſion.* But to return to *England :*

[5] *M.P.* p. 693. The City of *London* made to pay a Ranſom of 1000 Marks.

[5] About the ſame time the Citizens of *London*, though they thought themſelves ſecure under the King's Clemency and Protection, were yet made to pay a Ranſom of a Thouſand Marks, to their great Damage and Impoveriſhment.

[1] *Id.* p. 691. Severe Laws made againſt Robbers of Parks and Warrens.

[1] This Year alſo in a Parliament at *London*, divers ſevere Laws were made againſt ſuch as Robbed Parks and Warrens, for which I refer you to the Laws of this King, ſet down at the end of his Reign, and alſo to the Author's * *Addittaments* at the end of his Hiſtory.

* Pag. 156.

[2] *Id.* p. 698. The Parliament again aſſembled, and the Pope's Oppreſſions again repreſented.

[2] On *Mid-Lent Sunday* the ſame Parliament of the whole Kingdom met at *London* according to Summons, where the King conferr'd with the Biſhops a-part, the Earls and Barons a-part, as alſo the Abbots and Priors a-part, concerning the means how to redreſs the Grievances of the Nation, proceeding from the Exorbitancies of the *Roman* Court ; which were theſe that follow :

[3] *Id.* p. 699. A Catalogue of thoſe Grievances.

[3] *Firſt*, That the Pope, not content with the Payment of *Peter-Pence*, oppreſſed the Kingdom, by extorting from the Clergy great Contributions without the King's Conſent, againſt the antient Cuſtoms, Liberties, and Rights of the Kingdom, and againſt the Appeal of the Procurators of the King and Kingdom in the General Council of *Lyons.*

Secondly, The Church and Kingdom were oppreſſed, in that the Patrons of Churches could not preſent fit Perſons to them, becauſe they were given by the Pope's Letters to *Romans* (*i. e. Italians*) who underſtood not the *Engliſh* Language, and carried the Money out of the Kingdom, to the great Impoveriſhing of it.

Thirdly, The Nation was oppreſſed by the Pope's Exactions of Penſions from Churches.

Fourthly, The Church and Nation ſuffered, for that *Italians* ſucceeded *Italians*, and the *Engliſh* were forced to proſecute their Right out of the Kingdom againſt both Cuſtoms and written Laws, and therefore againſt the Indulgences of the Pope's Predeceſſors granted to the King and Kingdom of *England*.

Fifthly, The Church and Nation infinitely ſuffered, by reaſon of the above-mentioned Clauſe of *Non-obſtante*, which weakned and enervated all other Cuſtoms, written ancient Laws, Grants, Statutes, and Privileges whatſoever.

Sixthly, The Church and Kingdom ſuffered, for that in the Pariſhes where the *Italians* were Beneficed, there were no Alms, no Hoſpitality, no Preaching, no Divine Service, no Care of Souls, nor Reparations done to Parſonage Houſes.

[4] The Reſult of the Conferences upon theſe Grievances, was, That they ſhould all again ſupplicate the Pope by Letters to remove this intolerable and inſupportable Yoke: In purſuance of which, [5] the King wrote by himſelf, the Biſhops by themſelves, the Abbots by themſelves, and the Earls and Barons with the Nobles and other Great Men, and the Inhabitants of the Sea-Ports, all by themſelves, and that in the Name of the * whole Clergy and Laiety of *England*, as appears by each of their particular Letters extant in [1] *Mat. Paris*; all filled with loud Complaints againſt theſe Oppreſſions, with their earneſt Deſires that he would remove them, or elſe that they ſhould be forced to make uſe of other Methods to eaſe themſelves.

[4] *Id. Ib.* They agree to write freſh Letters to the Pope.

[5] *Id.* p. 700, 701. The K. and each Order of Men write by themſelves.

* *Univerſitas Cleri & Populi.*

[1] *Id. Ib.*

[2] But notwithſtanding theſe juſt Complaints, the Pope, a little before the Diſſolution of the Council of *Lyons*, cauſed the *Engliſh* Biſhops to put their Seals to the Charter of King *John*, above-mentioned; And though *Fulk* Biſhop of *London* was very unwilling to do it, yet at laſt he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by Fear: The Biſhops at the ſame time alſo ſigned an Inſtrument approving the late Depoſition of *Frederick* the Emperor by the Pope; [3] And not yet content with this (to the great Prejudice of the King and Kingdom) he ſent his Apoſtolick Commands to the Biſhops, that ſome of them ſhould find Fifteen, others Ten, and others Five Stout and Brave Men, well Horſed and Armed for one Year, as the Pope ſhould direct; and leſt the King ſhould make any Proviſion againſt this Exaction, the Biſhops were commanded not to diſcover it under pain of *Excommunication*.

[2] *Id.* p. 681. *Fulk* Bp. of *London* ſeals to K. *John*'s Charter, as well as the reſt, who alſo ſign an Inſtrument for the Depoſition of the Emperor.

[3] *Id.* p. 701. The Pope impoſes other Charges on the Biſhops.

And not ſatisfied with this, [4] the Pope now alſo claimed the Adminiſtration of the Goods of all Clergy-men dying Inteſtate, and committed the execution of this Decree to the *Minors* and *Preachers*; which nevertheleſs the King prohibited, becauſe he found it would tend to the Damage and Impoveriſhment of his Kingdom: But this Decree being very unreaſonable, the Pope himſelf, by the Mediation of the Cardinals was forced to revoke it.

[4] *Id.* p. 705. He alſo claims the diſpoſition of the goods of Inteſtate Clergy-men, which is prohibited by the King.

[5] To redreſs theſe great Grievances and Exactions of the Pope, *William Poweric* and *Henry de la Mare* were ſent to *Rome* by Common Conſent of the King, Biſhops, Earls, and Barons; but in the mean time the Pope exacted a freſh Talliage by the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*,

[5] *Id.* p. 706. Other Ambaſſadors are ſent againſt theſe Grievances:

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Yet freſh Talliages are impoſed on the Biſhops by the Pope; Which the King forbids to be paid.

[1] *Id* p. 708.

London, and others, (whom he had appointed his Collectors) which ſo exaſperated the King, that he wrote Two Letters to the Biſhops and other Prelates, in the Firſt of which he commanded them not to pay the ſaid Talliage, as they hoped to keep their Provinces which they held of him; and in the [1] Second, (when he found the former not to be obſerved,) he reproved them for not obeying his Letters or Writs both Patent and Cloſe, by which he had commanded them not to pay any Aid or Talliage to the Pope; And in that ſame Letter he again commanded them not to comply with any of his Exactions, contrary to the Proviſions made by themſelves, and other Prelates, with the Earls and Barons in the late Council at *London*, nor to do any thing farther in the ſame, till the return of the Meſſengers from *Rome*.

[2] *Id.* p. 709.

A Council at *Wincheſter*, where the K. again conſults with the Great Men about the Deſolation of the Church and Kingdom.

The King incenſed by the Pope's Exactions, Iſſues a Proclamation, that no Man ſhould pay any Money to the Pope.

Yet at laſt, by the Threats of his Brother and ſome of the Biſhops, the K. is forced to yield to thoſe Exactions.

[2] On the Seventh of *July*, there was a great Council holden at *Wincheſter* of the King and Noblemen of the Kingdom, about the Deſolation of the Church; for *William de Poweric* and *Henry de la Mare*, that had been lately ſent to the Court of *Rome*, were by this time returned, bringing back no hopes of any Moderation from the Pope, concerning the Oppreſſions of the Kingdom and Church of *England*, of which they had complained; for he continued reſolute in his Demands; which ſo incenſed the King, that he commanded Proclamation to be made in all Towns, Markets, anb Publick Places, that no Man of the Kingdom ſhould conſent to any Contribution to the Pope, or ſend him any Aid: But when his Holineſs heard of it, he wrote ſharply to the Prelates, charging them under pain of *Excommunication* and *Suſpenſion* to pay in the Money he had impoſed, to his Nuncio at the *New Temple* at *London*; and whereas the King was firmly reſolved to defend the Freedom of the Church and Kingdom, he at laſt, by the Threats and Perſwaſions of his Brother Earl *Richard* (who then ſided with the Pope) and ſome of the Biſhops, but eſpecially of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who (as it was ſaid) had Power to *Interdict* the Nation, ſubmitted, and gave up the Cauſe; ſo that this Contribution was paid: And thus all the Endeavours and Hopes of maintaining the Freedom of the *Engliſh* Church and Kingdom came to nothing.

[3] *Id.* p. 716.

Whereupon the Pope exacts great Talliages from all the Beneficed Clergy.

[3] Upon this the Pope, taking great Confidence from what he had already done, Commanded more imperiouſly than he was wont to do, That all Beneficed Clerks that reſided upon their Livings, ſhould pay him a Third Part of their Goods; and ſuch as did not reſide on them, to pay one Half; and he appointed the Biſhop of *London* to execute this Project: He with ſome others met at St. *Paul's* to conſider of this Matter, to whom the King ſent *John de Lexington* a Knight, and *Laurence* of *St. Martin* a Clerk, on the Eighth of *December*, prohibiting them to conſent to that Contribution; whereupon they broke up their Meeting, to the great Satisfaction of all ſuch as were called before them: If any Man think it worth his Labour to peruſe the Anſwer of the Clergy to this unreaſonable Exaction, he may ſee it in *Matt. Paris*.

[4]

The B. of *Lincoln* makes ſevere Inquiſitions into the Lives and Manners of the Laity, which is complain'd of, and ſtrictly forbidden.

[4] About this time the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, at the Inſtigation of the Friers *Preachers*, and Friers *Minors*, made very ſevere Inquiſitions by his Archdeacons and Rural Deans, concerning the Continency and Manners both of Noble and Ignoble Perſons, to their

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great Scandal, and the blaſting of their Reputations. The King hearing the grievous Complaints of his People concerning theſe Proceedings, by the Advice of his Court, ſent his Writ to the Sheriff of *Hertfordſhire*, commanding him, That as he loved himſelf and all he had, he ſhould not permit any Lay-man of his Bialiwick for the future to meet in any place, to make Inquiſitions or Atteſtations upon Oath at the pleaſure of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s, Archdeacons, or Rural Deans, unleſs in Matrimonial and Teſtamentary Cauſes. This deſerves our notice, ſince it ſhews the Antiquity of the King's Prerogative to grant Prohibitions to hinder the Proceedings of Biſhops when they medled with what did not belong to them.

The K.'s ancient Prerogative to grant Prohibitions.

This Year being chiefly taken up in ſetting forth the Grievances and Oppreſſions of the Pope, affords us little of Civil Affairs; [5] only that Queen *Iſabel* the King's Mother, and Wife to the Earl of *March* (her firſt Lover) died in *France*, being a Lady of no very good Humour or Reputation, by what our Hiſtorians mention concerning her: Alſo many other Perſons of great Note deceaſed this Year, for whoſe Names I refer the Reader to my Author.

[5] *Id.* p. 710.
The Death of Q. *Iſabel* the K.'s Mother.

Alſo ſome time this Year * *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*, after frequent Sollicitation, was, in right of his Lady *Maud*, Eldeſt Daughter of *William* the *Mareſchal* Earl of *Pembroke*, made *Mareſchal* of *England*; but this Great Office remained not long in that Family, as you will ſee hereafter in the next Volume.

* *Ib.* 705.

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[1] This Year King *Henry*, with many of his Great Men, kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, where he was the Day after ſplendidly entertained by the Biſhop of that Place; by which the King ſignified that he had forgotten all former Offences, and in the preſence of the whole Court received the Biſhop into Favour.

[1] *Id.* p. 719.
The K. reconciled to the Bp. of *Wincheſter*.

About the ſame time the King ſummoned his Great Men with the Prelates and Archdeacons of *England* to him at *London*, to conſider how the Contributions exacted by the Pope ſhould be raiſed; but at the Day appointed, all the Biſhops abſented themſelves on purpoſe, that ſo they might not appear openly to oppoſe the Pope's Deſires.

A Council again ſummoned to prevent the Pope's Exactions.
The Biſhops abſent themſelves on purpoſe.

[2] Yet theſe continual Exactions of the Pope's Legates and Collectors, opened every one's mouth againſt him, but eſpecially in *France*, where they did not ſpare his *Holineſs*, but loaded him with bitter Reproaches for the Extortion and Rapine that was practiſed by his Miniſters; [3] inſomuch that the Great Men of that Kingdom decreed, and by Oath eſtabliſhed, That no Clerk or Laick for the future ſhould compel any one to appear before the Ordinary, or his Eccleſiaſtical Judge or Delegate, unleſs upon the account of *Hereſie*, *Matrimony*, or *Uſury*, upon Forfeiture of all his Goods, and loſs of one of his Members. This Reſolution of the *French* very much chagrin'd the Pope, ſo that he endeavoured by all means to ſoften them into a Compliance; wherefore he beſtowed many Eccleſiaſtical Benefices among their Relations, giving them licence to obtain more, with other Indulgences; and beſides,

[2] *Id. ib.*
[3] *Id.* p. 720.
The Great Men of *France* take an Oath, that no Clerk or Laick ſhould for the future appear before Eccleſiaſtical Judges, unleſs for Spiritual Cauſes.

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he was bountiful in his Gifts among the Noblemen of that Kingdom, which brought many over to him from their former Reſolution.

[4] *Id. ib.* The Parliament meet again at *London.*

Where the Archdeacons and Inferior Clergy make great Complaints againſt the Pope's Exactions. They again agree to write Letters to the Pope, ſetting forth their Grievances.

[4] The Day after *Candlemas* the Parliament met again at *London*, where the King was informed that the King of *France* had a Deſign upon *Gaſcoigny*; and he was ſenſible that it would not only be a Diſhonour, but a great Prejudice to him to ſuffer it to be loſt, ſeeing he received yearly from *Bourdeaux* alone a Thouſand Marks. When the Archdeacons and a great part of the Inferior Clergy of the whole Kingdom met the Great Men there, they complained of the Pope's frequent and intolerable Exactions, affirming to the King, That if theſe Men were ſuffered, his Kingdom would be endangered, and both Laiety and Clergy would be ruined by a Deſolation unknown to former Times. Upon this it was reſolved, That ſome other diſcreet Meſſengers ſhould be ſent to the Court of *Rome*, with Letters both to the Pope and Cardinals, on behalf of the Community of the whole Clergy and Laiety of the Realm, ſetting forth their Grievances and Oppreſſions.

[5] *Id.* p. 721. The Contents of their Letter to the Pope.

[5] The Contents of that to the Pope, were, 'A Profeſſion of 'their readineſs to obey his *Holineſs*; but to deſire his Pardon, if 'they could not then comply with his Demands; for although 'their Country yielded plenty of Fruits for the Nouriſhment of 'its Inhabitants, yet it afforded no Money, neither was it ſufficient 'to ſupply what was demanded; for their King's Neceſſity required 'what they could ſpare towards the Defence of his own Dominions againſt the Aſſaults of his Enemies; and concluded, that any 'further Burthens would prove inſupportable to them.

[1] *Id. Ib.* The Contents of thoſe to the Cardinals.

[1] Their Letter to the Cardinals was to this effect; They firſt gave them an Abſtract of their Grievances, and what they had contributed ſince the laſt *Lateran* Council; firſt, a Twentieth part for Three Years for an Aid to the *Holy Land*; then a Tenth to the Pope; afterward ſeveral other Payments for different Uſes, at the Command of the Apoſtolick See: And then they urged the great Neceſſity and Wants their own King lay under, whom they were bound to aſſiſt as their Temporal Lord; and that they themſelves were now reduced to ſuch Penury and Want, that if all they had were expoſed to Sale, it would not be ſufficient to anſwer what was demanded of them: Wherefore they humbly beſeeched them fairly to preſent their Condition to the Pope, and endeavour to divert not only his Thoughts but his Councels and Inſtruments from ſuch grievous Oppreſſions.

[2] *Id.* p. 722. The Pope grants the K. a plauſible but inſignificant Privilege.

Many Foreign Ladies are brought over to be Married to the King's Wards.

[2] About the ſame time the Pope granted to King *Henry* a plauſible but yet a deceitful Privilege, That no *Italian* or *Nephew* of his own or the Cardinals, ſhould henceforward be ſent into *England* to be Beneficed, unleſs he or his Cardinals ſhould firſt ask and obtain Leave of the King to have him provided for, which the Pope knew could be eaſily got whenever they pleaſed. Before the Council was ended, *Peter* of *Savoy* Earl of *Richmond* came to the Court at *London*, and brought with him ſeveral Young Ladies from his own Country, to be Married to the Young Noblemen that were the King's Wards, which thing much diſguſted his own Native Subjects.

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[3] This Year alſo *John* and *Alexander*, Two Friers *Minors*, *Engliſhmen* by Birth, were ſent from the Pope with his Authority, to be Collectors (or rather Exactors) of his Money in *England*, pretending to ask Charity only, and to uſe no Force; and by this means they obtained the King's Licence to come over; but they were no ſooner here, but they went to the Chief Prelates, and very ſaucily required of them Money for the Pope's uſe; and ſometimes demanded Twenty Shillings for a Procuration, which was to be paid without delay; if not, they produced the Pope's Thundering Letters to afright and conſtrain them to it. When they came to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who was a great Admirer of that Order, he ſtood amazed at their Habit (which was more Soldier-like than Religious) but yet when they had ſhewed him the Pope's Letters, and demanded of him Six thouſand Marks to be forthwith paid out of his Biſhoprick, he anſwered with great Grief of Heart, That ſuch Exactions were never heard of before, and were very unjuſt, becauſe it was impoſſible to anſwer them; And ſeeing it concerned the whole Body of the Clergy and Laiety of the Kingdom, he could give them no anſwer in ſuch a difficult Affair, until he had firſt conſulted the *Community* of the ſaid Kingdom. Upon this they parted from him, and went to *St. Albans*, and demanded of the Abbot there Four hundred Marks, to be paid to them for the Pope's uſe; but they received much the ſame anſwer from him as they had before from the Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

[3] *Id. Ib.* Two Friers *Minors* coming into *England*, under pretence to ask Charity, prove very ſawcy in their Demands for the Pope. The Bp. of *Lincoln* amaz'd at their Confidence, denies to contribute any thing.

[4] About the ſame time the Pope, by the like Meſſengers, the Friers *Preachers* and *Minors*, ſent to all the Chief Prelates in *France*, and deſired them to lend him Money according to every one's Ability, and whatſoever they lent ſhould be repaid them without fail, when he was able; but as ſoon as this was known to the King of *France*, he prohibited them under pain of forfeiting all their Goods from lending ſuch Sums, leſt thereby his own Kingdom ſhould be impoveriſhed.

[4] *Id.* p. 723. The Pope tries the ſame Trick in *France*, but that K. commands his Clergy not to lend any Money.

[5] This Year one *Godefrid*, Son to the Præfect of *Rome*, was ſent Legate into *England*, although there was no occaſion for any ſuch, and Maſter *John Rufus* into *Ireland* inſtead of a Legate, that he might thereby elude the Privilege lately granted to King *Henry*, who ſo well managed his Maſter the Pope's Buſineſs there, that he extorted from them Six thouſand Marks, which Sum was conveyed to *London* by certain Religious Perſons (or *Friers*) and paid into the Pope's Treaſury.

[5] *Id. ib.* A new Legate ſent into *England*, without any juſt occaſion.

[1] The ſame Year King *Henry* followed the Example of the Great Men of *France*, who by their King's Conſent and Approbation had lately entred into a Confederacy, and made a ſtrict Decree againſt the inſatiable Avarice and Oppreſſion of the Court of *Rome*; and that the like Exactions and Extortions might for the future be prevented here, the King now ordained that theſe following Orders ſhould be inviolably obſerved throughout *England*: *Firſt*, That no Laick ſhould bring any Caſe before an Eccleſiaſtical Judge, unleſs it concerned a Marriage or Teſtament. *Secondly*, The King likewiſe preſcribed the Biſhops a certain Form, whereby to proceed in Caſes of Baſtardy, *viz.* to enquire whether they were born before or after Matrimony. *Thirdly*, That Clerks were pro-

[1] *Id.* p. 727. The K. in imitation of the Kingdom of *France*, iſſues out Orders that no Lay-man ſhould appear before an Eccleſiaſtical Judge, unleſs for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.

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With other good Regulations of the Spiritual Courts.

hibited by the King's Writ to commence any Action for Tythes before an Eccleſiaſtical Judge, by the Writ called *Indicavit*. *Fourthly*, That an Oath ſhould be adminiſtred to Clerks by the King's Juſtices, to diſcover whether they had proceeded in any caſe contrary to the King's Prohibition, whereas before they were not bound to ſwear but before an Eccleſiaſtical Judge in Spiritual Cauſes. *Fifthly*, Alſo concerning Clerks being taken by the King's Officers for Crimes laid to their Charge by Laicks upon Common Fame.

[2] *Id.* p. 728. The Pope's Exactions renewed upon the Abbey of *St. Albans.*

The Abbot threatens to appeal, but finds the Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe.

[2] In the beginning of *Lent*, the fore-mentioned *John* the *Minorite* again demanded of the Abbey of *St. Albans* Four hundred Marks by virtue of his Authority, and cited the Abbot to appear at *London* Three days after, either in Perſon, or by his Proxy, to ſatisfie the Pope's late Demands: The Abbot hereupon ſent his Archdeacon to appear for him at the Day appointed; who after he had demanded, and with difficulty obtained a Copy of the *Brief*, anſwered, That the Abbot deſigned to ſend ſpecial Meſſengers to *Rome* to acquaint the Pope with theſe Grievances, and for Remedy appealed to him, becauſe both the Abbot and Convent thought they ſhould meet with more Favour from his Holineſs than they could expect from him: But *John*, to be revenged on the Abbot, wrote Letters to the Pope, containing great Complaints againſt him; wherefore when his Meſſengers came to *Lyons* (where the Pope then reſided) they were very coldly received, and met with great Difficulties and ſome Checks; as namely, that they did not give that Reſpect, and pay that Reverence which was due to the Pope's Nuncio; and that their Abbot was the only Perſon amongſt all the Abbots of *England*, who refuſed to yield Obedience to his Commands: But when they ſaw how they were treated, and that there was no Remedy to be expected, they compounded for Two hundred Marks, and their Expences amounted to One hundred more. But when Frier *John* ſaw the Clergy (eſpecially the Abbots) ſo unwilling to yield to his Demands, he wrote to the Pope to have his Power enlarged: The Pope's Anſwer, together with the Letters of his additional Powers, ſee *in Addittament.* to *Matt. Paris*, p. 155, 160.

[3] *Id.* p. 730. Another Council ſummon'd at *Oxford* to conſult about the Pope's Exactions.

The Biſhops being faint-hearted, agree to another Contribution.

[3] About the ſame time the King finding the State of his Realm ſtill more endangered and impoveriſhed by theſe Papal Exactions, and the Money carried out of his Kingdom without any Advantage either to Church or State, ſummoned the whole Nobility of the Kingdom to meet at *Oxford* to conſult about it; but the Prelates in a more eſpecial manner, that they might conſider how the Church ſhould be relieved from thoſe Oppreſſions it now lay under; and although ſome of the Prelates had reſolved to refuſe the aforeſaid Contributions, yet their Hearts failing them when they met, they, contrary to all Expectation, conſented to a Contribution to the Pope of Eleven thouſand Marks; and the Clergy were conſtrained to pay it into the hands of the Biſhops of *Winchester* and *Norwich*; and ſuch as refuſed were wearied into a Compliance, by the Troubles and Damages they ſuſtained from Frier *John* the *Minorite*: Nor did the Abbot of *St. Albans* fare one jot the better, for all he had ſent the Pope Fourſcore Marks the Year

before; and they had now great reaſon to fear, leſt by a private and mutual Agreement between the Pope and the King, both the Church and State ſhould be expoſed to the like Exactions, ſince the Pope had wrote not long ſince to the Great Men of *England* to promote their giving Money to the King.

[4] This Year (being almoſt wholly taken up with theſe Contentions between the Pope and Temporal Princes) affords very little of Civil concerns at Home, only that *Baldwin*, the Titular Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, being driven from thence by the *Greeks*, came into *England* to ſollicite for Relief, yet he found here no very great effects of it.

[4] *Id.* p. 731. The Titular Emperour of *Conſtantinople* arrives in *England*.

[5] Not long after this, *Guy de Luſignan*, *William de Valence* and *Athelmar* a Clerk, all Three Sons to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *Marche*, (and the King's Half-Brethren by his Mother Queen *Iſabel*) came into *England* to make their Fortunes; where *William*, the Second Brother, being not long after Knighted, married *Joane* Daugh-of *Guarin de Muntgenſil*, and was ſome Years after, in her Right, made Earl of *Pembroke*; and the King did all he could to Enrich them, though to his own great Diſadvantage and Detriment.

[5] *Id.* p. 732. The K's Half-Brothers by the Mother, come over hither to make their Fortunes.

[1] Alſo the Sterling-Money of *England* was now ſo very much defaced by Clippers, that not only all the Letters thereof were cut away, but they ſcarce ſpared the Inner-Ring; whereupon the King's Council began diligently to examine and conſider of a Remedy to prevent it for the future; and it then ſeem'd convenient in divers Prudent Mens Judgments, rather to change the Matter, than the Form of it, ſince by reaſon of that, rather than this, the Money had ſuffered ſo great a Diminution: But what was done in this Affair, you will find under the following Year.

[1] *Id.* p. 733. The Coin much defaced in *England* by Clippers.

As for the Foreign Affairs of this Year, [2] the Day after *Michaelmas* ſome of the Princes of *Germany*, to whom the Right of Election belonged, met, and Choſe *William* Earl of *Holland*, a Young Nobleman of about Twenty Years of Age, King of the *Romans*; [3] but it was by the Procurement and Recommendation of the Pope, who had privately ſent him a great deal of Money to make War againſt the Emperour *Frederick*, that had been before depoſed in the Council of *Lyons*; yet for all this he could not be deprived, but made War againſt the Pope though with various Succeſſes.

[2] *Id.* p. 735. *William* Earl of *Holland*, Elected K. of the *Romans*.

[3] *Id.* p. 730.

[4] *Riehard* Earl of *Cornwall* went this Autumn into *France*, to demand his Right of that King, before he undertook his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, but return'd from thence towards the End of *October*, without obtaining any thing from him, though he was willing in himſelf to do Juſtice; but yet he was kept from it by the powerful Perſuaſions of his Great Men and Counſellors, who were the Earl's Enemies.

[4] *Id.* p. 739. The Earl of *Cornwall* goes into *France* to demand his Right, but returns as he went.

[5] King *Henry*'s Ambaſſadors alſo at the ſame time made a freſh Demand of *Normandy*, but all the Anſwer they could get, was, That the King of *France* had been now in the quiet Poſſeſſion of it for Forty Years: But this being no Satisfactory Anſwer, the King referred it to the Biſhops of *Normandy*; who thereupon gave their Opinions, That the *French* King had moſt Right to it, becauſe King *John* had undergone the Judgment of his Peers; But to this our Author

[5] *Id. ib.* As did alſo the K's Ambaſſadors, who went to demand *Normandy*.

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Author anſwers very well, That that King ought not to be Judged by his declared Enemies, neither ſhould the Son ſuffer for the Iniquity of his Father.

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[1] *Id.* p. 743. A general Parliament ſummon'd at *London.*

This Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, with many of his Great Men; [1] Soon after which he ſummoned the Nobility of the whole Kingdom of *England* to meet him at *London* eight days after *Candlemas*, where (beſides a great number of Barons, Knights, and Noblemen, as alſo Abbots, Priors, and Clerks,) there appeared nine Biſhops, and as many Earls; of the former were theſe, the Archbiſhop of *York*, and Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Norwich*, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter*, and *Carliſle*; of the latter, Earl *Richard*, the Earls of *Gloceſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, *Oxford*, and *Roger Bigot*, (now Earl-Mareſchal) with the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Ferrars*, *Warren*, and *Richmond*; but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was then beyond Sea, the Biſhop of *Durham* infirm, and the Biſhop of *Bath* lately dead. When they were aſſembled, the King required of them a pecuniary Aid; but they reproved him for asking it without Bluſhing, (as our Monk bluntly expreſſes it) ſeeing when they granted the laſt, he promiſed by his Charter, That he would not any more burthen his Great Men; Moreover they blamed him for his repeated Kindneſs and Liberality to Foreigners, and Contempt of his Native Subjects, for not Encouraging the Trade of his own Kingdom, and in taking and enacting unreaſonable Gifts from Merchants; And laſtly, For keeping Biſhopricks and Abbeys void in his own Hand: To theſe they added, That neither the Juſtitiary, Chancellor, nor Treaſurer, were made by the Common-Council of the Kingdom, as they were in his Predeceſſor's Reign.

The King requires a *Pecuniary* Aid, but is refuſed it; and why.

They then ſum up their Grievances.

[2] *Id.* p. 744.

[2] Now when the King heard theſe things, he ſeemed ſomewhat out of Countenance, and promiſed, That what was amiſs ſhould be ſpeedily amended; to which the Whole Body of them replied, That as they had often, ſo they would now patiently wait a while, and ſee whether he intended as he ſpake, and according as he performed his Promiſe, ſo would they their Obedience to him in all things: Upon which, the farther Conſideration of this Affair was put off till Fifteen days after *Midſummer*; but in the mean time the King's Heart became hard'ned, and ſo exaſperated againſt his Subjects, that he took no care to correct thoſe Exceſſes, according to the Promiſe he had ſo newly made them.

[3] *Id.* p 749. The Parliament meet again; and the K. makes them a notable Speech.

[3] At the Day appointed the Nobility of all *England* met again at *London*, and the King made them a Speech to this Effect, That they had not treated him very Civilly, but would impoſe mean and ſervile Conditions on him; and that which every one of them in private thought to be his Right, was yet denied Him, even that Authority which every Maſter exerciſed in his own Family, who might uſe whoſe and what Counſel he pleaſed, and put out and put in what Servants he thought fit in his own Houſe, but this, ſays He, You deny your King; and as Servants ought not to Judge, or impoſe any Difficulty upon their Lord, ſo neither might Vaſſals on their Prince; and therefore he was reſolved, neither to remove

the Chancellor, Juſtitiary, nor Treaſurer at their Pleaſure: But as to the other Propoſals, though Beneficial to the Kingdom, he gave dilatory Anſwers, and then added, That he expected from them a Pecuniary Aid for the Defence and Recovery of his Rights beyond the Seas, (which alſo was their own concern;) but they all Unanimouſly replied, That they would no longer impoveriſh themſelves to enrich Strangers, as they had formerly done, when they gave Money towards his laſt Expedition to *Gaſcoigny* and *Poictou*.

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And tells them he would remove none of his Officers at their Pleaſure. Yet obtains nothing from them thereby.

Whereupon the Parliament was Diſſolved in great diſorder, without any Benefit or Satiſfaction either to the King or themſelves: Inſomuch that the King was thereby reduced to very great neceſſities, [4] which forced him to expoſe to ſale his Jewels, Plate, and other Houſhold Utenſils; and ſuch Veſſels as were curiouſly wrought and guilded, were ſold, not according to their Value, but Weight. But as the King was enquiring where he ſhould find Buyers, upon ſome Body's anſwering in *London*, He replied, *If the Treaſury of Octavian* (meaning, I ſuppoſe, *Auguſtus*) *were to be ſold, on my Conſcience the City of* London *were able to purchaſe it*; and then added to this Effect, *Theſe ill-bred Citizens, who call themſelves* Barons, *abound in all things, and are indeed an inexhauſtible Magazine of Treaſure*; from which time the King reſolved to take the firſt Opportunity to ſpoil them of their Goods.

The Parliament is Diſſolved in great diſorder.

[4] *Id.* p. 794. The K. ſells his Plate and Jewels for ready Money to the Citizens, but owes them a Grudge for it.

[5] This Year alſo (though our Author has not given us the Day) all Clipt and Light Money was called in, and forbad to be paid or received, by Proclamation; and diligent Inquiſition was made to find out theſe Falſifiers and Corrupters of the Coin, and upon ſtrict ſearch the *Jews*, the *Courſini*, or *Italian* Uſurers, as alſo the Wooll-Merchants of *Flanders*, were all found guilty of this Crime.

[5] *Id.* p. 747. All Clipt Money is called in, and the Clippers enquired after, and found.

[1] But this ſudden calling in the Money did very much impoveriſh the People, for Exchange of Money was uſed but in very few Cities; and when they came thither, beſides the Loſs in Weight, they were fain to allow Thirteen Pence in the Pound for the bare Coinage; ſo that beſides the Labour and loſs of Time, the People received ſcarce Twenty Shillings of New Money for the Old they parted with: But as for the New Coin, it differ'd nothing from the Old in Figure, only that the Croſs now paſſed through the very Letters in the outward Rim. I have taken notice of this, to let the Reader obſerve, That no Alteration of Coin was ever made without great Loſs to the Nation.

[1] *Id.* p. 748. The People ſuffer great Loſs by the Alteration of the Coin.

[2] This Year on the Thirteenth of *October*, the King with many Prelates and Great Men met at *London*, to celebrate the Feaſt of the Tranſlation of St. *Edward*, and cauſed a new Fair to be proclaimed at *Weſtminſter*, to continue for Fifteen Days, and prohibited all other Fairs that uſed to be kept at that time of the Year, throughout *England*; and alſo all Trading in the City of *London* within doors and without, during that time, that ſo this Fair at *Weſtminſter* might be the more plentifully ſtored and frequented with all ſorts of People and Commodities; which Oppreſſion highly incenſed the City at that time.

[2] *Id.* p. 751. A new Fair proclaimed at *Weſtminſter*; during which no Trading was to be in *London*.

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[3] *Id.* p. 754. Several freſh Inſtances of the Pope's Oppreſſions.

But as for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, [3] the Pope continued his wonted Extortions from, and Oppreſſions of the *Engliſh* Nation, and again ſent his *Italians* to be without delay beneficed in *England*, one of whom going to the Abbot of *Abbindon* to be provided for, made choice of the Church of *St. Hellens* in the ſame Town, worth one hundred Marks *per Annum*; but the ſame day it became void the King ſent his Mandate to the Abbot, to confer it upon *Ethelmar* his Half-Brother, and that the King would protect and indemnifie him in ſo doing, whereupon the Abbot yielded to the King's Command; after which, on the Complaint of this *Italian*, the Pope cited the Old Abbot to appear before him at *Rome*, and then he being deſerted by the King, was conſtrained to take that weariſom and tedious Journey, where, after many Difficulties and Expences, he was at laſt forced to compound for Fifty Marks.

[4] *Id.* p. 749. The K. of *Fr.* begins his Voyage for the *Holy-Land.*

In Foreign Parts, that which happened worth taking notice of this Year, was, [4] That *Lewis* King of *France*, having long before undertaken the *Cruſado*, in *Autumn* began his Voyage for the *Holy-Land*; and paſſing by *Lyons*, he there took his Leave of the Pope, and ſo going on to *Marſeilles*, he Embarked there as many of his Army as he could carry along with him; the reſt being left behind for another Opportunity.

[5] *Id.* p. 750. *Conrade* being routed at *Aix-la-Chapelle* is taken, and *William* the New Emperor is Crown'd there.

[5] Alſo in *Germany*, *Conrade*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick*, marching with his Forces to the Relief of *Aix la Chapelle*, then beſieged by the Pope's Legate, and the Great Men of *Germany*, that Prince's Army was routed, and the City thereupon ſurrender'd to Mercy; in which not long after *William* Earl of *Holland* was crown'd Emperor (according to Cuſtom) by *Conrade*, Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, few of the Temporal Electors being preſent.

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[1] *Id.* p. 757, 758. The K. requires large New Years-Gifts of the Citizens; beſides ſends to divers of them to borrow Money.

And to ſeveral Great Men and Prelates.

But receives nothing but Excuſes and Denials, unleſs from the Abbot of *St. Albans.*

[2] *Id* p. 759.

[1] This Year the King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *London*, and required of the Citizens large New-Years Gifts; and not being content with this, he ſome time after ſent to the ſame Perſons to ſupply him with Money: This Meſſage they received with heavy Hearts, and complained, That the Liberties of the City which were ſo often Bought, Granted and Sworn to, could not protect them from being treated as Slaves: So at length (though not without great reluctancy) they were conſtrained to pay Two thouſand Pounds; but this would not ſatisfie the King's wants, therefore he was forced to apply himſelf to his Great Men one by one, and requeſted them to lend him Money, both to ſupply his Neceſſities, and pay his Debts, and alſo to Enable him to recover thoſe Rights which the King of *France* had invaded; and then in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner made his urgent Neceſſities known to the Prelates and Abbots, begging of them either to give, or lend him ſuch a Sum of Money, yet could obtain nothing but Excuſes and Denials, unleſs from the Abbot of *St. Albans*, from whom he received Sixty Marks. [2] This encouraged the King to hope for the like Succeſs from other Abbots and Priors, and accordingly he wrote to thoſe of *Eſſex* and *Hertfordſhire*, to lend him Money for his preſent Neceſſities; and at the end added his Promiſe faithfully to repay the ſame.

[3] The Pretence for borrowing this Money, was, That the Truce between himſelf and the King of *France* being now almoſt expired, he ſhould be at great Charges to recover his loſt Rights beyond the Seas; whereas indeed he durſt not undertake any ſuch Enterprize, the Pope having by his *Nuncio* lately forbid him, (though privately) under pain of *Excommunication* to diſturb any of the King of *France*'s Territories, during his abſence in the *Holy War*; but the true Reaſon was, That the King, during his laſt Expedition in *Poictou*, had ſo deeply run in Debt to the People of thoſe Parts, that all the Money he could by any means take up, or extort in *England*, would not ſerve to diſcharge thoſe Obligations.

[3] *Id. ib.* The K's Pretences for borrowing of Money were to recover his Rights in *Fr.* But indeed were for another end.

This Year [4] *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Durham*, being ſenſible of his great Age and Infirmities, reſigned his Biſhoprick, and withdrew himſelf from all Publick Affairs to a Private Life; whereupon the King recommended *Ethelmar* his Half-Brother to the Convent, and by Meſſengers and repeated Intreaties would fain have perſuaded them to chuſe him for their Biſhop: But they replied, That at his Coronation he had ſworn to Preſerve the Church's Liberties, and that the Perſon recommended was neither of ſufficient Age, nor Learning for ſo great a Charge: [5] The King anſwered, *Then he would keep the Biſhoprick eight or nine Years in his own Hands, and by that time he would be capable of it.*

[4] *Id. Ib.* *Nicholas* Bp of *Durham* reſigning his Biſhoprick, the K. recommends *Ethelmar* his Half-Brother to be *Elected*, but is refuſed.

[5] *Id.* p. 760.

[1] This Year in *June*, *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter* (although he had a little before undertaken the *Cruſado*) went over into *Gaſcoigny*, and ſubdued all that were in Rebellion againſt King *Henry*, and in every thing behaved himſelf with ſuch Fidelity and Courage, that he gained the Applauſe of all the King's Friends, and the Name of a Worthy Patriot: Alſo a little after, on the Third of *July*, died *Alexander* II. King of *Scotland*, a Prince of great Virtue and Wiſdom, leaving his Son *Alexander*, a Child of about Eight Years old, to ſucceed him.

[1] *Id.* p. 667. *Simon Montfort* goes over into *Gaſcoigny*, and ſubdues the Rebels there.

Alexander K. of *Scots* dies.

There happened nothing elſe this Year worth the noting, [2] but that two Merchants of *Brabant* were robbed near *Wincheſter* of Two hundred Marks, and not being able to obtain Juſtice from the Countrey againſt ſome that were foully ſuſpected of it, but inſtead of being found Guilty were acquitted by the Oath of their Compurgators; wherefore theſe Merchants came to the King who was then at that City, grievouſly complaining of the Injury and Injuſtice that had been done them; at which he being much incenſed, called before him the Bailiffs and Freemen of *Hampſhire*, charging them to find out and diſcover theſe Malefactors; and this was alſo enforced by the Biſhops denouncing all thoſe *Excommunicated*, who were any ways concerned in this Robbery. Now for the diſcovery of this, there were choſen a Jury of Twelve Men out of *Wincheſter*, and the County adjacent, to enquire in Particular concerning theſe Offenders: But this Inqueſt refuſing to diſcover them, and pretending Ignorance who they were, this their Diſhoneſty and Remiſſneſs ſo provoked the King, that he commanded them to be clapt up in Priſon, and another Inqueſt to be ſummoned out of the ſame Places; and theſe being afraid of the like Uſage as the former had met with, if they offered to conceal any of thoſe they knew to be Offenders, revealed and impeached a great many Men

[2] *Id. ib.* The robbing of two Merchants of *Brabant*.

The Robbers are enquired into, and willfully conceal'd by the Jury.

Whereupon the K. cauſes another to be ſummon'd, who impeach a great many Perſons of Note.

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Some of the K's own Servants being alſo Convicted.

About Thirty of the Ring-leaders are executed.

of good Subſtance and Reputation dwelling about *Southampton* and *Taunton*, and to ſome of whom the King had committed the Bailiwick or Charge of the County for the Apprehending of Robbers: Alſo ſome of the King's own Servants and Croſs-Bow-men, were Accuſed, Convicted, and Executed, who at the Gallows confeſſed themſelves Guilty; yet excuſed themſelves, by alledging, That the King had for a long time ſtopt their Wages, ſo that having nothing to live on, they muſt either have ſold their Horſes and Equipage, or elſe rob upon the High-way. The Concluſion was, That about Thirty of the Ring-leaders of theſe Malefactors being executed, the Knot was pretty well broke, and the Countrey reſtored to its former Security: I have taken notice of this to let the Reader ſee, that this Age is not more Wicked and Corrupt than that which was Four hundred years ago, when even the Beſt Men in a County, nay the King's own Servants and Guards, made no Conſcience of turning Highway-men.

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[3] *Id.* p. 772.

Earl *Richard*'s Lady brought to bed of a Son

The Earl not long after goes beyond Sea, with great Attendance.

This [3] Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, and after the Celebration of that Feſtival came to *London*, about which time, *Cincia*, Earl *Richard*'s Lady, was brought to Bed of a Son, who was Chriſtned *Edmund*; ſoon after many of the Nobility of *England*, (the Chief of whom were the Earl laſt mentioned, and the Earl of *Gloceſter*, *Henry de Haſtings* a Baron, *Roger de Thurkeby*, and divers other Nobles, beſides the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *London*, and *Worceſter*, and with them the Archdeacons of *Oxford* and *Bedford*, and ſeveral other Clerks) went all beyond Sea. The Errand they went on ſeem'd only to accompany Earl *Richard* through *France*, who travelled with great Magnificence to treat with the Pope being then at *Lyons*; but the Biſhops took this Opportunity to go thither about their own private Affairs.

[4] *Id. ib.*

The K. with many of the Nobility undertake the *Cruſado*.

Earl *Richard* returns into *England*.

A ſhort Account of the deſign of his Journey.

[5] *Id.* p. 779.

[4] On the Seventeenth of *March* the King himſelf, and many of the Nobility and Clergy undertook the *Cruſado*; there were in all about Five hundred Knights, beſides an innumerable Number of Eſquires and Common Soldiers. In *May* Earl *Richard* returned into *England* from the Pope's Court, where he had been received and treated both by the Pope and Cardinals in a moſt ſplendid and magnificent Manner, to the Admiration of all that were preſent at his Entrance, and ſaw his Reception. This occaſioned various Conjectures, but moſt People thought that the Pope, knowing him to be both Rich and Ambitious, then deſign'd to promote him to the Empire, and that this was the main Cauſe of his Journey; [5] with him the Earls of *Gloceſter* and *Leiceſter*, and ſeveral other Great Men and Biſhops, likewiſe returned into *England*.

[1] *Id.* p. 783.

A great diſturbance in *London* about the K's granting certain Liberties to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*.

The K. ſtops the Grant.

[1] About *Midſummer* there was a great Diſturbance in the City of *London*, concerning ſome Liberties belonging to the Citizens, and which the King had granted to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*; whereupon the Mayor, with the whole Community of the City, made their Complaint to the King, but without obtaining any Remedy: Then they applied themſelves to Earl *Richard*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and ſome other Great Men, who went to the King, and ſeverely blamed him for infringing thoſe Charters which his Predeceſſors had granted to the City, and alſo ſharply reproved the Ab-

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bot, as one that had occaſioned and moved the King to this Violation; by which means the King was reſtrained from proceeding any further in his Grant to that Abbot.

[2] *Id.* p. 785.

The Pope upon the K.'s Complaint, forbids the Great Men of *England*, who had undertaken the *Cruſado* from going beyond Sea.

Soon after this, [2] the King complained to the Pope, That his Great Men who had undertaken the *Cruſado*, deſigned to begin their Journey to the *Holy Land* before he himſelf was prepared for it; and that they were more ready to follow the King of *France*, his Capital Enemy, than himſelf. Upon this, the Pope by his Letters, under pain of *Excommunication*, prohibited any from going without the King's Leave; who, to make the Prohibition more effectual, ſent to the Wardens of his Sea-Ports to hinder any of his * Great Men, that had thus taken the *Cruſado* upon them, from paſſing over Sea.

* *Magnates.*

[3] *Id. ib.*

A rich *Jew* of *York* ſeverely fined for falſifying a Charter.

Alſo [3] this Year a rich *Jew* of the City of *York* named *Aaron*, being convicted of counterfeiting or falſifying a certain Charter, was ſeverely fined, and paid to the King Fourteen thouſand Marks, and to the Queen a proportionable Sum in Gold; ſo that it was computed that this *Jew* had paid to the King Thirty thouſand Marks of Silver ſince his coming from beyond Sea, and to the Queen Two hundred Marks of Gold, as the ſame *Jew* informed our Author *Matth. Paris*, * who ſays they were not to be pitied, becauſe they were proved to be Corrupters of the King's Seals and Charters.

* Ib. n 50.

[4] *Id.* p. 783.

The K. excuſes his uſing the Clauſe of *Non-obſtante* from the P.'s Example.

But here to intermix ſomewhat of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs: [4] The King having about this time granted to a certain Knight of mean Birth (becauſe he had Married the Siſter of *John Manſel* his Clerk or Secretary) *Free Warren* within the Lands belonging to *St. Albans* Abbey, and that contrary to the ancient Charters of his Predeceſſors; and being reproved for this by our Author himſelf (who was not afraid to do it) all his Excuſe for it, was, *Why, does not the Pope do the ſame thing, adding in his Briefs or Letters,* * Notwithſtanding any Privilege or Indulgence? Yet preſently upon better Thoughts he ſaid, *Well, well, we will conſider further of it:* But for all this, the Remembrance both of his Words and Promiſes vaniſh'd with the ſpeaking. This I take notice of, to ſhew the Reader after whoſe Imitation the Clauſe of *Non-obſtante* then crept into the Grants of this King.

* *Non-obſtante.*

[5] *Id.* p. 785.

The K. ſends *Langly* to enquire into the Tranſgreſſors upon Foreſts, who executes his Charge with great ſeverity.

[5] About the ſame time the King, to get more Money, ſent *Geoffrey de Langly* as his Officer or Inquiſitor, to ſearch into the Tranſgreſſions upon Foreſts; which Charge he executed with that Violence and Extortion (eſpecially in the *Northern* Parts) as exceeded Belief, clapping up Gentlemen in Priſon for but muttering againſt his unjuſt Proceedings, and ruining divers of the beſt Quality for killing but a Deer, or a Hare, albeit it were in the very Highway; by which means, though he gain'd the King a great Sum of Money, yet it loſt him the Affections of his People, when he came to ſtand moſt in need of them, as you will find hereafter.

[1] *Id.* p. 800.

The Bp. of *Wincheſter* deceaſing, the K. recommends his Br. *Ethelmar* to the Monks to be Elected.

But to add ſome other Eccleſiaſtical Matters: [1] About the end of *September*, *William Ralé* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* died at *Tours*; upon which News, the King ſent very kind and obliging Letters to the Monks of that Convent, to perſwade them to chooſe *Ethelmar* his Half-Brother for their Biſhop: [2] Whereupon they were under

[2] *Id.* p. 801.

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great Difficulties how to manage themſelves; for in the firſt place, they durſt not reject the King's Requeſt, for fear leſt further Inconveniences might enſue, becauſe they thought the Pope was the King's cloſe Friend; neither were they willing to elect one, whom they knew to be altogether inſufficient for ſo great a Truſt; yet at laſt, after many Diſputes, the King's powerful Requeſt, or rather Sermon, which he made them in their Chapter-Houſe upon this Text, *Righteouſneſs and Truth have kiſſed each other*, ſo far prevailed with them, that *Ethelmar* was choſen Biſhop; and forthwith Envoys were ſent to give the Pope notice of it, with Letters full of Intreaties and Promiſes, to induce him to approve of what was ſo very acceptable to the King.

Who upon the K.'s making a Speech to them, is Elected Biſhop.

[3] *Id.* p. 803. The Pope by a Meſſage deſires the K.'s Leave to ſtay for ſome time at *Bourdeaux*.

But [3] ſoon after this, the King received ſolemn Meſſages from the Pope, to deſire his Leave to let him reſide for ſome time at *Bourdeaux*, becauſe the Earls of *Poictou* and *Provence*, Brothers to the King of *France* (who was lately taken Priſoner by the *Saracens*) looked upon the Pope as the principal Author of his Miſfortune, in that he had hindred thoſe who had undertaken the *Cruſado* from proceeding according to their Deſign, and for Money had abſolved many from their Vow: and there had paſſed hard Words between the Pope and thoſe Princes, inſomuch that they parted in great Anger; and therefore they made all the haſt they could into *England*, to ſollicite the King to afford them what Aſſiſtance he was able in this Juncture, for the Relief of the King their Brother; urging to him the Vow he at preſent lay under. This Requeſt of the Pope's reduced the King to great Streights; for if he conſented to it, he made the Emperor his Enemy, and beſides, the Pope might from *Bourdeaux* eaſily paſs into *England* (which he had often talk'd of) where his Company was not at all deſired; but again, if the King refuſed it, he incurred his Diſpleaſure; whereupon the King took longer time to conſider what Anſwer he ſhould return.

Whereupon the K. takes time to conſider of it.

[4] *Id.* p. 804. The death of *Frederick* the Emperor, with his Character.

In foreign Parts what had happened moſt conſiderable [4] was, the Death of the Emperor *Frederick* II. who notwithſtanding he had been *Excommunicated*, and Depoſed by the Pope and Council of *Lyons* divers Years, was a Prince of great Valour and Prudence; and for all that the Pope and his Confederates in *Germany* were able to do againſt him, maintained his Dignity till his Death.

[5] *Id.* p. 793. The K. of *Fr.* and his two Brothers taken Priſoners in *Egypt* by the *Saracens*.

But to ſay ſomething more of Foreign Affairs: [5] *Lewis* King of *France*, having the Year before taken the City of *Damiata* in *Egypt*, had great hopes likewiſe of getting all that part of the Country next *Paleſtine*; and therefore marching out this Year from *Damiata*, paſſed that Branch of the River *Nile* which runs by *Roſetta*, and tho' the King defeated the *Saracens* in ſeveral Skirmiſhes there, yet encamping at laſt near a place called *Pharamia*, *Sultan Melec* came upon him with a great Force, and the King's being much weakned with Sickneſs, he would fain have retreated with them to *Damiata*; but it was then too late, for his whole Army was cut in pieces in their return, and the King with his two Brothers *Alphonſo* and *Charles*, taken Priſoners; for whoſe Ranſom and his own, as alſo for all the other *Chriſtian* Captives that were taken Priſoners with them, the King was forced to ſurrender the City of *Damiata* to the

He is forced to ſurrender *Damiata*, and pay a great Sum of Money for his Ranſom.

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Saracen Sultan, beſides the payment of Four hundred thouſand *Livres*; and ſo making a Truce with this Prince for Ten Years, and the King and the reſt of the Princes being ſet free, they ſailed to *Acon*; but not daring to ſtay there neither, for fear the *Saracens* (who threatned to break the Truce) ſhould beſiege it, he ſent home his Brothers, and then quitting that Place, did nothing more worth taking notice of; but having viſited the Holy Places as a Pilgrim, returned home about Four Years after.

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[1] *Id.* p. 807. The K. for want of Money, retrenches the Hoſpitality of his Court.

[1] This Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, but by reaſon of his great want of Money, the uſual Plenty and Hoſpitality of his Court was laid aſide, and the accuſtomed Diſtribution of New-year's Gifts and Liveries were omitted; yet none were acceptable Gueſts at Court, who did not bring ſome Gift or Preſent to the King, Queen, or Prince *Edward*, and the Principal Courtiers.

[2] *Id.* p. 810.

Then [2] on *Twelfth-day Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, after he had in ſome meaſure reduced *Gaſcoigny* to the King's Obedience, came into *England*, accompanied only with Three Eſquires, and going to the King, acquainted him with the great Charge and Expence he had been at to repreſs thoſe Rebels, but could no longer maintain it out of his own Revenues; therefore he deſired a ſpeedy Supply both of Men and Money; which was granted him: And having received out of the King's Treaſury Three hundred Marks, and gathered together what Money he could amongſt his own Tenants, and thoſe of his Wards, he prepared to return into *Gaſcoigny*, as he did with a new Reinforcement the next Spring following.

[3] *Id. Ib.* A farther Progreſs of *Non-obſtante's* in the K.'s Letters and Charters.

[3] About this time alſo there was a Suit commenced between *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and a certain Baron, about a Mannor which the Biſhop's Predeceſſor had ſold away, and which he would fain recover again: Now the Biſhop having occaſion to ſtay beyond Sea, obtained the King's Letters of Protection, that the Suit ſhould be ſtopt till his return; but in the mean while the Baron his Adverſary obtained other Letters from him, with this Clauſe, *That* * *notwithſtanding the former Letter, the Baron's Cauſe ſhould not be delayed.* So that now thoſe Writs, or Letters, with that deteſtable Addition of *Non-obſtante*, became very frequent, which being obſerved by *Roger de Thurkeby* a prudent Man, and one of the King's Juſtices, he ſaid with a deep Sigh, *Alas, alas! what Times are we fallen into! Behold the Civil Court is corrupted in imitation of the Eccleſiaſtical, and the River is poiſoned from that Fountain.* This I have alſo added (though omitted by Dr. *Brady*) to give you a perfect Hiſtory of the Original and Progreſs of *Non-obſtante's* in the King's Writs and Charters.

* *Non-obſtante.*

[4] *Id.* p. 811. *H. de Bathe* accuſed of Bribery and Extortion.

[4] On *Candlemas-day Henry de Bathe* the King's Juſtitiary, and very Learned in the Laws, was accuſed to the King for Bribery and Extortion, and that thereby he had raiſed a very great Eſtate upon the Ruin of others; upon this he was attached, and when *John Manſel* Clerk, one of the King's Principal Councellors, offered to be his Bail, the King refuſed him; adding, that his Fault was little leſs than Treaſon; but upon the importunate Interceſſions of the Biſhop of *London* and ſeveral others, he was ſet at

Liberty,

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Liberty, and Twenty four Knights bound for his appearance at a time appointed.

[5] *Id.* p. 814. *H. de Bathe* accuſed in Parliament for incenſing the K. againſt the Baronage of *England.*

[5] On the Seventeenth of *February* (according to appointment) the Parliament met at *London*, where appeared the above-mentioned *Henry de Bathe*, accompanied with a great Train of his own and his Wife's Relations; and then (beſides other Crimes) he was accuſed for incenſing the whole Baronage againſt the King, upon which a general Sedition was like to have enſued; and the King was ſo highly provoked againſt him, that he cauſed it to be openly proclaimed, both in his own Court and in *London*, That if any Perſon had any Action or Complaint againſt him, he ſhould come in, and be fully heard. Then one of his Fellow-Juſtices laid to his Charge, That for a great Bribe he had acquitted and diſcharged one convicted of notorious Crimes; which further ſo enraged the King, that he again publickly declared, *That if any one ſhould kill* Henry de Bathe, *he would pardon him*; and he had been ſoon diſpatched, had not the Prudence of *John Manſel*, and the Threats of the Biſhop of *London* ſecured him from Violence. [1] But at length having made Earl *Richard* his Friend by great Preſents, through his Powerful Mediation, and the Promiſe of a round Sum of Money, he gained his Liberty; and ſo about the end of *July* following, he returned to Court, and was reconciled to the King, upon the payment of Two thouſand Marks. From whence we may obſerve, That in thoſe Times it was all one to be Innocent or Guilty, provided the Party accuſed were Powerful, and would part with his Money freely.

He is alſo accuſed of Bribery, at which the K. is much enraged.

[1] *Id.* p. 815. Yet by the Mediation of Earl *Rich.* and the Promiſe of a round Sum of Money, he is reconciled to the K.

[2] *Id.* p. 815. *Ethelmar* is confirmed by the Pope in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter.*

[2] About this time *Ethelmar* the King's Half-Brother was by the Pope approved of, and confirmed in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*; and at the ſame time his Holineſs ſent to the King to make a Proviſion of Five hundred Marks (in Eccleſiaſtical Revenues) for the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Son, a Child. [3] Likewiſe the ſame Year part of *Wales* was wholly ſubdued, and received the *Engliſh* Laws; and that ſide of it which borders upon *Cheſhire*, was committed to the Government of *Alan de la Zouch*, who anſwered to the King Eleven hundred Marks *per Annum*; which deſerves to be taken notice of, as being not mentioned in the *Welſh* Chronicles.

[3] *Id.* p. 816.

As for Domeſtick Matters (according to the ancient Manuſcript Chronicle of the City of *London*) this Year in *Whitſon*-week, the * *Community* of the City ſwore Allegiance to Prince *Edward* at St. *Paul's* Croſs, ſaving the Fidelity they owed to the King his Father, who then alſo granted them a Confirmation of all Liberties they enjoyed in the Time of King *Henry* the *Firſt*; and alſo that for the future the Mayor ſhould be ſworn before the Barons of the Exchequer at *Weſtminſter*, and not before the King in Perſon; for which Charter the City paid him Five hundred Marks.

* *Communia Civitatis.*

But to intermix ſomewhat of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs: [4] Some time after, the Pope ſent *John de Camecava* his Nephew and Chaplain into *England*, * with Letters to the Abbot and Convent of St. *Albans*, commanding them to confer upon him the Parſonage of *Wendgrave*, or any other good Benefice belonging to their Patronage (if deſired by the above-named *John*) when it became void, *Notwithſtanding* that Indulgence or Privilege lately granted to

[4] *Id.* p. 817, 818.

* *Vid.* the Letters at large in *M. Paris.*

the *Engliſh*, that the Benefices of *Roman* Clerks becoming vacant either by Ceſſion or Death, ſhould not be conferr'd on any *Italians*.

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[5] *Simon Montfort*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, having this Summer, by divers great Succeſſes againſt the Rebels in *Gaſcoigny*, broken their ſtrength, and had taken *Chaſtellion*, a Caſtle of great Importance, and their common Refuge; he, together with his Wife and Earl *Guido de Luſignan*, the Third Half-Brother of the King, landed at *Dover*, in *November*, of which when he had notice, he commanded his Great Men and the Citizens of *London* to receive his Brother with all ſolemnity and ſigns of Joy; and after he had ſupplied his Wants by his Royal Bounty, he return'd home plentifully furniſhed.

[5] *Id.* p. 825. *Simon Montfort* having ſubdued the Rebels in *Gaſcogny*, returns into *England*, with the K's Half-Brother. How he is received by the Great Men and Citizens of *London*.

I have nothing more to add to the Civil Affairs of this Year, but to obſerve from the ſame [1] Author, That the King now began to imitate his Father, and ſlighting his own Natural Subjects, to ſettle his Affections upon Strangers, ſuch as were (beſides his Half-Brother above-mentioned) the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Hereford*, and *Peter* of *Savoy*; whence aroſe ſo many Princes in *England*, who made nothing to ſeize upon Men's Horſes, Carts, Victuals, and other Neceſſaries, without paying for them: And beſides, the *Poictovins* did not ſpare the very Noblemen, but did all they could to Oppreſs and Impoveriſh them, eſpecially the Abbots and Priors; theſe things loſt the King the Love of his Subjects, and were one main cauſe of thoſe great Diſturbances, which afterward enſued.

[1] *Id.* p. 816. The K. ſettles his Affections upon Strangers.

[2] As for other Foreign Affairs, this Year affords not many worth the Noting, only that in *France*, during the Impriſonment of King *Lewis*, a great Multitude of *Sheapherds* and other *Peaſants* got together under their Leader, (an Apoſtate Monk, an *Hungarian*) who upon pretence of delivering the King from Captivity, made a dangerous Inſurrection; with theſe joined a great Number of Rogues, Thieves, and all ſorts of Malefactors, ſo that they ſoon made up a conſiderable Army; and then railing againſt the Biſhops, and all the Religious Orders, marched to *Orleans*, where they fell upon the Scholars, plunder'd them, and killed ſeveral; till being *Excommunicated* by the Biſhop of that City, and going into *Berry*, the People of that Province roſe upon them and put them to the rout, and killed a great many; and thoſe that were taken being Hang'd, the reſt laid down their Arms, and vaniſhed as it were in a Moment.

[2] *Id.* p. 822. A great Inſurrection of Peaſants in *France*, under pretence of ſetting their King at Liberty. Being *Excommunicated*, they march into *Berry*, and are taken and put to Death.

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[3] This Year King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmas* at *York*, becauſe his Daughter *Margaret* (being now of Age) was to be ſolemnly married to *Alexander* the Young King of *Scots*; and for the more famous Celebration of theſe Nuptials, (beſides that King and his Mother the Queen) there was a very great Confluence of the Clergy and Nobility, not only out of *England* and *Scotland*, but ſeveral from *France*. Then on *Chriſtmas-day* King *Henry* Knighted *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and the next Day early in the Morning the Lady *Margaret* was married to him, upon which he did Homage to the King of *England* for *Lothian* and the other Lands he held of him; and after that it was demanded, that he ſhould do the ſame Homage and Fealty to his Lord the King of *England* for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as his Predeceſſors had formerly done; To which the King

[3] *Id.* p. 829. The K. keeps his *Chriſtmas* at *York*, in order to marry his Daughter to the King of *Scots*. And there does Homage for *Lothian*, but being demanded to do it for all *Scotland*, wiſely puts it off.

Of

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of *Scots* (though very Young) wiſely replied, That he came thither voluntarily at the King's Invitation, and by the Marriage of his Daughter to unite himſelf more cloſely to him; but was not prepared to give an Anſwer to ſuch hard Queſtions, for he had not conſulted his Nobility about ſo difficult an Affair. When the King heard this modeſt Reply, he would not preſs him any farther, (leſt the deſigned Mirth and Jollity of the Nuptial Solemnity, ſhould be thereby diſturbed,) but paſſed it by in Silence, till a fitter Opportunity. The Marriage-Ceremonies being now over, that King (having obtain'd whatever he could in reaſon expect from King *Henry* his Father-in-Law) returned with his Wife, the Young Queen, into *Scotland*.

And returns Home.

[4] *Id.* p. 831. **The P. ſends to K. *Henry* to haſten his Preparations for the *Holy-Land*.**

[4] Soon after this, the Pope wrote to King *Henry* to haſten his Preparations for the *Holy-Land*, to proſecute the Vow he lay under, and give what Aid and Relief he could to the King of *France*; and if he would not go himſelf in Perſon, not to hinder others who ſtood obliged by the ſame Vow. The King, to ſhew his readineſs to anſwer the Pope's requeſt, took great quantities of Money from the *Jews*, nor were his *Chriſtian* Subjects much leſs ſpared.

[5] *Id.* p. 832. **The Nobility of *Gaſcoigny* accuſe *Simon Montfort* of Unfaithfulneſs and Avarice.**

But the Earl upon pleading his Innocency is furniſhed with Money.

[5] In the Spring following, the Noblemen of *Gaſcoigny* ſent over their Complaints to the King againſt *Simon* Earl of *Leiceſter*, accuſing him of Unfaithfulneſs and Treachery, heaping together great Sums of Money from all ſorts of People, under pretence of taking it for the King's Uſe, but indeed turning it wholly to his own; but ſo ſoon as the Earl heard what was laid to his Charge, he went to the King and pleaded his Innocence, ſaying, *He wonder'd he ſhould give more credit to his Rebellious* Gaſcoigns, *than to him, who had given ſuch evident Proofs of his Fidelity*; To whom the King replied, *That if he were Innocent, a ſtrict Enquiry would render him the more Remarkable*; ſo the Earl (though ſomewhat humbled with this Anſwer) was again furniſhed with Money: But before his return into *Gaſcoigny*, they would have revolted from their Allegiance to the King of *England*, and ſought out a new Lord, could they have found any other Countrey to have ſold their Wines in with as good advantage.

[1] *Id.* p. 836, 837. **The Earl upon his return is accuſed by the *Gaſcoigns*.**

[1] Soon after the Earl's return, the Great Men of *Gaſcoigny* agreed to ſend publick Meſſengers to the King of *England*, to acquaint him how inhumanely his Faithful Subjects of that Countrey were treated by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and drew up a freſh Charge or Accuſation againſt him, which was teſtified by the Common Seals of their Cities, Great Men, Caſtellans, and Bailiffs; and this was carried to the King by the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* and ſeveral Noblemen, who landed in *England* about *Whitſontide*, and found the King at *London*; before whom they again made [2] a lamentable Complaint of the Treachery and Tyranny of the Earl of *Leiceſter*: But the King would not give too haſty a Belief to their Complaints, becauſe he himſelf had found them Traytors, when he was in *Gaſcoigny*; but waited till the return of *Nicholas de Molis* and *Drogo Valentine*, whom he had ſent thither to Enquire into the Truth of their Accuſation.

[2] *Id.* p. 838. **But the King would not give too haſty a Belief to their Complaints.**

[3] Theſe

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[3] Id. p. 836. But ſends over Commiſſioners, who on their return make a Report in his favour.

The Earl having made E. *Richard*, &c. his Friends, juſtifies himſelf.

The K. not being able to hide his Reſentments, calls the Earl Traytor, who thereupon gives him the Lie, with other groſs Language.

Yet the King is fain to be reconciled to him.

[3] Theſe at their return reported to the King, that they found ſome who had been very ſeverely treated by the Earl, yet (as they believed) but according to their deſerts. The Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, and ſuch as came with him, hearing this, required they might prove their Accuſation, and then have Judgment, and proteſted upon Oath, they would never obey the Earl, and begged of the King to provide them a new Governour, but his Charge was then no farther enquired into, becauſe he was abſent; However, a Day was appointed throughly to Examine this Affair. In the mean time *Leiceſter* had procured Earl *Richard*, and the Earls of *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, and ſeveral other Noblemen and Men of Quality, who were his entire Friends, to be preſent at the hearing of his Cauſe: And when the Earl appeared, he ſo well made out his Innocence, and vindicated himſelf, that he ſilenced moſt of his Adverſaries; tho' when the King perceived that his Brother *Richard* and the other Noblemen there preſent ſided with the Earl, he had much ado to reſtrain the Reſentments he had conceived againſt him; And after ſeveral Debates as well as Reflections upon each other, no ſooner did the Earl repeat the Services he had done the Crown, and mention the Promiſes and Grants the King had made him, to repay the Expences he had been at in his Service, and make bold to demand of him the Performance of his Royal Word and Engagement, by a Recompence for his Charges; but the King replied, *He would not ſtand to any Promiſe he had made to one that was a Traytor*; whereupon, the Earl told the King *He Lied*; *and were he not a King, he would make him eat his Words*; asking, (in a reproachful manner) *Whether any Man could believe he was a* Chriſtian, *or whether he had been at* Confeſſion? The King replied, *Yes:* The Earl anſwered, *What availeth Confeſſion without Penance and Satisfaction?* To which the King return'd, *That he never had more reaſon to repent of any thing, than that he had ſuffered him to come into* England, *and that he had beſtow'd ſuch Honours and Preferments upon One that had ſo little Gratitude and Manners*; and the King had immediately cauſed him to be Apprehended and Impriſoned for this Inſolence and Sawcineſs, but that he had notice, that ſome of the Great Men would abet and ſupport him: At length, by the Interpoſition of Friends, they parted from each other, outwardly reconciled. Which Relation, as it ſhews the Inſolent and haughty Temper of this Earl, which few Princes beſides King *Henry* could have born with, and patiently put up ſo great an Affront as the *Lie*; ſo likewiſe it is no wonder, if the King, as he before was afraid of him, ever after hated him mortally, and only waited an Opportunity to Ruine him.

[4] Id. p. 844. The Earl is again ſent into *Gaſcoigny*.

[4] Soon after, the King ordered the Earl of *Leiceſter* to return into *Gaſcoigny*, telling him, That *if he was ſuch a Lover of War, he might there find Employment enough, and alſo a Reward anſwerable to his Merits, as his Father had done before him*; To which the Earl boldly replied, *That he would go over and never return, till he had wholly ſubdued the Enemies, and reduced the Rebellious Subjects of an Ungrateful Prince*; and preſently made all Preparations poſſible for his Expedition.

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[5] *Id.* p. 845. As ſoon as the Earl is gone back, the K. declares the Prince his Son L. of *Gaſcoigny.*

[5] But not long after the Earl's departure, the King called to him the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, and all the *Gaſcoignes* that came over with him, and were ſtill about *London*, and declared to them, (though untruly) That his Brother Earl *Richard*, whom he had formerly made Governour of their Country, neither valued it, nor cared to ſee it; whereupon he gave them notice, that he had conferred it upon Prince *Edward*, his Eldeſt Son.

Which highly rejoices the *Gaſcoignes.*

This much rejoiced the *Gaſcoignes*, and forthwith all that were preſent did their Homage, and ſwore Fealty to him; the King reſerving to himſelf the Supreme Dominion thereof: Then after they had received many Gifts and Preſents from Prince *Edward*, they prepared for their return into *Gaſcoigny*, where they found all People very well pleaſed with their new Governour, and very buſie in making Preparations both to receive him, and countermine the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Deſigns, between whom and the *Gaſcoignes* there was ſhortly after a ſmart Skirmiſh; wherein the Earl with much difficulty eſcaped being taken or kill'd, but he was happily relieved by a Knight, who had been a little before taken Priſoner himſelf; ſo the Ambuſh being diſcovered which they had laid for him, the Earl, by his Aſſiſtance, ſoon gained the Advantage, and having made five of their Principal Men Priſoners, put the reſt to flight.

The E. hardly eſcapes being ſlain by the *Gaſcoignes.*

[1] *Id.* p. 846. A great Complaint againſt the Oppreſſion of Foreigners.

[1] This Year there were abundance of Complaints among all ſorts of People, both Clerks and Laicks, of the cruel Oppreſſions and Exactions they ſuffer'd from Foreigners, but more eſpecially the *Poictovins*; and when any Man complained he was Injured, and ſought remedy by Law, theſe *Poictovins* would reply, *What did their Law, *Aſſizes, or Cuſtoms of the Kingdom concern them, they valued them not?* Which very much vexed the King's Natural Subjects; but above all, when they ſaw ſome of the *Engliſh* tread in the ſame Steps with thoſe Strangers.

* i.e. *Statutes.*

[2] *Id.* p. 849. Almoſt all the Prelates of *England* meet the K. at *London*, where the Pope's Demand of the Tenths of all Eccleſiaſtical Revenues for Three Years is propoſed to them.

[2] On the Thirteenth of *October* (being the Feaſt of St. *Edward*) all the Prelates of *England* (except the Biſhop of *Cheſter* who was infirm, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *Hereford*, that were beyond Sea, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, who was abſent for ſome reaſon as then unknown) met the King at *London*, where was propounded to them the Pope's Demand, That the *Tenths* of the Revenues of the whole Church for Three Years, ſhould be ſet a-part, and paid towards the defraying the King's Expences in his Journey to the *Holy-Land*; and this not to be levied according to the old Value of Church-Livings, but according to a new Valuation, and the ſtricteſt Inquiſition of the King's Collectors or Officers; and the King's Agents then offer'd, That if they would pay down Two Years value according to the Pope's Precept, then that of the Third Year, or at leaſt Half of it (although not granted in the Bull) ſhould by the King's Bounty be remitted; To all which the Biſhop of *Lincoln* anſwered, *That they proceeded upon a ſuppoſition which was not granted, namely, That they had conſented to this Curſed Contribution*; when the Elect of *Wincheſter* replied, *How can we contradict both the Pope and the King? Eſpecially ſince the* French *have conſented to the like, ſince an Act often repeated begets a Cuſtom*; with him agreed the Biſhops of *London*, *Chicheſter*, and *Worceſter*, as did almoſt all the reſt, only *Saliſbury* fluctuated, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſtill moved.

Which is refuſed by the Bp. of *Lincoln*, but agreed to by the Biſhop-Elect of *Wincheſter*, and ſome others.

that they ſhould intreat his Majeſty, that for the Health of his Soul he would remit this Severity; which at laſt was agreed to by the major part of them: But when the King heard their Anſwer, he fell into ſuch a Paſſion, that it frighted all about him; yet at length being ſomewhat appeaſed by thoſe that were there preſent, he ſent the Biſhops word, That they did not only oppoſe the Pope and himſelf, but alſo *Jeſus Chriſt* and the *Univerſal Church*: To which the Biſhops anſwered, That if the Pope did but truly underſtand how they and all the Kingdom had been impoveriſhed and oppreſſed on every ſide, by the Enlargement of his Foreſts, his Juſtices Itinerant, and divers new-invented Projects, he would not think it ſtrange that they ſhould oppoſe this Contribution; adding thereto many other Aggravations of the King's Injuſtice and Breach of his Coronation-Oath, too long to be here particularly mentioned, for which I refer the curious Reader to the Author himſelf: So when the King with great importunity ſtill urged the payment of it, they anſwered him, *That both the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury *and* York *were abſent, and they could not do any thing without the Conſent of their Primates.*

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The moſt part remonſtrate againſt it, which puts the K. into a Paſſion; but the Biſhops ſtill perſiſt in their denial, and on what grounds.

[3] After which, the King perſiſting in his wonted exorbitant Courſes, ceaſed not to beſtow the vacant Benefices on Strangers, being both ignorant and ſcurrilous Perſons; ſuch as was a certain *Poictovin*, Chaplain to *Geoffry de Luſignan* the King's Half-Brother, on whom he beſtowed the rich Benefice of *Preſton*, though he were but an illiterate Buffoon, and whom our Author has ſeen pelting the King and his Brother *Geoffry* with Turfs and green Apples, as they walked in the Orchard belonging to *St. Albans* Abbey; upon which he makes (and that juſtly) a very ſevere Reflection.

[3] *Id.* p. 850. The K. beſtows his Benefices upon Strangers, being ignoble and ſcurrilous Perſons, of which our Author gives us an Inſtance.

[4] Not long after this, the King being reſolved to try whether he could not have better Succeſs with the Biſhops being aſunder, than when they were together, preſently after the riſing of the late Council, he ſent for the Biſhop of *Ely* to come to him, and making him a very obliging Speech, he acknowledged the Biſhops great Preſents and Contributions to him on ſeveral Occaſions, yet that now having great need of Money for his Voyage to the *Holy Land*, he humbly entreated him again to contribute to his Aſſiſtance on ſo preſſing an Occaſion: But all theſe fine Words had no effect on the Biſhop; for he would not by any means be drawn from the General Reſolution of all the reſt of his Brethren; and this rather deterr'd than encouraged the King from undertaking this Expedition, from the late Misfortune of the King of *France*; but when the King had heard the Biſhop's Anſwer, he was ſo angry, that he bid his Officers turn him out of doors for an Ill-bred Fellow as he was: The King alſo tried ſome of the other Prelates, but he met with no better Succeſs.

[4] *Id.* p. 858. The K. tries the Biſhops ſingly, and begins with the Bp. of *Ely*, and moves him for Money towards his intended Voyage for the *Holy Land*. But when the K. could not prevail upon him, he ordered him to be turned out of doors.

[5] Nor did he come off to much greater Advantage from another Encounter he had not long after with the Widow Counteſs of *Arundel*, who waited upon the King about her Right to a certain Wardſhip, which he challenged by reaſon of a ſmall Parcel of Land which was held *in Capite*: But when the Counteſs found by all her Applications ſhe could by no means prevail upon him, ſhe thus boldly accoſted him: *My Lord the King, why do you turn your*

[5] *Id.* p. 853. A ſharp Dialogue between the King and the Counteſs of *Arundel*, about his challenging a Wardſhip.

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Face from Juſtice? for no body now can obtain any Right in your Courts; You are placed between God and us, but you neither Govern your ſelf nor us, as you ought: Are you not aſhamed, both to oppreſs the Church, and diſquiet the Nobles of your Kingdom? Which when the King heard, he, bending his Brows, ſaid thus to her; *What do you mean, Lady Counteſs? Have the Great Men of* England *given you a Commiſſion to be their Advocate?* But ſhe (though a Young Woman) did not anſwer like one; *Not ſo, Sir,* (ſaid ſhe) *the Nobility have not made me any ſuch Charter, though you have broke that which you and your Father have granted, and ſworn inviolably to obſerve, and for which you have ſo often extorted Money from your Subjects: Where are the Liberties of* England *ſo often reduced into Writing? ſo often granted, and ſo often redeemed? Therefore I (though a Woman) with all your Natural Subjects, do appeal from You to the Tribunal of God, the Great and Terrible Judge, and let him revenge us.* At which Anſwer the King being confounded, he held his peace, becauſe his own Conſcience told him ſhe had ſpoke but too much Truth; ſo he only replied, *Did not you ask a Favour, becauſe you were my Couſin?* To whom ſhe only returned, *Since you have denied me my Right, how can I expect any Favour?* The King thus reproved, ſaid no more; and the Counteſs went away without taking Leave, as well as without any other Satisfaction than that of having freely ſpoken her Mind.

But though Dr. *Brady* has (for ſome Reaſons beſt known to himſelf) paſſed by theſe laſt Relations (albeit they are alſo in *M. Paris*) yet I have not thought fit to do ſo, ſince it not only lays open the Weakneſs of this King's Temper, but the Injuſtice of his Government, whilſt he was managed by ſuch wicked and unjuſt Councellors, which bred all thoſe ill Humours that ſome few Years after broke out againſt them to their Ruin.

[1] *Id* p. 852. The K. extorts Money from the Citizens of *London*, contrary to their ancient Charters. And alſo makes them ſhut up their Shops during St. *Edward's* Fair.

[1] About the ſame time likewiſe the King extorted from the Citizens of *London*, by his imperious Commands, Twenty Marks of Gold (which makes Two hundred Marks of Silver) a great Sum in thoſe Days, though according to the Tenour of thoſe Charters and their ancient Liberties, they ought to be free; ſo that they were reduced to almoſt as ſervile a Condition as the very *Jews* themſelves; nor was he contented with this, but made them ſhut up their Shops *Fifteen* Days together, and carry their Commodities to St. *Edward's* Fair, which he had lately ſet up at *Weſtminſter* (as I have mentioned before) and there to remain all Day in Tents and Booths; and to expoſe themſelves and their Wares to the Rain and Cold (it being preſently after *Chriſtmas*) though they had few Chapmen for them: Theſe things cauſed great Heart-burnings and Diſcontents among the Citizens, and produced that Averſion which they afterward expreſſed againſt the King and all thoſe that adhered to him.

[2] *Id.* p. 853. The K. ſummons his Great Men about the Affairs of *Gaſcoigny*, who all take *S. Montfort's* part, which diſpleaſes the King, who had reſolved to have proceeded againſt him as a Traitor.

[2] Soon after, he ſummoned his Great Men to conſult with them about the Affairs of *Gaſcoigny*; who when they were met, urged on behalf of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, That the *Gaſcoignes* were a Treacherous and Rebellious People, as appeared by their baſe treating of the King when he was among them, and by whoſe means he had returned home poor and inglorious; and that they had practiſed Robbery and Depredations on Travellers and Merchants;

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chants; and that the Earl of *Leiceſter* had Ten Years and an half yet to come in his Charter, by which the Government of that Country was committed to him. The King was extreamly diſpleaſed to find his Great Men ſo ready to excuſe the Earl, for he had reſolved to have proceed againſt him as a Traitor: But when the Earl had notice of the King's Deſign, [3] he replied, *I am very well ſatisfied that the King would deſtroy me to enrich ſome* Provençal *or* Poictovin *with my Earldom.* Upon this the Counſel was diſſolved; ſo that the King was alike diſſatisfied with the Secular Great Men, as well as with the Prelates, and therefore thought beſt to ſend for a Legate from *Rome*, who might force the Clergy by the Pope's Authority to comply with his Demands.

[3] *Id.* p. 854. The K. hereupon reſolves to ſend for the Pope's Legate.

[4] On the Eleventh of *November*, *Albert* the Pope's Nuncio came into *England* to perſwade Earl *Richard* (who was known to be by far more Wealthy than all the Noblemen of theſe Parts) to accept the Pope's Offer of the Kingdoms of *Apulia*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, and to expoſe his Perſon, and ſpend his Treaſure in his Service; but the Earl was too wiſe and experienced to hearken to thoſe ſubdolous Propoſals; [5] neither (to be ſure) was the Nuncio unmindful of his own Intereſt, in letting the Prelates know, that he himſelf was the Pope's Favourite, and that Preſents and Benefices would be very grateful and acceptable to him.

[4] *Id.* p. 856. The Pope ſends a Nuncio to perſwade E. *Richard* to accept of the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Naples*, which the Earl is too wiſe to accept of.

[1] This Year alſo the Biſhop of *Lincoln* employed one of his Clerks to take an exact account of the yearly Revenue that *Italian* and Foreign Clergy-men poſſeſſed in *England*, and it was found to amount to above Seventy thouſand Marks *per Annum*, when the King's bare Revenue at the ſame time ſcarce reached one Third part of that Sum: From whence we may obſerve, how poor a thing the ordinary Revenues of the Crown were in thoſe times, being not ſo great as ſome Noblemens Eſtates in *England* are at this day.

[1] *Id. Ib.* The Bp. of *Lincoln* takes an exact account of the yearly Revenues of the *Italians* in *England*, and finds they amount to 70000 Marks.

[2] To this Relation I may likewiſe add what is mentioned in the ſame place, and which will ſufficiently ſhew the great Riches and Luxury of Clergy-men in that Age; for *John Manſel* Clerk, who was at that time the King's Principal Councellor, enjoyed no leſs than Seven hundred Eccleſiaſtical Preferments at once; ſo that his Revenues amounted to Four thouſand Marks *per Annum*, an Income then ſufficient for the greateſt Prelates; wherefore our Author juſtly wonders, how any wiſe or good Man would ever burthen his Conſcience with the Care of ſo many Souls; and therefore much ſuſpects his deſerving either of thoſe Characters: And he alſo well obſerves, *That divers Men know a great many things, but in the mean time are ignorant of themſelves and their own Duty.*

[2] *Id. ib.* The Prodigious number of Benefices enjoyed by *John Manſel*.

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[3] This being the Seven and thirtieth of King *Henry*'s Reign, he kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, where though the Citizens preſented him with a large Preſent of Proviſions even to Admiration, yet in requital of their Kindneſs, he obliged them in a ſhort time after to pay him Two hundred Marks, which made them paſs their *Chriſtmas* as heavily as the King did his merrily, he being not at all concerned at their Complaints.

[3] *Id.* p. 860. The K. keeps his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, where tho' the Citizens make him large Preſents of Proviſions, yet for all that he extorts Money from them.

Yet

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[4]
Id. p. 862.
A greater Inſtance of the K's Injuſtice, in his dealing with certain Abbots.

[5]
Id. p. 861.

Yet he did a greater Act of Violence and Injuſtice a little while after: [4] For having agreed to marry his Niece, the Daughter of the Earl of *Engoleſme*, to the Son and Heir of *Richard* Earl of *Glo-ceſter*, in conſideration of a Portion of Five thouſand Marks which the King obliged himſelf to pay; but not having the Money ready, he commanded the Abbots of *St. Albans*, *Reading*, and *Waltham*, to give Security on his behalf to the Earl of *Gloceſter*, for the ſaid Sum, which they utterly refuſed; for who could force the King to repay them, if he had no mind to it? Wherefore he then importun'd the *Knights-Templars* and *Hoſpitallers* to be bound for the Payment of that Money; but they refuſing likewiſe, He threaten'd them moſt terribly, and to be revenged of them, turned out Friar *Roger*, one of their Brethren, from his Office of *Almoner*, and alſo watched for an Opportunity how to be farther revenged upon them. This is one of the many Abuſes that Dr. *Brady* ſlyly paſſes over; as he does alſo what is mentioned in the very next [5] Page, concerning the King's forcing the Citizens of *London* to pay a Contribution of One thouſand Marks the *Lent* following.

[1]
Id. ib.
The K having beſtow'd the Government of *Gaſcoigny* upon Pr. *Edward*, the K. of *Caſtile* challenges it as his own.

Whereupon, many of the Nobility of that Countrey revolt from K. *Henry*.

[1] *Simon Montfort*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, having this Year reſigned his Charter or Patent of the Government or Stewardſhip of *Gaſcoigny*, which he had obtained of the King for Five Years, upon his buying him out of the Remainder of his Term, (which was Three Years) and giving him Security for the Money; the King thereupon conferr'd that Government upon his Son Prince *Edward*, as you have already heard; but ſo ſoon as *Alphonſo*, King of *Caſtile*, found the Earl of *Leiceſter* had quitted his Charge of that Province, and that it was left to the Government of a Youth, he pretended a Grant of that Country from King *Henry* the Second, confirm'd by *Richard* the Firſt, and King *John*; whereupon *Gaſton de Bearn*, and ſeveral others of the Nobility of *Gaſcoigny*, revolted from King *Henry*, and joined themſelves to *Alphonſo*'s Party; but the Citizens of *Bourdeaux*, who continued Faithful to the King of *England*, gave him notice of it, and that unleſs he ſent them a quick and powerful Aſſiſtance, he would loſe the whole Country: Whereupon, the King was troubled that he had removed *Montfort*, who was now gone into *France*, where he had the offer made to him of being High-Steward of that Kingdom; but he generouſly refuſed it.

[2]
Id. p. 864.
The *Gaſcoigners* fall together by the Ears.

[2] In *Lent* many freſh reports came from *Gaſcoigny*, as that *Reole-Caſtle*, and ſeveral other Places, were taken from the *Engliſh*; the King was ſtartled at this News, and cauſed Proclamation to be made, and ſent his Writs into every County, that all Men ſhould be Armed and Muſtered, according to antient Cuſtom, and that Watch ſhould be kept in Cities and Towns. But about the middle of *April*, the *Gaſcoign* Nobility finding themſelves freed from the Government of *Simon Montfort*, fell foul upon one another, invaded each others Caſtles, took Priſoners on both ſides, and burnt and waſted each others Houſes and Lands.

[3]
Id. p. 865.
The K. being ſtill in want of Money, is at laſt forced to call a Parliament, where he demands a great Sum.

[3] The King having incurr'd the ill Will, and indeed Curſes of his People, by taking extraordinary ways to raiſe Money contrary to Law, (in ſuch a violent and illegal manner as is mentioned by our Author) yet ſtill wanted a very large Sum for his intended Expedition to the *Holy-Land*; whereupon he called a Parliament

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to conſult about the difficult Affairs of the Kingdom; and Fifteen days after *Eaſter* the whole Nobility meeting accordingly, he demanded a very great Sum of Money from them; but after many Arguments and Debates about it, [4] the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Carliſle*, *Salisbury*, and *Ethelmar* the Elect of *Wincheſter*, were ſent to the King by the Biſhops and all the Prelates, to perſuade and induce him (as he had often promiſed upon Oath) to permit *Holy Church* to enjoy all her Liberties, eſpecially thoſe concerning Elections, in which (as they ſaid) Eccleſiaſtick Liberty chiefly conſiſts; and if he would correct this Error, and thoſe concerning the other Liberties contained in *Magna Charta*, they would do their utmoſt to ſatisfie his deſires. Whereupon, the King freely confeſs'd his Failings, and how he was ſorry he had ever done ſo, and that they ſhould be corrected for the future; then making a ſmart Speech to theſe Biſhops, ſetting forth how he had advanced them (though unworthy) to thoſe high Dignities they enjoy'd, before many other Grave and Learned Divines, he therefore adviſed them, (as they valued their Salvation) to lay down thoſe Spiritual Charges which they had by his Prerogative unjuſtly acquir'd; and then he himſelf, being reformed by their Example, would for the future take care to prefer none but ſuch as ſhould be worthy; they being thus ſharply, yet civilly reproved, had nothing to reply, *but that they came not to rip up what was paſt, but to mind him what he ought to do for the future.*

[4] *Id.* p. 866. Whereupon, the Prelates require a Reſtoration of the Privileges of the Church in Elections.

The K. confeſſes his Failings, and makes a ſharp Reflection upon them.

[5] Then, after Fifteen days debate about this and other Things, they came to this Unanimous Reſolution, That the King's Intentions of taking upon him the *Cruſado*, were very Pious, and they ſhould not want their due Effect; yet that the State of the Church or Kingdom might not receive any Detriment thereby, the Clergy therefore granted him the Tenth of all Church-Revenues for Three Years, for the Relief of the *Holy-Land* againſt the Enemies of God, to be disburſed by the overſight of the Great Men; and the Knights or Military-Men alſo gave him for that Year Three Marks of every Knight's Fee, in Conſideration of which, the King promiſed *bonâ fide*, and without fraud, to obſerve the Great Charter, and every Article therein contain'd, which is the ſame that his Father King *John* had ſworn to keep many Years before; and which he in like manner had ſworn to at his Coronation.

[5] *Id. Ib.* At laſt the Clergy agree to grant the K. a Tenth of their Revenues for Three Years.

And the Military Men Three Marks upon each Knight's Fee; for which the K. promiſes ſtrictly to obſerve the great Charter.

[1] After this, on the Third day of *May*, in the Great Hall of the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, all thoſe that Oppoſed, Violated, Diminiſhed, or Changed the Liberties and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, (eſpecially thoſe contained in the Great Charter of Liberties and Foreſts) were ſolemnly *Excommunicated* and *Anathematized* with Bell, Book, and Candle, by *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the reſt of the Biſhops, being in their *Pontificalibus*; and this was done in the Preſence, and by the Aſſent of the King, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, his Brother, the Earl of *Norfolk*, Mareſchal of *England*, the Earl of *Hereford*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and other Chief Men of the Kingdom; the Archbiſhops and Biſhops holding Lighted Candles in their Hands: The King in the mean while laying his Hand on his Breaſt, ſaid, after all this was perform'd, *So may GOD help me, as I inviolably obſerve all theſe things*;

[1] *Id. ib.* And Sentence of *Excommunication* is ſolemnly pronounc'd by the Bps. in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, againſt all the Violators of theſe Charters.

But

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[2] *Id. Ib.*

But he refuſed to hold a Taper, becauſe he was no Prieſt, ſaying, *His Heart was a greater Teſtimony.* [2] Then alſo the Original Charter which King *John* had granted was produced, and read before them all, which the King having Regranted and Confirmed, they put out their Candles, and threw them down ſmoaking upon the Ground, and every One wiſhed, That ſuch as deſerved that Sentence, might ſo Stink and Smoke in Hell.

[3] *Id. ib.*

As ſoon as the Council is diſſolved, the K. deviſes how to break them.

[3] The Council was no ſooner Diſſolved, but the King (who commonly followed the worſt Advice) contrived, how he might break through all thoſe Things he had ſo lately granted; it being told him by ſome about him, *That if he obſerved thoſe Charters, he would not be King, nor abſolute Lord of* England; *and his Father King* John *had ſhewed him this, who choſe rather to die than to be trampled upon by his Subjects*; and theſe wicked Councellors farther whiſper'd in his Ear, That he need not fear the Cenſure of *Excommunication*, ſince for Two or Three hundred Marks, the Pope would abſolve him of his Oath, by the Plenitude of his Power; and he might farther obtain another Tenth of the Clergy by the Pope's Authority, if the King would but allow him a ſhare out of it, or perhaps enlarge the Payment of it for a Year or two; all which pernicious Councils were put in Practice, as the following Hiſtory will ſhew. But this (tho' omitted by Dr. *Brady*) deſerves to be taken notice of, ſince it was the Cauſe of all thoſe dreadful Wars and Combuſtions, that ſome Years after enſued.

[4] *Id. ib.*

The Citizens of *Bourdeaux* ſend to the K. to come and ſave *Gaſcoigny*, then in Rebellion.

The K. paſſes over thither with a great Force.

And recovers many Caſtles in thoſe Parts.

He ſends Ambaſſadors to the K. of *Caſtile* to propoſe a Match between his Siſter, and Pr. *Edward*.

[4] About the ſame time, the Citizens of *Bourdeaux* acquainted the King, That if he came not over preſently into *Gaſcoigny*, he would loſe the whole Country, which, upon the Departure of *Simon Montfort*, was now fallen into Rebellion; wherefore the King ſent them word, That he would ſpeedily come over to them in Perſon with a conſiderable Force: Upon which, about the Firſt of *June*, he ſummoned all his Military-Tenants to be ready with their Horſes and Arms at *Portſmouth*, Eight days after *Trinity-Sunday*, to paſs the Seas with him, when he took up a Thouſand of *Engliſh* and *Foreign* Merchant Ships; but he lay there Wind-bound above a Month, to his great Expence, as well as Prejudice of his Affairs beyond Sea; at laſt, having before appointed his Queen and Brother *Richard* to Govern the Nation in his Abſence, and left his Son *Edward* under their Care, he ſet ſail with a fair Wind, and on the Fifteenth of *Auguſt* arrived at *Bourdeaux*, and preſently commanded *Reole-Caſtle* to be Beſieged; ſo that by the end of *Summer* the King had recovered all his Caſtles in *Gaſcoigny*, either by Force or Compoſition; the Beſieged often ſending to the King of *Spain* for Relief, but never receiving any: Yet the King, not daring to rely upon the Fidelity of the *Gaſcoignes*, and ſuſpecting that they might Revolt to the King of *Spain*, ſent the Biſhop of *Bath*, and *John Manſel*, his ſpecial Chaplains, Ambaſſadors, to deſire his Friendſhip, and that he would conſent to Marry his Siſter to his Son and Heir Prince *Edward*, on whom he had lately beſtowed *Gaſcoigny*: Theſe Ambaſſadors ſo well diſpatch'd this Affair, that they not only concluded that Match, but alſo made a League with the King of *Caſtile*, and brought back a *Charter ſealed with a *Golden Seal*; by which he

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* See this Charter in the King's Archieves, in the Old *Chapter-Houſe* at *Weſtminſter*.

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releaſed to King *Henry* whatever Right he had, or could have in that Countrey, by the Grant of *Henry* the *Second*, *Richard* the *Firſt*, or King *John*; then upon *John Manſel*'s aſſuring his Maſter of the King of *Caſtiles* Sincerity, he ſome time after ſent for his Son, Prince *Edward*, to come over to him, in order to ſend him thither to conſummate the Marriage; yet this Match and League were kept conceal'd from the Great Men of *England*, as you will find by and by.

[5] *Id.* p. 879. Upon which the *Gaſcoignes* return to their Allegiance.

[5] In the mean while, the Earl of *Leiceſter* came with ſome Troops of his own, and offer'd his Service to the King; which when the Rebellious *Gaſcoignes* underſtood, they dreading the Earl's great Courage, and alſo hearing that the King of *Caſtile* had made Peace with King *Henry*, by degrees return'd to their Allegiance; yet the King continued all this Winter in *France*.

[1] *Id.* p. 880. The Bp. of *Lincoln* having receive[d] an unreaſonable Letter from the Pope, returns him another, full of ſharp Reflections.

* *Non-obſtante.*

As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, this Year affords little, [1] only *Robert Groſtead*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, having received a Letter or Brief from Pope *Innocent*, commanding him (as he had often done ſeveral other Prelates of *England*) to do ſomewhat that he thought Unjuſt and againſt Reaſon, He wrote to him a long Epiſtle, (which you will find in our Author at large) wherein, though he profeſſes all due Obedience to the Apoſtolical Commands, yet he is utterly againſt ſuch as wholly contradict all thoſe Precepts, ſince they can be no other, than what are conſonant and agreeable to the Doctrine of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his Apoſtles; Then he taxes the Clauſe of **Non-obſtante* in the Pope's Bull, as a Cauſe of many great Evils in the Church, (which he there reckons up) and afterwards proceeds to reprove his beſtowing of Benefices on ſuch as (contrary to Chriſt's Inſtitution) take no care of the Flock committed to their Charge; all which Abuſes, though contain'd in the Pope's Letter, yet out of that Fidelity and Obedience, which he ow'd to the Apoſtolical See, and that Union which it holds with Chriſt's Myſtical Body, he cannot obey, but muſt contradict and oppoſe, as being directly contrary to the Catholick Faith, and the Sanctity of the Church of *Rome*; and for which refuſal his Holineſs ought not to puniſh him, becauſe, ſuch a Contradiction is no Rebellion, but part of that honour which is due to the Divine Commands, and the trueſt Reſpect that could be ſhewed to himſelf; and therefore briefly minds him, That the Apoſtolical See can act only for the Edification and not the Deſtruction of the Church; whereas thoſe Proviſions (that were then ſent him) tended to the quite contrary ends: In all which, the Biſhop very well diſtinguiſhes between the right Uſe and Abuſe of Eccleſiaſtical Authority, making only the former to be Obligatory, and thereby wholly deſtroying the Modern Doctrine of a blind Obedience, without Reſerve, to all the Pope's Commands, as Infallible.

When the Pope had received theſe Letters, he fell into a great Paſſion, calling the Biſhop an old, raſh, doting Fellow, threatning to ruine him, and to command the King of *England*, his Vaſſal, to clap him up in Priſon: But it ſeems one *Giles*, a *Spaniſh* Cardinal, and others, mitigated his Holineſs's Wrath, telling him, That he ought not to decree any thing againſt the Biſhop, ſince they could not deny what he had ſaid to be true, nor could they condemn him, *Anno Dom.* MCCLIII.

being much more Learned and Holy than themſelves; and that if he ſtirred farther in it, this Letter, when it came to be generally known, would excite many more againſt him: Therefore the Pope thought it better to connive at and diſſemble his Reſentments againſt the Biſhop, leſt he might raiſe a Tumult which he could not eaſily appeaſe.

This I have thought fit to mention, that ſo the Reader may obſerve there were even in that Age ſome Biſhops (though but few) who were not only ſenſible of, but declared againſt the Abuſes then practiſed in the *Roman* Church, and that to the Pope himſelf, who was indeed the Author of them; but this good Biſhop died not long after.

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[2] *Id.* p. 881. The K. ſummons a Parliament in his abſence, where his Commiſſioners declare his deſires.

They endeavour to make them believe, that the K. of *Caſtile* was ſtill an Enemy.

[2] This Year, the King keeping his *Chriſtmas* in *Gaſcoigny*, on the Seven and Twentieth of *January* almoſt all the Great Men of *England* were ſummoned to Parliament, where appeared on behalf of the King, his Commiſſioners who were newly return'd from *Gaſcoigny*, viz. *Roger Bigot*, Earl-Mareſchal, and *Gilbert de Segrave*, and declared his deſires to the whole Body of *England*; there were alſo preſent *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Queen, with all the Biſhops, except thoſe that were then with the King: The Meſſage delivered in this Meeting from him, was, That he had been deceived in the King of *Spain*, whom inſtead of a Friend, he had found a cruel Enemy, and therefore now required a powerful Aſſiſtance from them. What was done upon this Meſſage, beſt appears by the Queen's and Earl *Richard*'s Letters to the King, to be found in the [3] Additaments of *Matt. Paris*, to this Effect;

[3] P. 189.

The Sum of the Queen's and Earl *Richard*'s long Letter to the King.

‘That they had received his Majeſty's Letters at *Chriſtmas*, and had according to his Commands ſummoned the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls and Barons of the Kingdom, on the Morrow after the Feaſt of St. *Hilary*, acquainting them with the State of his Affairs, That the King of *Caſtile* was coming againſt him into *Gaſcoigny*; but ſince the ſhortneſs of the time would not permit the ſaid Great Men to meet at that Day, they had ſummoned them to *Weſtminſter* Fifteen days after that Feaſt, (*i.e.* the Seven and Twentieth of *January*) and that the Earls and Barons, after they had heard the Cauſe of their Meeting, offered to be ready at *London* three Weeks after *Eaſter*, to march from thence to *Portſmouth*, and there Embark themſelves to relieve *Gaſcoigny*, in caſe the King of *Caſtile* ſhould invade that Countrey; That the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop Elect of *Wincheſter*, with the Biſhops of *London* and *Worceſter*, all promiſed they would come over to him with a good Strength; That the other Biſhops and Abbots had likewiſe promiſed a large ſupply in Money: And Earl *Richard* further ſignified to him in the ſame Letter, That he would not fail him of a Supply anſwerable to his Neceſſities and his own Honour, if the King of *Caſtile* ſhould arm againſt him; and that he would leave the Kingdom in good hands, by advice of the Queen, and bring her and the Prince over with him. [4] Yet for all this they did not believe the King of *Caſtile* had any ſuch deſign; and ſo the Council was diſſolved without any great effect.

[4] *Id.* p. 882.

Then

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[5] Then Fifteen Days after *Eaſter*, the Great Men were ſummoned again to *London*, where the King upon the ſame Reaſons made the ſame Demands, and received the ſame Anſwer; for then their Suſpicions, that the King of *Caſtile* had no ſuch Deſign againſt King *Henry*, but on the contrary, that a Peace was concluded between them, were confirmed by *Simon* Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was newly returned from beyond Sea: Thus this politick Deſign of the Court to get Money being diſcovered, the Great Men of the Kingdom eaſily avoided the Traps that were laid for them; and ſo departed in great Indignation, without giving the King any Aſſiſtance.

[5] *Id.* p. 857. The Great Men are again ſummoned to *London*, but refuſe to give the K. any Aid, with the Reaſon thereof.

[1] About the ſame time the King being reſolved to have Money by one means or other, fell upon the poor *Jews* ſo violently, that they grew weary of their Lives; for Earl *Richard* now required from them ſo great a Sum, under pain of Death or Impriſonment, that *Elias*, their Chief *Rabbi* or Elder, plainly told him and the Lords then preſent, That ſince they found the King was reſolved entirely to ruine them, and had favoured the Pope's Uſurers againſt them, and ſuffered them to get what they pleaſed to their great Impoveriſhment, and ſince the King required more than they had, they therefore deſired leave to depart the Kingdom; but though the Governours ſqueezed them almoſt to the utmoſt Farthing, yet would they not let them go.

[1] *Id. ib.* The K. to get Money unmercifully ſqueezes the *Jews*.

[2] About the end of *May*, the Queen (notwithſtanding ſhe had lately received the King's Commands to the contrary) with her Two Sons, Prince *Edward* and *Edmund*, and her Unkle the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, took ſhipping at *Portſmouth* and arrived at *Bourdeaux* the laſt of the ſame Month; [3] and not long after their landing, Prince *Edward* was ſent in great State to *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, where having married his Siſter *Eleanor* at the City of *Burgos*, he was by that King Honourably ſent back to his Father, together with his Bride: Upon his arrival, King *Henry* ſettled upon him and the Princeſs his Wife all *Gaſcoigny*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, with the City and Towns of *Briſtol*, *Stamford*, and *Grantham*; and from that time the King began to prepare for his Return into *England*, when upon ſtating the Accounts it appeared that his Expences in thoſe Expeditions amounted to Twenty thouſand and ſeven hundred Pounds and more, beſides the Lands, Wardſhips, and Rents he had given to Strangers, and moreover Thirty thouſand Marks he had beſtowed, and expended upon his *Poictovin* Half-Brothers; but which was ſtill worſt of all, our Author here relates, that it was all to little or no purpoſe, for that when the King was told of this great Expence by one about him, he replied, *Oh, for the Head of God ſay no more of it, leſt the very Relation make Men wonder and ſtand amazed!*

[2] *Id.* p. 889. The Queen with her Sons paſſes over into *France*.

[3] *Id.* p. 890. Pr. *Edward* is ſent into *Spain*, and being there Married, is ſent with his Bride back to his Father.

The K.'s vaſt Expence in this Expedition.

[4] About this time Mr. *Albert* the Pope's *Nuncio* returned to *Rome*, and certified his Holineſs that the Propoſals made to *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal* concerning the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia* could take no effect, nor would he expoſe himſelf to uncertain Events, requiring of the Pope Security and Pledges for what he ſhould undertake, and Money alſo towards his Charges in ſubduing that Kingdom, with ſome of his Caſtles for Places of Retreat. Upon this

[4] *Id.* p. 892. Upon E. *Richard*'s refuſal to accept the Pope's Offer of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, he makes the ſame Offer to K. *Henry*, who unwiſely accepts of it for his Son *Edmund*.

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Conrade King of *Sicily* deceaſes.
[5]
Id. p. 193.
Vid. Addit. p. 193.

this News the Pope ſent private Nuncio's to King *Henry*, and offered him that Kingdom for his Son *Edmund:* Upon this the King was very forward to embrace the ſeeming Favour, and received it with much Satisfaction; and to make way for him, Pope *Innocent* the *Fourth* had lately accuſed *Conrade* Son of the Emperor *Frederick* the Rightful King, of Hereſie, Murther, and other great Crimes; to all which Accuſations [5] he gave a very clear Anſwer; yet died not long after to the great Joy of the Pope, who preſently ſubdued almoſt all *Apulia:* but both the *Sicilian* and *Apulian* Nobility, rather than be under his Government, ſet up *Manfred* an Illegitimate Son of the late King *Frederick*, and did Homage and ſwore Allegiance to him.

[1]
Id. p. 896.
K. *Henry* to avoid a long Sea-Voyage, paſſes through *France*.

[2]
Id p. 898, 899, 900.
Where he is met at *Chartres*, by the K. and Q. of *France*, &c.

The K. arrives at *Paris*, and is there magnificently entertained by K. *Lewis*.

K. *Henry* takes his Leave of K. *Lewis* with great Tenderneſs.

[1] King *Henry* having thus made Peace with the King of *Caſtile*, deſiring rather to return by Land, than undertake another tedious Sea-Voyage, asked Leave of the King of *France* to paſs through his Kingdom, which was not only granted, but alſo he himſelf met the King of *England* at *Chartres*, [2] where he was then attended by a Thouſand brave Horſe with Noble Riders, beſides Sumpter-Horſes and other Carriages; There were with him his own Queen, and her Siſter the Counteſs of *Cornwal*, and there the Queen of *France* met them, with her other Siſter the Counteſs of *Anjou*; thither alſo came the old Counteſs of *Provence*, Mother to all theſe Ladies; and from thence they were conducted to *Paris*, where for eight Days they remained together with great Joy and Satisfaction, making mutual and magnificent Entertainments: After which time, the King of *France* brought King *Henry* one day's Journey towards the Sea-ſide, where they took their Leaves of each other with great Tenderneſs and Affection; but King *Lewis* at his departure ſaid thus to King *Henry*, ſighing, *O that the Peers of* France *and the Baronage of my Kingdom would give their Conſents, and then we might be inſeparable Friends!* King *Lewis* ſpoke this with reſpect to *Normandy* and thoſe other Territories, which his Nobility would not permit him to reſtore to the King, the right Owner, and which it ſeems troubled the Conſcience of this pious Prince.

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[3]
Id p. 901.
K. *Henry* wanting a Wind, keeps his *Chriſtmas* at *Bologne*, and then paſſes over into *England*.

[3] When the King of *England* came to *Boloigne*, he found the Wind contrary to him, ſo that he was forced to ſtay there on *Chriſtmas*-Day (bein *Friday*;) and on *Sunday* following the Wind ſtood fair, and he then going on board landed at *Dover*, where his Brother *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal* met him, with many of the Nobility of *England*, as alſo of the Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors, all making him Noble Preſents in Gold and Silver, which went towards the Payment of his Debts; but they were now ſo great, that all this, and ſeveral times as much more would not have ſufficied to diſcharge them.

[4]
Id. ib.
The *Londoners* make the K a Preſent of 100 *l.*

[5]
Id. p. 902.
But the King not ſatisfied therewith,

[4] So ſoon as the King came to Town, the *Londoners* ſent certain Perſons to congratulate his Return, with the Sum of One hundred Pounds, which being no more than was uſual on ſuch Occaſions, was now looked upon as a Debt; and the King was ſo far from thanking them for it, that he openly declared they had given him nothing but his due; but if they would merit his Thanks, they muſt make him ſome richer Preſent. [5] Whereupon the Citi-

zens came again with a rich Piece of Plate exquiſitely wrought, which being preſented to him, he ſeemed to receive it kindly.

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They preſent him with a rich Piece of Plate.

[1] Yet could not all this obtain his Favour; for a certain Clerk being accuſed of murthering an outlandiſh Prior (who pretended to be related to the Queen) was clapt into *Newgate*, from whence a little after he made his eſcape; whereupon the City was proſecuted for its neglect; and though the Citizens pleaded that the Priſoner was not properly theirs, but the Biſhop of *London*'s, who had ſeized him as a Clerk, and kept him there in Priſon, becauſe he had no Gaol of his own, and they were the Biſhop's Servants that ſuffered him to eſcape; yet all this ſignified nothing, for the City was amerced in no leſs than Three thouſand Marks; and though they alledged their Charters and their Loyalty to the King, yet they were forced to pay dearly for this ſuppoſed Offence; nay, the King being incenſed that they did not preſently pay it down, commanded ſome of the Chief Citizens to be ſeized, and clapt into Priſon; and in *Lent* following he demanded from the *Jews* no leſs than Eighteen thouſand Marks upon pain of Death, which when they heard, they pleaded their Poverty, and deſired Leave to depart the Kingdom; but the King pleaded his own Poverty and great Debts, which amounted to more than One hundred and fifty thouſand Marks: After this, be ſold or aſſigned over the *Jews* to his Brother Earl *Richard*; but notwithſtanding he made great Advantage of them, yet he uſed them mercifully in compariſon of the King.

[1] *Id. ib.*

A certain Clerk being put in *Newgate* upon ſuſpicion of murthering a Prior, and eſcaping,

The City is fined 3000 Marks.

The *Jews* deſire leave to depart the Kingdom; but the K. aſſigned 'em over to his Brother Earl *Richard*.

[2] About the ſame time, *viz.* Fifteen days after *Eaſter*, all the Nobility of *England*, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, met at *London*, ſo that there had not been ſeen for a long time before ſuch a numerous Aſſembly; then the King acquainted them with his great Debts, and let them know that without their Aſſiſtance he could not diſcharge them, and therefore earneſtly requeſted an Aid ſufficient for that purpoſe: Whereupon they grew querulous, ripping up the old Grievances of how much Money they had paid for the Confirmation of their Charters, which had been ſo often ſworn to by the King: Wherefore to pacifie them, he immediately cauſed theſe Charters to be proclaimed a-new in all Counties; but yet for all that, he did not himſelf ſtrictly obſerve them. Then they demanded that the Juſtitiary, Chancellor, and Treaſurer might be choſen by the Common Council of the Kingdom, as it had been anciently uſed and accuſtomed; and likewiſe that they might not, unleſs upon ſome notorious Fault, be removed, without the ſaid Common Conſent; which the King not granting, they [3] unanimouſly declared that the Buſineſs ſhould be deferred till *Michaelmas* following; and thus the Council broke up.

[2] *Id.* p. 904.

The Nobility meet at *London*, where the K. acquaints them with his great Debts.

But they rip up their old Grievances: Whereupon the K. cauſes the Great Charters to be again proclaimed.

But upon new Demands, the Buſineſs is put off till *Michaelmas*.

[3] *Id. ib.*

As to Foreign Affairs, [4] this Summer the new Pope, *Alexander* the *Fourth*, followed the Steps of his Predeceſſor *Innocent* lately deceaſed, in proſecuting the War in *Sicily* and *Apulia*; and therefore ſent Cardinal *Octavian* his General with an Army of 60000 Men to deſtroy the City of *Nocera*, and King *Manfred* that was then in it; who upon their approach, marched with a great Body of Men out againſt them, and utterly defeated *Octavian* and the remainder of the Pope's

[4] *Id.* p 906.

Pope *Alexander* proſecutes the War in *Apulia*; but his Legate is there defeated.

Army,

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Army, moſt of which were ſent away before, through the Treachery of the General.

The Pope had ſent *Edmund* the K.'s Son a Ring, in token of his Inveſtiture of *Sicily*.

The News of this Defeat put the Pope into great Confuſion, becauſe he had promiſed *Sicily* and *Apulia* to the King of *England*, who (as the Writers of this time report) had paid this Army for the uſe of his Son *Edmund*, to whom the Pope had ſent a Ring of Inveſtiture by the Biſhop of *Bononia*, then upon his Journey towards *England:* And here our Author (and that juſtly enough) falls into a great Exclamation againſt the Ambition and Covetouſneſs of the *Roman* See.

[5] *Id.* p. 908. The Complaint of the Q. of *Scots*'s hard uſage, the K goes to *Edinburgh* to viſit her.

[5] The King having received many Complaints from his Daughter the Queen of *Scots*, of her hard Uſage from that Nation, went to *Edinburgh* to viſit her; and when he came upon the Borders of *Scotland*, ſent before him *Richard* Earl of *Glouceſter* and *John Manſel* his Clerk, to ſee how things ſtood, and to enquire and examine whether the Complaints ſhe made of Sir *Robert de Roſs* and Sir *John Baliol* (for theſe with others had been appointed Governours of the King, Queen, and Kingdom) were true, for they were accuſed of keeping the Queen like a Priſoner, and that the King was not permitted to enjoy her Embraces. Upon their arrival *Robert de Roſs* withdrew himſelf, but afterwards appeared, and with *John Baliol* ſubmitted to a Fine for their Miſcarriages: Then the King and Queen came together again, and being put into ſuch a Condition as they liked, King *Henry* took his Leave of them, and returned into *England*.

[1] *Id.* p. 910. *An. Burton*, p. 348. *Peter* Bp. of *Hereford* finds out a very knaviſh Invention to help the K. to Money.

[1] About this time *Peter Egueblank* Biſhop of *Hereford* (a Foreigner) obſerving the King uneaſie, by reaſon of his great want of Money, found out a new, but knaviſh Invention for a Supply, with which he acquainted him; and then by his Order went to *Rome* toward the end of Summer (having *Robert Walleran* a Knight joined in Commiſſion with him) to perfect this Project, where he found the Pope very *Melancholy* for the great Debts he had contracted, which yet he ſaid the King of *England* was obliged to diſcharge under the pain of being *Diſinherited* and turned out of his Kingdom: The Biſhop obſerving the ill Poſture of the Pope's Affairs, comforted him with a Way he had found out to help him; and by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Cardinals (whoſe Advice he followed to bring about the Deſigns of his Predeceſſor) the Biſhop obtained from him what he pleaſed. Now his Project was, to produce certain forged Obligations under the Seals of as many Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors, as he pleaſed, in the Sum of Five, Six, or Seven hundred Marks a-piece, or more [2] to this or that *Sienna* or *Florentine* Merchant (or Uſurer) as if it were for Money really borrowed of them, and expended at *Rome* about the Affairs of their particular Churches; which Cheat was alſo confirmed by the Pope's Breve to the ſaid Biſhop (who took upon him as Agent for the Biſhops and Abbots) as is to be ſeen in our Author at large. This Grievance, *Matth. Paris* tells us, exceeded all that ever went before it, and afterwards involved many Prelates in great Loſſes and Troubles, as in due time ſhall be declared.

[2] *M. P.* 111.

[3] Some

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[3] *Id.* p. 914. *Eleanor*, Wiſe to Pr. *Edward*, arrives in *England*, and is received with great Pomp.

[3] Some time after *Michaelmas*, the Lady *Elianor*, Daughter to the King of *Caſtile*, and Wife to Prince *Edward*, arrived in *England*, and was received by the *Londoners* with great Pomp; her Lodgings were immediately furniſhed with Hangings and Foot-Carpets after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion: This ſeemed very ſtrange and ſuperfluous to the *Engliſh*, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch State and Magnificence; and the Great Honours paid the *Spaniards* were very ungrateful to the Natives: But Prince *Edward* himſelf did not come over into *England* till the end of *November*.

[4] *Id.* p. 811. Upon the arrival of the Bp. of *Bononia* with a Ring, *Edmund* the K.'s Son is ſolemnly inveſted with the Kindoms of *Sicily* ond *Apulia*.

[4] About the Feaſt of St. *Edward* (or Thirteenth of *October*) the Biſhop of *Bononia* arrived, and brought the Ring with him which the Pope had ſent *Edmund* the King's Son, by which in a numerous Aſſembly of Great Men, the Legate ſolemnly Inveſted him with the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia*; at this the King was as much pleaſed as if he had then received the Homages of the *Sicilians* and *Apulians* themſelves, or had been poſſeſſed of their Caſtles and Cities.

[5] The Pope ſends over a Legate to collect a Tenth from the Clergy in *England* and *Ireland*; With Power alſo to diſpence with the K.'s Vow for the *Holy Land*.

[5] About this time alſo Pope *Alexander* ſent Mr. *Ruſtand*, a *Gaſcoign* and Canon-Lawyer, and one of his Sub-Deacons, into *England*, giving him, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Hereford*, Power to gather a Tenth in *England* and *Ireland*, to the uſe of the Pope or King, indifferently, Notwithſtanding any former Breves or Indulgences, in any Town, or for what cauſe ſoever granted to the contrary: He alſo gave them Power to abſolve the King from his Vow of undertaking the Expedition into the *Holy Land*; provided that he would make another into *Apulia*, againſt *Manfred*, a profeſſed Enemy to the Church of *Rome*. To this the King ſhould be ſworn by the Biſhop of *Bononia*; and the better to draw him on, the Pope gave him all the Moneys in *England*, which were to be collected toward the Maintenance of the intended Expedition to the *Holy Land*. Thus did not the Pope at that time ſtick at any thing (right or wrong) that might advance his own Intereſt and Grandeur.

[1] *Id. ib.* The Parliament meets again at *Weſtminſter*, where the K. preſſes his Brother E. *Richard* to give or lend him a Supply. Which the Earl poſitively refuſes; As do alſo many of the Barons, who make Excuſes to gain time, till at laſt the Parliament is diſſolved.

[1] Upon the Feaſt of St. *Luke* (or Eighteenth of *October*) almoſt all the Great Men of *England* met at *Weſtminſter* in Parliament, where the King earneſtly preſſed his Brother, Earl *Richard*, for ſome Supply of Money, to whom the Pope alſo wrote, deſiring him to lend his Brother Forty thouſand (whether Marks or Pounds is uncertain) that he might ſhew a good Example to others; but this Politick Earl was not to be prevailed upon, either by the Intreaties of the Pope, or the Importunities of the King, becauſe he had undertaken this *Apulian* Expedition without his Advice, being wheedled into it by the ſly Inſinuations of the crafty *Italians*, and againſt the Aſſent of the Baronage of the Kingdom, divers of whom being moved about the ſame matter, replied, That they had not been all ſummoned according to the Tenour of the Great Charter; and there they would then make no Anſwer, nor grant any Aid without their other Peers, who were abſent; ſo this Parliament, after many needleſs Delays, was continued a Month longer, while the Great Men emptied their Purſes at *London*; and then returned home without doing any thing conſiderable.

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[2] Dr. P's Chron. A great Quarrel among the Princes of *Wales*, and on what occaſion.

[2] This Year affords little of Foreign Affairs, only there aroſe a great Quarrel between the Princes of *Wales*; for *Owen*, the Elder Brother, could not be content with half the Principality, but got his Younger Brother *David* to join with him, and they two levied a great Army, with a deſign to diſinherit *Llewellyn*; but he with his Men met them in the Field, and after a long and ſharp Fight gave them an entire Defeat, took both of them Priſoners, and then ſeized all their Lands, enjoying alone the whole Principality of *Wales*.

[3] *M. P.* p. 912. A barbarous Action of the *Jews* at *Lincoln*, who Crucify'd a Boy.

Before I conclude this Year, I cannot omit a barbarous piece of Cruelty related by our [3] Author, concerning the *Jews*, which does in great part juſtifie the Government's ſevere treatment of them, provided it were true, as perhaps there may be too much grounds to believe it: He relates that about the end of *June*, the *Jews* at *Lincoln* ſtole a little Boy, named *Hugh*, of about Eight Years of Age, and after they had kept him up for ſome time, they in reproach to our Saviour Crucified him in a great Aſſembly of theirs from all Parts of *England*, having firſt tormented, and done all thoſe opprobrious things to him, that we read were done to *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf; and that when he was dead, they flung the Body into a Well, where the Mother of the Child (going into a *Jew*'s Houſe to ſearch for him) diſcovered him by chance; whereupon the *Jew* that own'd the Houſe being taken, confeſſed the whole Matter, and farther, That almoſt every Year they did Sacrifice a Child in like manner; This being diſcovered to *John de Lexington*, a Diſcreet and Learned Man in the Laws, he promiſed the *Jew* his Life to make it out; but when the King heard of it, he was very much diſpleaſed at it, and would not give him his Pardon; ſo that not only the Diſcoverer, but alſo near an Hundred other *Jews* were condemned, (as they well deſerved) for having a Hand in ſo barbarous a Murther; though moſt of them were afterward pardoned by the Interceſſion of the *Friers Minors*.

[4] *Id.* p. 905. *Walter de Gray* A. B. of *York*, deceaſes.

And *Sewal* ſucceeds him.

As [4] for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, there happened none this Year but what have been already mentioned, except the Death of *Walter de Gray*, Archbiſhop of *York*, a Perſon of great Prudence and Integrity; he held the See near Forty Years, and was ſucceeded by one *Sewal*, Dean of that Church, a modeſt and pious Perſon, tho' he ſate in it but a ſhort time.

[5] *Id.* p. 918. The Author's Repreſentation of the ſad Condition of the Church in thoſe Times.

[5] Our Author concludes this Year with an Account of the ſad State of the Church of *England* during theſe Times, when the Pope and the King combining together, and dividing the Spoil, peel'd the poor Clergy at their Pleaſure, none daring upon pain of *Excommunication* to oppoſe them: In the mean time, the King ſtood obliged to the Pope in near Two hundred thouſand Marks, and the Biſhops and other Prelates in Fifty thouſand, though without their own Knowledge or Conſent. *Matt. Paris* here alſo ſets forth the horrid Abuſes and Grievances, that then abounded both in Church and State, in theſe Words: 'The Sacred Privileges of Churches 'now ſignifie nothing, and though the Pope hath a Power only for 'Edification, and not for Deſtruction, (as *Robert* Biſhop of *Lincol* 'has obſerved) yet the Tax upon the Clergy, which was granted

‘at firſt but for Three is now changed into Five Years, and formerly Laymen paid Tythes to the Clergy; but now even the Prelates were compell'd to pay Tenths to the Layety; an Aid was granted in ſuccour of the *Holy-Land*, and (we the Clergy) are compell'd to pay it, to fight againſt the *Chriſtians* in *Apulia*; a Tenth was alſo granted by us to the King for the obſervation of the Great Charter, which notwithſtanding is not kept; beſides many other Grievances then done to the Clergy and Church of *England*, by the Pope's means, though with the Privity and Connivance of the King himſelf, too long to be here repeated: Which though omitted by Dr. *Brady*, yet we may from hence obſerve the ſad Condition of the People, where the Prince, inſtead of defending them, gives them up for a Prey to a Foreign Power.

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This being the Fortieth Year of the King's Reign, [1] he kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, where his Half-Brother, the Biſhop Elect of that City, entertained him at his own Charges; but when the King would have interceded with him for the Monks of that Church, whom he then cruelly oppreſſed, all the Anſwer he could get of him, was, That ſo long as he had any Money, he would not ſtick to beſtow it at *Rome*, till he had got his Will of theſe Obſtinate and Stubborn Monks.

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[1] *Id.* p. 919. The K. keeps his *Chriſtmas* with his Brother the Bp. Elect of *Wincheſter*, but yet can obtain no favour for the Monks of that Church.

[2] There were at this time likewiſe, great Complaints made by the Merchants of *Gaſcoigny*, againſt the King's Officers for taking away their Wines without paying for it; and Prince *Edward* (on whom that Countrey was now ſettled) declaring he would no longer ſuffer ſuch Abuſes, the King was very angry at it, and ſaid, *The Days of King* Henry the Second *were return'd, when the Sons Rebelled againſt their Fathers*; yet at laſt, taking better Advice, he paſſed it over, and promiſed to make Satisfaction for thoſe Injuries; however, the Prince looked to himſelf, and encreaſing his Retinue, rid abroad with Two hundred Horſe, as his *Garde du Corps* in his Train.

[2] *Id. Ib.* Great complaints of the Merchants of *Gaſcoigny*, and Pr. *Edward* himſelf declares againſt it. Upon which the King is highly incenſed.

[3] During the *Chriſtmas*-Holidays, (*viz.* on the Thirtieth of *December*) the Sun was Eclipſed, which was here but in part, though in *Spain* it was almoſt quite dark'ned.

[3] *Id.* p. 920. An Eclipſe of the Sun.

[4] On the Feaſt of St. *Hilary*, the Biſhops and Archdeacons met again at *London*, where they were much preſſed to give an Anſwer to Maſter *Ruſtand* the Pope's Nuncio, (or rather the King's Agent) to whom, upon his urging *that all Churches belonged to the Pope*, Maſter *Leonard*, (already mentioned) as Deputy or Prolocutor for the whole Clergy, return'd this Wiſe and Modeſt Reply, ‘That they did ſo indeed, but it was on this Account only, that he ſhould defend them, and not appropriate them to his own Uſe, and that this was the Intention of their Founders, according as we ſay alſo, when we affirm, That all things are the King's; yet we ſtill mean it is to Protect, and not to waſte and deſtroy them; at which Anſwer the Nuncio being very much nettled, he bid every

[4] *Id. ib.* The Clergy meet again at *London* to give an Anſwer to the P's *Nuncio*. To whom Maſter *Leonard*, the Deputy for the Clergy, makes a wiſe and modeſt Anſwer.

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one ſpeak for himſelf, that the Pope might thereby know, as well a the King, who were for, and who againſt them in this Affair; a which they were all of them ſo aſtoniſhed, that they knew not wha to anſwer, for it now appeared very plainly, that the Pope an the King had combin'd together to undo the Clergy, and therefor they appeal'd againſt theſe Demands.

[5] *Id. ib.* Yet the *Nuncio* would take no notice of it but falſly writ to the P. That the Prelates had own'd the Receipt of great Sums from *Italian* Merchants.

[5] Notwithſtanding all which, Maſter *Ruſtand* would not alte one tittle of what he had written in his Letter to the Pope, wherei was inſerted, That the Prelates had owned, they had received n ſmall Quantity of the aforeſaid Money from the *Italian* Merchant which was known to all there to be falſe; and they affirmed, (no without reaſon) that it was better for them to ſuffer with St. *Thom* the Martyr, (viz. *Thomas Becket*) than to endure his Oppreſſion an longer; but when the Nuncio ſaw how heinouſly all there took th Uſage, he became more moderate in his Temper, and diſſemblin what he had done, only ſaid, That he would ſpeak further wit the Pope about this Affair: However, they would not truſt him, bu immediately diſpatched away the Dean of *St. Pauls*, and ſome other to *Rome*, on the behalf of the Clergy, for they fear'd to be born down by two ſuch Potent Adverſaries as the Pope and the King and they were likewiſe afraid, that this being drawn into Example might tend very much to the Prejudice of the Church of *England*.

[1] *Id. ib.* The Clergy agree that the Clauſe in *Mag. Chart.* which contained the freedom of Eccleſiaſtical Elections, ſhould be laid before the P.
[2] *Id.* p 921.

[1] It was alſo about the ſame time agreed by the Clergy, Tha that Clauſe of King *John*'s *Magna Charta*, which concern'd the Freedom of Election of Churches, and had been then confirm'd b Pope *Innocent*, ſhould be now carried to *Rome*, but to what en
'ſerves all this [2] ſays our Author, when Whiſperers and Flat-
'terers of Great Men pervert all things, and put a wrong Interpre-
'tation upon them? And all the Anſwer they can receive from th
'Pope and his Cardinals, is, *That we muſt not in theſe times offen*
'*Princes*; adding withall, That they muſt now diſſemble and pa
'by many things; and ſo, by reaſon of this pretended Fear, Ju-
'ſtice is ſeen very much to fail in that Court.

I have been the more Particular in relating all theſe Proceeding with the Clergy, as alſo our Author's Reflections upon them, tha ſo the Reader may obſerve the great Corruption of the Court o *Rome* in thoſe Times; as alſo the ſlaviſh Subjection which the Clerg and People of *England* were then forced to undergo; and I hop they will not ſeem tedious, though Dr. *Brady* has thought fit t omit them.

[3] *Annal. de Burton, p.* 371. Upon the Arrival of the Arch B. of *Meſſina* there is a great meeting of the Clergy and Laiety at *Weſtminſter*. Where the Buſineſs of *Sicily* is propoſed to them.

[3] Not long after which, (*viz.*) on the Firſt Sunday in *Lent*, the Archbiſhop of *Meſſina*, being lately arrived, and a Great Aſſembly of the Prelates, and Clergy, and Laiety, were then conven'd in the Chapter-Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, and there he propounded to them the Buſineſs of *Sicily*, for which he was lately ſent

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ſent over hither by the Pope, who endeavoured by his Letters, as his Legate did by his Perſuaſions, to induce them to join with the King in the proſecution of this Deſign: But after ſome Days of deliberation, the Clergy and Laiety drew up their Reaſons againſt it, and delivered them to the King and the Archbiſhop, both in *French* and *Latin*, as follows;

The Reaſons of the Great Men againſt the King's Expedition into Apulia.

[4] *Id. ib.* The Reaſons of the Great Men againſt the K's Expedition into *Italy.*

F*Irſt*, [4] The Diſtance of that Kingdom from *England*: Alſo the Paſſage through the Territories of Potent Princes that were Enemies to the King; as likewiſe the Poſſeſſion of *—— and other Places by the Enemy, which were Paſſes to other Parts of that Kingdom.

Somewhat is here wanting in the Original.

Item, The preſent Confirmation of a new Prince in that Kingdom.

Item, His Confederation and Amity with the Natives and Neighbours.

Item, His Poſſeſſion of almoſt all the Cities, Caſtles and Fortreſſes.

Item, His great Revenue out of that Kingdom.

Item, The great Charge the King had been at, and as yet had received no Advantage by it, but rather Loſs.

Item, The vaſt and neceſſary Expences yet to come for the Payment of his Debts, for the length of the Voyage thither, and for the obtaining of which Kingdom all *England* would not ſuffice.

Item, The late Impoveriſhing of the Kingdom of *England*, by many and frequent *Iters*, or Circuits of Juſtices, by Extortions, and many ſorts of Tolts and other Oppreſſions.

Item, The ſmall ſtock of Money the King and his Son were furniſhed with for this Attempt, and the Poverty of the Inhabitants of *England*, both Clergy and Laiety.

Item, The Troubles of *Gaſcoigny*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*.

Item, The Incurſions of the *Welſh*.

Item, The Diminution of the Power of *England*, in Council, Money, and Men, which was like to happen by *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*'s ſudden leaving of it.

Item, The King of *France*, and the Great Men of the Neighbouring Nations, eſpecially ſuch as heretofore had Lands in *England*, would be encouraged to make attempts upon it, when, to carry on this Deſign upon *Sicily*, *England* was emptied of Men, Arms, Counſel, and Money.

Item, We cannot, nor ought to agree, That the King take upon him the Burthen of this Expedition, leſt he may ſeem to have delivered himſelf into the hands of his Enemies by our conſent; neither can nor will we undertake the Burthen of the ſaid Affair with the King, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, and for the great Hazard and vaſt Expences, which we can never bear or overcome.

Laſtly, For the difficult and grievous Conditions impoſed upon the King, by his acceptance and firſt undertaking of this Buſineſs, by reaſon whereof, after infinite Charge and Labour he may eaſily be laid aſide, or loſe the Right of that Kingdom.

The King's Demands were as follow.

'WHereas [5] the King, by the Common Advice of the whol 'English Church, upon the Grant of the Kingdom of *Sicil* 'to his Son *Edmund*, had obliged himſelf to the Pope to pay al 'paſt and future Charges of acquiring that Kingdom; he now de 'ſired that the whole Clergy and Laiety would become obliged fo 'the entire Debt, or at leaſt for the Intereſt or Penalties thereof 'to which he had bound himſelf. Alſo he demanded of th 'Clergy, that the Tenths of all their Benefices might be continue 'to him for Five Years, according to the new Taxations of the tru 'extended Value, only neceſſary Expences deducted.

'Alſo he demanded the Firſt Year's Profits of all Benefices tha 'ſhould become void, for Five Years: Alſo he required half th 'Benefices of Non-Reſidents: He likewiſe was asked the Profits of a 'Benefices of Priviledged Perſons (*viz.* ſuch as had *Sine-cures*, or ha 'Diſpenſations for Church-Livings without performing any Se 'vice) except one Benefice, which the Priviledged Perſon migh 'chooſe: Moreover, he deſired all uncertain Legacies, ſuch as wer 'indiſtinctly given, without naming any particular Charity, and le 'to be diſpoſed of according to the Diſcretion of the Prieſt, Con 'feſſor, or Ordinary.

[5] *Id.* p. 374.

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[1] The Reaſons of the Biſhops and Clergy againſt the King's Demands, were theſe that follow.

[1] Id. ib.

'FIrſt, The King's Demands ſeem not ſatisfactory, becauſe a great Sum of Money had been already unprofitably ſpent and utterly loſt: Alſo, we were not required to contribute to the Payment of that Money from the beginning, nor are we any ways bound for it; nor did the King contract or make this Bargain with the Pope, by our Conſent, either tacit or expreſs; nay, we knew nothing of it, and therefore we neither can, nor ought to be urged any further to carry on this Buſineſs.

'Alſo, when we have nothing but the Patrimony of Chriſt, (whoſe Stewards we are) that which by the Divine Law we are bound to give to the Poor, we cannot give to Kings, unleſs we mock God, and convert Eccleſiaſtical Goods to prohibited Uſes, which for no Reaſon we neither will, nor ought to do.

'Beſides, the whole Kingdom is not ſufficient to bear ſuch a Burthen, although Gold were as Dirt, eſpecially ſince the Kingdom of *Sicily* is Inexpugnable, and Inacceſſible to our Armies; and although we might have ſtipendiary and hired Soldiers of that Nation, yet their Faith may juſtly be ſuſpected: Alſo, if the *Engliſh* Militia ſhould be conducted to thoſe Parts, with as much Money as was neceſſary for them, we might yet fear the Neighbour-Kingdom would invade ours, and ſo both Kingdoms might be loſt, as well this in poſſeſſion, as that which is coveted; eſpecially when the King of the *Romans* that is to be, will carry a good part of our Militia with him.

'Alſo, we are ſenſible of the Inroads of the *Welſh*, and 'tis moſt neceſſary to defend our own Kingdom, rather than to expect to Conquer another: 'Tis ſaid likewiſe, That there is a Compoſition between the Church and *Manfred* concerning the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and all that belongs to it, as Publick Fame relates.

[2] Yet notwithſtanding all theſe ſubſtantial Reaſons, the Clergy being Canonically admoniſhed by *Ruſtand* the Nuncio, they at laſt tamely ſubmitted, and firmly promiſed to obey the Pope's Commands, which was to do what the King deſired, that ſo he might be furniſhed with Money to pay him his Demands, for what was expended towards the Reduction of *Sicily* and *Apulia*. For the Debt the Pope claimed of the King, beſides what Money he had already received of him, was One hundred and thirty five thouſand Marks Principal, and Five hundred and forty more for Intereſt; and this

[2] Rot. Cl. 40 H. 3. M. 13. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe Reaſons, the Clergy ſubmit to the Pope's Demands.

was to be paid by *Michaelmas* then next coming; before which time alſo the King was either to come in Perſon, or elſe to ſend a General with competent Forces, otherwiſe the whole Contract, Bargain, and Grant, were void, if he deferred either his coming or ſending thither after that time: And not only ſo, but the King was to be, and remain *Excommunicated*, and his whole Kingdom put under *Eccleſiaſtical Interdict*. The fear of the Execution of which Sentence had ſuch an effect upon the King, that he prayed further time of the Pope for performance of the Contract. But yet notwithſtanding theſe Diſcouragements, and the hard Conditions impoſed upon him, he reſolved to proſecute this Enterpriſe, againſt the Senſe of his Great Council: All which Matters of Fact, is very evident from his Letters to divers of the Cardinals, which Dr. *Brady* has given us at large in his *Appendix* (N° 185, 186.) from the Records in the *Tower* above cited.

[3] *Id.* p. 922. K. *Henry* ſends Ambaſſadors to the Eſtates of *France*, to demand his Rights in that Kingdom, but receives a flat denial.

But to give you ſome Account of Foreign Affairs: [3] About *Candlemas* this Year, the King of *France* held a General Aſſembly of the Eſtates, or Parliament (as our Author terms it) to which the King of *England* ſent his Ambaſſador, requiring his Rights beyond the Seas; for he was now reſolved to ſeem formidable to the *French*; but however he could receive nothing from them but a flat Denial: Yet Mr. *Manſel*, the King's Envoy, having lately had an account of the total Rout of the Papal Forces, thought it beſt to omit one part of his Errand, *viz.* to demand free Paſſage for the King of *England*, or his General, to march with an Army through *France* into *Italy*.

[4] *Id.* p. 923. King *Henry* Knights *Magnus* King of the *Iſle of Man.*

A Proclamation that all Men worth 15 *l. per Ann.* ſhould be Knighted.

[4] At *Eaſter* King *Henry* Knighted *Magnus* King of the Iſle of *Man*, and beſtowed on him great Preſents at his Inauguration; and about the ſame time came out a Royal Edict, or Proclamation, whereby every one who held Fifteen Pounds *per Annum* in Land, ſhould take upon him the Order of Knighthood; and that thoſe who did not deſire it, or could not ſuſtain the Dignity as they ought, ſhould buy it off with Money.

[5] *Id.* p. 929. The Citizens of *London* are made to pay another Talliage of 500 Marks.

[5] Alſo this Year the Citizens of *London* were made to pay another Talliage of Five hundred Marks; theſe Talliages were under various Pretences, as ſometimes they were for the uſe of the King, ſometimes of the Queen, *&c.* Thus were they treated like Slaves, notwithſtanding all Liberties or Exemptions they had to the contrary.

[1] *Id.* p. 924. The Abbot and Convent of St. *Albans* receive Letters from the Pope commanding them to pay 500 Marks to certain *Italian* Merchants, to whom he ſaid they were bound.

In purſuance of [1] the Biſhop of *Hereford*'s Contrivance of binding Abbeys, Monaſteries, Prelates, and Churches to foreign Merchants before mentioned, the Abbey and Convent of *St. Alban*'s, on *Palm-Sunday*, received Letters from the Pope, letting them underſtand, That they were to pay Five hundred Marks to certain *Italian* Merchants, to whom, he ſaid they were bound in that Sum within a Month, otherwiſe, after that time, they were to ſtand ſuſpended. This was the Tenour of thoſe Letters, whereas they did not know they were bound to any Man living. In like manner was it with

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other Monaſteries that were alſo thruſt under the Yoke of theſe Merchant-Uſurers; and that the Exactors might more effectually extort the Money from them, they ſaid it was for the King's Uſe, who was now preparing for his Voyage or Pilgrimage for the *Holy Land*, though it was not at all intended.

[2] *Id. ib.* The Biſhops meet again at *London*, to return an Anſwer to the Pope's Nuncio; and being encouraged by the Barons, deny to contribute any thing to the King.

Then [2] Fifteen Days after *Eaſter*, the Biſhops in great Perplexity met at *London*, to anſwer Mr. *Ruſtand's* and the King's Demands: At firſt, by reaſon of their Diſagreement, they were about to break up, and depart; but being encouraged by the Barons, they denied *Ruſtand*, and peremptorily told him, they would not contribute any thing to the King from their Baronies.

[3] *Id.* p. 930. The King and Queen of *Scots* arrive in *England*, and are nobly entertained.

[3] In *Auguſt* the King and Queen of *Scots* came into *England*, and gave their Parents a Viſit at *Woodſtock*; from thence they went to *London* with a mighty Train, ſo that the Courts were conſtrained to take two different Roads, the Country being crowded with the great Numbers of the Nobility, Gentry, and their Retinues. On the Fifteenth of the ſame Month they came to *London*, where their Reception was Noble, and agreeable to their Expectations, it being expreſſed by all Demonſtrations of Welcome in that City, and alſo at *Weſtminſter*.

[4] *Id.* p. 924. The Pope ſends over his Bull to his Nuncio, commanding him to raiſe the Sum of 2000 Marks from divers Monaſteries.

To return to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs: [4] About this time alſo was ſent over the Pope's Bull to *Ruſtand* his Nuncio (which our Author has given us at large) commanding him to collect and receive from ſome of the Monaſteries of *England* the Sum of Two thouſand Marks, which (he ſaid) they had obliged themſelves to pay to the Merchants of *Sienna* at the Pope's Command; and that in caſe of any delay or contradiction, he was to proceed againſt them by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, without any Appeal, and that notwithſtanding any Apoſtolical Priviledges or Indulgences to the contrary.

This Money was to be paid to certain *Florentine* Merchants there named, for maintaining the Gariſons in the Kingdom of *Sicily*; but when the Prelates had heard how the Pope and the King had combined to oppreſs them, being ground as it were between two Mill-ſtones, they knew not which way to turn themſelves, and ſo were forced quietly to ſubmit to thoſe Oppreſſions.

[5] *Id.* p. 934. But the Priors of *Durham* and *Giſburn*, who had ſtood out againſt theſe cheating Obligations, are at laſt forced to ſubmit to them.

[5] But the Priors and Convents of *Durham* and of *Giſburn*, being thus forced to be bound in great Sums, were the only Abbeys that ſtood out againſt theſe cheating Obligations and unjuſt Suſpenſions, and *would not bow their Knees to Baal*; yet at laſt, having none to aſſiſt them, they alſo were compell'd to ſubmit to the arbitrary Will of the *Roman* Court and its Merchant-Uſurers, as well as the reſt of the richer Monaſteries.

[1] This

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[1] *Id.* p. 935. The K. comes into the Exchequer, and declares that all Sheriffs, that did not appear and bring in their Money preſently after *Michaelmas*, ſhould be grievouſly amerced.

[1] This Year, on the Ninth of *October*, the King came to the *Exchequer* while the Barons were ſitting, and with his own Mouth declared, That every Sheriff that did not appear within eight Days after *Michaelmas*, and bring in his Money, as well Fee-Farm Rents as Amercements and other Debts, ſhould be amerced the Firſt day Five Marks, the Second day Ten, the Third day Fifteen Marks, and the Fourth day to be more grievouſly fined, if they continued refractory, and would not appear: And he alſo declared the ſame thing againſt all Cities that had Liberties, and were to anſwer at the *Exchequer* by their own Bailiffs; ſo that the Fourth day they were to loſe their Liberties, if they appeared not as well as the Sheriffs. Thus all the Sheriffs of *England* were Amerced each Five Marks, becauſe they did not diſtrain every one that had Fifteen Pounds a Year in their ſeveral Counties, to come up and be Knighted; but they obtained ſome longer time, and ſo the King ſent his Writs to them accordingly.

[2] *Id.* p. 936. The Bp. of *Ely* deceaſing, the K. recommends the Keeper of his Seal; but he being refuſed by the Convent, and another choſen, it highly provokes the K.

[2] The Biſhop of *Ely* being dead, the King by his Letters recommended *Henry de Wengham*, Keeper of his Seal, to the Election of that Convent, and ſent ſpecial Meſſengers to that purpoſe; but the Convent would not comply with his Requeſt, but choſe *Hugh de Balſham*, their Prior, Biſhop. This ſo exaſperated the King, that he would not accept of him, but ordered *John Walleran* (to whom he had committed the Cuſtody of that Biſhoprick) to cut down the Woods, and ſell the Stock upon their Lands.

[3] *Id. Ib.* The Pope's Uſurers cauſe the Abbey of *St. Albans* to be put under an *Interdict*.

[3] But the Pope's Exactors or Uſurers fell moſt ſeverely upon the Monaſtery of *St. Alban*'s; for about the Feaſt of *Simon* and *Jude* (*i.e.* the Eight and twentieth of *October*) it was put under an *Interdict* for Fifteen days, not that it wanted great Privileges, but that the deteſtable Addition of a *Non-obſtante*, annulled all thoſe Pious Conceſſions of former Popes; therefore the Convent rather choſe to comply with an unjuſt and violent Sentence, than to be guilty of a Contempt.

[4] *Id.* p. 937. The *Welſh* being extremely oppreſſed, take Arms in their own Defence.

Pr. *Edward* raiſes an Army to hinder their Incurſions, but to no purpoſe.

[4] The *Welſh*, having been extreamly oppreſſed, and the Government of their Countrey ſold to ſuch as would give moſt for it, and being at length harraſſed beyond meaſure by Sir *Geoffrey de Langley*, the King's Receiver and Aſſeſſor of his Taxes, about the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, took up Arms for the Defence of their Countrey and Laws, and Invading the *Engliſh* Borders, deſtroyed the Tenants of Prince *Edward*, whom as yet they had not acknowledged for their Lord; whereupon, the Prince having no ready Money, borrowed Four thouſand Marks of his Uncle Earl *Richard*, to raiſe ſufficient Forces to ſuppreſs their Incurſions, and enter their Countrey in order to make Repriſals; but the whole Winter was ſo Wet and Stormy, and the Places whither the *Welſh* had retired, were ſo Boggy and Impaſſable, that the *Engliſh* durſt not attempt them, ſo that this Expedition proved ineffectual, and the Prince's Expences in vain: Our Author alſo here gives us but a bad Account of the Carriage of this

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A bad Account of this Prince his Youthful Pranks.

this young Prince and thoſe of his Retinue, that even Prince *Lewis*, the Invader of *England*, never brought over greater Plunderers: And the Monk tells us one Prank of this Prince, which made the People have no great hopes of him, which was, That as he was riding along the Road, he cauſed his Men to cut off one Ear, and and put out one Eye of a certain young Gentleman he met with, but upon what Provocation or Affront the Prince uſed him ſo barbarouſly, our Author does not acquaint us.

[5] *Id. ib.* The K. forbids his Chancellor to iſſue out any Writs againſt his Brothers, and ſeveral other Great Men, contrary to Law. And cauſes all that were qualified to take their Knighthood, or to Fine off. And enquires into the faults of Meaſures, *&c.* And thereby raiſes much Money; yet all could not reſcue him from extreme Poverty.

[5] About this time the King forbad the Chancellor to iſſue out any Writs that might prove prejudicial to his Brother Earl *Richard*, or to *Richard* Earl of *Glocester*, *Peter* of *Savoy*, or any of the King's Half-Brothers, which (ſays our Monk) *was contrary to the Law and Peace of the Kingdom:* Alſo the King about the ſame time, (being neceſſitated for Money) forced ſuch whom he thought fit, to be made Knights, or elſe to Fine off, and ſo be excuſed; He likewiſe cauſed all ſuch as neglected their Suits to his Courts to be ſeverely amerced, and taxed all Lands that held in Serjeanty; And ordered Enquiry to be made into Liquid Meaſures of Wine, Ale, and Dry Meaſures of Grain, as Gallons and Buſhels, as alſo into Weights, and grievouſly puniſhed (even above their deſerts) all thoſe whoſe Meaſures and Weights did not anſwer the Standard; by which means he raiſed a great Sum of Money, but leſſen'd the Affections both of the Clergy and Laiety towards him; and yet for all theſe Courſes he could not retrieve himſelf from extream Poverty, for he had borrowed ſo much Money of the Pope's Merchant-Uſurers, for the Promotion of his Son *Edmund* to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, that the Intereſt and Forbearance of it, amounted to a Hundred Pounds a Day; into ſo deplorable a Condition had this poor Prince now plung'd himſelf, through his too much credulity on the Pope's ſpecious Promiſes.

Sentence of *Excommunication* was again paſſed upon all Infringers of the Great Charters.

As for the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Year, *Matt. Weſtminster* takes notice of what *Matt. Paris* has omitted, *viz.* That at the end of this laſt Parliament the Sentence of *Excommunication* was afreſh renewed againſt all Tranſgreſſors of *Magna Charta*, and that of *Foreſts*, the form of which he has there given us at large, but needs not to be here repeated; only the Reader may obſerve, it was pronounced by Archbiſhop *Boniface* in the Great Hall at *Weſtminster*, in the Preſence of the King, his Brother the Earl of *Cornwall*, and divers other Earls and Biſhops of the Kingdom, all holding Tapers in their Hands: But tho' the exact time of this Action is not mentioned in our Author, yet I thought fit to take notice of it, becauſe this as well as the precedent Tranſactions (though very conſiderable) are omitted by Dr. *Brady* in his Hiſtory.

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[1] *M. P.* p. 939. Several *German* Princes declare E. *Richard* Elected King of the *Romans*.

[1] This Year the King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *London*, where came to him ſeveral of the Princes of *Germany*, who declared, that *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, was rightfully choſen by unanimous conſent King of *Almain*, or the *Romans*, in the room of *William* Earl of *Holland*,

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The E. is with ſome difficulty perſuaded to accept of that Honour.

who had been killed not long before in a Skirmiſh with the *Friſons*. The Earl at firſt was unwilling to accept of this Dignity, being diſ-heartned by the ill Succeſs of the two former Princes, who bore that Title; but being prevail'd upon by the King and his Half-Brother, the Biſhop Elect of *Wincheſter*, he at laſt conſented to take that high Honour, not, (as he himſelf at that time declared) ‘ out of any Ambition or Covetouſneſs, but purely to Reform that ‘ Kingdom, and bring it into a better State and Condition: With which the *German* Ambaſſadors being very well ſatisfied, they return'd home to give an Account of their Meſſage to thoſe that ſent them.

[2] *Id.* p. 946. A great Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, where the Maſters of the Univerſity of *Oxford* attend, and for what purpoſe.

[2] In *Mid-lent* there was held a great Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to which by the King's command came the Maſters of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, that ſo there might be a Reconciliation made between them and the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who then troubled that Univerſity, and went about to invade their Privileges, of which the ſaid Maſters had already complain'd to the King, as he went lately on Pilgrimage to St. *Alban*'s Shrine: There appeared alſo at this Parliament Earl *Richard*, King Elect of the *Romans*, who then came to take his leave of the **Repreſentative* Body of *England*, for almoſt the whole Nobility of the Realm were there preſent; yet did not they at that time know the Claim the King of *Caſtile* made to that Kingdom, tho' he aſſerted, That he himſelf was *Prior* Elected thereunto. There was at this time ſo great a Multitude in *London*, that the City could ſcarce contain them.

**Univerſitas.*

[3] *Id. ib.* The K. preſents his Son *Edmund* to the Parliament, and makes a Speech to them to Aſſiſt him.

[3] To this Parliament the King brought his Son *Edmund*, dreſſed in an *Apulian* Habit; and having ſhewed him to them all, he ſaid thus, ‘See, ye Faithful Subjects, my Son *Edmund*, whom ‘ the Lord of his Grace has freely called to the Royal Dignity; ‘ wherefore it is manifeſt, how worthy he is of all Men's Favours, ‘ and how Inhumane it would be in any one to deny him a powerful Aſſiſtance in this Juncture of Time; and then farther affirm'd, ‘ That by the Favour and Conſent of the Church of *England*, he ‘ had obliged himſelf to the Pope, under pain of loſing his Kingdom, for the Payment of One hundred and forty thouſand Marks, ‘ Principal Money, beſides Intereſt, which daily increaſed; And ‘ for the Diſcharge of this, he demanded the Tenths of the whole ‘ Beneficed Clergy for Five Years, according to the New Valuation, ‘ without any Deduction or Allowance, even for neceſſary Expences. At the hearing of this high Demand, all Men's Ears began to tingle, and they ſtood amazed, eſpecially when they found that this Tyranny had taken its riſe from the Pope himſelf: But at length, when neither Excuſes nor Intreaties would prevail, they granted the King an Aid of Fifty thouſand Marks towards his urgent Neceſſities; but upon this Condition, that he ſhould for the future inviolably obſerve that Capital *Charter*, which had been ſo often promiſed, and ſo often paid for; but the King, not thinking this Sum ſufficient for his Deſign, refuſed to accept it.

And demands the Tenths of all the Beneficed Clergy, for five Years.

The Parliament with much ado grant the K. an Aid of Fifty thouſand Marks.

Then

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Then (according to the Annals of [4] *Burton*) Fifteen days after *Eaſter*, the King held another Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to treat again of the Buſineſs of *Apulia* or *Sicily*, in which the Archbiſhop of *Meſſina*, the Pope's new Legate, was preſent; and then and there the King received the ſame Anſwer from the Clergy and Laiety, as he had done before, which here ſeems to be a flat denial, and is contrary to what *Matt. Paris* has already related; But I think he deſerves more credit.

[4] P. 376.

[5] So ſoon as this Parliament was diſſolved, there arrived the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, with ſome other Biſhops, beſides a certain *German* Duke, not named, who all came over to encourage Earl *Richard* to accept the Kingdom of *Almain*, as an Earneſt of the *Roman* Empire, and that he might be received without any Contradiction; yet they cunningly conceal'd the Election of *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, by ſome of the Electors; though indeed it is a wonder how a thing ſo notorious as that was, could be hid from any Body, and eſpecially that the Earl of *Gloceſter* and Mr. *Manſel*, who were lately return'd out of *Germany*, ſhould hear nothing of it; However, Earl *Richard* was ſo well ſatisfied with the good Words that were given him, that he preſented the Archbiſhop with a very rich Mitre; which was ſo acceptably received by him, that he thereupon promiſed to Crown him King of *Germany*; which our Author ſays he mentions, to ſhew Poſterity how Strangers then impoſed upon the *Engliſh* Simplicity.

[5] *Id.* p. 947.

The A. B. of *Cologne* and ſeveral other Biſhops, come over to encourage E. *Richard* to accept of the Kingdom of *Almain*.

And it was chiefly for this Prince's great Wealth that theſe *German* Princes then Elected him King; He being able, as [1] *Mat. Paris* relates, to ſpend a Hundred Marks a day for Ten years together, not accounting the Revenues he received from *England* and *Germany*.

[1] *Id.* p. 941.

[2] Not long after *Eaſter* the new King Elect, having received the Homages of the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and the other *Noblemen* that came with him, went towards the Sea-ſide, and having ſtayed a good while there for a Wind, at laſt he took Shipping with all his Retinue, on the *Sunday* after St. *Mark*'s Day, and upon *Tueſday* following, (being the Firſt of *May*) he Landed at *Dort*, from whence on *Aſcention*-Day he came to *Aken*, (or *Aix-la-Chapelle*, as we now commonly call it) and on the ſame Day was Crown'd King, and his Counteſs Queen of the *Romans*, with great Splendour and Magnificence, in the Preſence of the Archbiſhops of *Cologne* and *Mentz*, and many Earls, Barons, and Noblemen; and he was placed in the Throne of *Charles* the *Great*, with the uſual Solemnity; yet the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, with ſeveral other Princes were not there, having before oppoſed Earl *Richard*'s Election.

[2] *Id.* p. 984.

The K. Elect goes for *Germany*.

He, together with his Qu. is Crown'd at *Aken*, with great Splendour.

But to return to Domeſtick Affairs: This Year, (according to the MS Chronicle of the City of *London*) the King Coined a Penny of Pure Gold of the Weight of * Two *Sterlings*, and commanded that it ſhould go for Twenty Shillings. This I take notice of, as being the

The K. coins a Penny of Gold, of the Value of Twenty Shillings.

* *Duorum Sterlingorum.*

3.

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the firſt Piece of Gold I can find, that had been Coined in *England.*

[3] *Id* p. 949. The *Welſh* having invaded the *Engliſh* Borders, force Pr. *Edward* to a Retreat.

Whereupon the King himſelf with all his Military Force marches into *Wales.*

[4] *Id.* p. 953. They Confederate with the *South-Welſh*-Men, rout part of the King's Army.

[5] *Id.* p. 954. The *Welſh* offer to ſubmit, but are refuſed. Whereupon, the K. is forc'd to return into *England.*

[3] The *Welſh* having this Year plundered and burnt the *Engliſh* Borders, and killed the Inhabitants, and forced Prince *Edward* and his Army (who had invaded them) to retreat, they remained Victorious in thoſe Parts; nor would Prince *Llewellyn* deſiſt from this Enterpriſe, though he was entreated by a Letter from the new King *Richard*, to ceaſe making any further hoſtile Incurſions to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom: But about the Two and Twentieth of *July*, the King being highly provoked by theſe Invaſions, marched himſelf into *Wales*, with his whole Military Tenants, whom he had now Summoned by Writ, to ſuppreſs their Incurſions; but they having notice of his coming, fled into the fartheſt Receſſes of their Countrey, to wit, *Snowdun*, and other Mountainous and inacceſſible Places, carrying with them their Wives and Children, and driving all their Cattel thither: yet before their departure they ploughed up their Meadows, deſtroyed their Mills, brake down their Bridges, and digged Pits in their Fords to make them unpaſſable; [4] and at length they Confederating with thoſe of *South-Wales*, by the Treachery of *Griffin de Brun*, (a *Welſh* Nobleman, who then Served the King) made an Aſſault upon one Part of the Royal Army, and routed it; then the King with the reſidue of his Forces marched back towards *Cheſter*, and burnt all the Corn in the Borders thereabouts; [5] whereupon the *Welſh* offer'd to ſubmit, ſo that they might enjoy their antient Laws and Liberties, and not be ſubject to Prince *Edward*, nor any but the King himſelf, but he then refuſed the Terms; yet towards Winter he was forced to make a ſhameful Retreat into *England*, having ſpent much Treaſure, and done nothing that was conſiderable.

[1] *Id.* p. 957. The bad ſucceſs of ſeveral ſmall Expeditions againſt them.

[1] Nor had the *Engliſh* any better ſucceſs in ſome private Expeditions againſt the *Welſh*, that were made after the King's departure. When a Nobleman, called *James de Audeley*, (who had Caſtles and Lands in the Borders of *Wales*, which during his abſence in *Germany* the *Welſh* had burnt and deſtroyed) reſolved to be revenged of them, and to that end made an Incurſion into their Territories, though very Unfortunately, for they ſallying out of their private Receſſes, fell upon the *Engliſh*, and routing them, drove them out of their Countrey: thus they and the *Engliſh* mutually waſting each other's Territories, it not only broke off all Commerce between the two Nations, but alſo reduced all the Borders of *Wales* to a perfect Deſart.

[2] *Id.* p. 956. The Bp. Elect of *Ely*, and Abbot of *St. Edmunds-Bury*, return from *Rome*, having ſpent a great deal of Money.

[2] As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, about the ſame time this Year, the Biſhop-Elect of *Ely*, and the Abbot of *St. Edmunds-Bury* had their Elections confirm'd at *Rome*, where they had ſpent, given, and promiſed vaſt Sums of Money for obtaining their Rights, by

which our Author (I ſuppoſe) means their Confirmations, for there had been lately a new Law made by the Pope, that every Elect (whether Biſhop, Abbot, or Prior) ſhould come thither and compound for this Confirmation, which (as our Author ſhews) proved highly burthenſome and inconvenient to the Church.

[3] And as for Foreign Affairs, not long after this, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, the Biſhop Elect of *Wincheſter*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bigot*, the Earl-Mareſchal, *Peter* of *Savoy*, and *Robert Waleran*, were ſent to the King of *France*, to demand the Reſtitution of K. *Henry*'s Rights in *Normandy*, and the other Parts of *France*, but returned *re infecta*, as you will find by and by; for the King of *France* had already ſo well fortified and ſecured all the ſtrong Places there, that he needed not to be afraid of any thing King *Henry*, or his Brother *Richard* could do againſt him.

[3] *Id.* p. 958. Ambaſſadors are again ſent into *France*, to demand the King's Rights there, but to no purpoſe.

[4] This Year alſo the good Underſtanding and Affection between *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, and King *Henry*, began to abate, by reaſon of his Brother Earl *Richard*'s Competition with him for the Kingdom of *Almain*; yet he now ſent Letters to King *Henry*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance againſt his Brother, according to the Tenour of the late Charter of Peace made between them, That one ſhould aſſiſt the other againſt all his Adverſaries whatſoever: But the King would by no means hear of it, but ſaid, That his Brother had been lawfully Elected and Crowned, and that he would ſtand by him againſt all his Oppoſers.

[4] *M. P.* p. 555, 957. The good Correſpondence between K. *Henry* and the K. of *Caſtile* begins to abate, and for what Reaſon.

[5] To conclude this Year with ſome remarkable Paſſages, tho' not immediately relating to Civil Hiſtory: The ſcarcity of Corn, and all other Proviſions, was ſo great, as well through the extream Wetneſs of the Seaſon as other Cauſes, that a Horſe-load of Corn was ſold for Ten Shillings; ſo that vaſt Numbers of poor People died of Famine, which the Author of the Chronicle, called (though falſly) * *Walter* of *Coventry*'s *Julius*, obſerves to have been ſo great, that himſelf ſaw them fighting for the Carcaſſes of dead Dogs and other Carrion, and to eat the Waſh that was ſet for the Swine. But *Matth. Paris* further obſerves, That this Famine did happen not ſo much from the ſcarcity of Corn, as from want of Money, ſince the like Quantity of Corn had been formerly ſold for a Mark, or Twenty Shillings; yet none of them had died for Hunger: And the reaſon why it was otherwiſe now, proceeded from *Richard* King of the *Romans* his late carrying over into *Germany* no leſs than Seven hundred thouſand Pounds in ready Money; an incredible Sum in thoſe Days, beſides what King *Henry* had lately ſent to the Pope to proſecute the Deſign upon *Sicily*; and therefore it was no wonder if *England* was near exhauſted of its Money.

[5] *Id.* p. 958. A great Scarcity of Corn, ſo that many People died of Hunger.

* MS. in *Bib. Cotton.*

The true Reaſon of this Famine.

[1] This

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[1] *Id.* p. 959.

The K. does every day loſe ſomewhat of Royal Dignity.

[1] This Year the King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *London*, and about that time, notwithſtanding all the Intereſt that he and the Archbiſhop could make at *Rome* to the contrary, the Biſhop of *Ely* and Abbot of *St. Edmundsbury*, returned from thence confirmed by the Pope; ſo that the King, taking ill Advice, every day loſt ſomewhat of his Royal Dignity, and for that reaſon ſtudied how to damnifie the Church.

[2] *Id. ib.*

The K.'s Ambaſſadors return out of *France*, without obtaining any thing, and the reaſon of it.

[2] As for the Noblemen lately ſent by King *Henry* to the King of *France*, to demand *Normandy* and his other Rights in that Kingdom, they were civilly received by himſelf; but his Brothers, and the other Great Men of *France*, much oppoſed them, ſo that they returned on the Sixth of *January*, or *Twelfth-day*, without obtaining any thing for which they were ſent.

[3] *Id. ib.*

The *Welſh* ſeize ſome Towns in *England*.

[3] About this time the *Welſh* deſpairing of Peace, and diſtruſting the King's Mercy, ſeized ſome Towns and Places belonging to Prince *Edward*, and other Noble Men, in the Borders of *Wales*; and and having firſt plundered them, they afterwards burnt them, and killed all the People.

[4] *Id.* p. 960.

The Pope falls out with the King, and for what cauſe.

And threatens to *Excommunicate* him, and *Interdict* his Kingdom. Whereupon the K. ſends him 5000 Marks.

[4] It was alſo about this time that the Pope began to fall out with the King, becauſe he obſerved not his often-repeated Promiſes, wherein he had bound himſelf, under pain of loſing his Kingdom, to correct his wonted Exceſſes; and at the inſtance of *Laurence* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and many others of the Clergy, threatned (after many fruitleſs Admonitions) to *Excommunicate* him, and *Interdict* his Kingdom, and to proceed further, as he ſhould ſee cauſe: Whereupon the King being in great Confuſion, ſent him Five thouſand Marks, to pacifie and bring him into a better Temper, and to put off the Sentence for a time; with which Money and the King's earneſt Petitions, he ſeemed pretty well ſatisfied, though it was now evident, that notwithſtanding all that vaſt Charge the Nation had been at, for acquiring the Kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Naples*, yet all hopes of it were now quite vaniſhed.

[5] *Id.* p. 962.
[1] *Id.* p. 954.

Mr. *Ruſtand* returns into *England* much troubled;

And by cunning Inſinuations and Lyes obtains great Benefices.

[5] In *Mid-Lent* Mr. *Ruſtand*, the late Nuncio, returned from *Rome*, where he was deprived of his former Authority, [1] having been there ſome time before accuſed by ſome of his Rivals, that he had been too Rapacious, and (laying aſide all true Fear of God) had gained great Revenues in *England:* But now that he might obtain the King's Favour in retaining of them, he affirmed he was born at *Bourdeaux*, and promiſed, as he was the King's Liege and Natural Subject, effectually to procure the Dominion of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and tranſact his other Buſineſs at the Court of *Rome* and elſewhere: With which flattering Promiſes, he ſo circumvented this eaſie King, that he was endowed with other great Benefices. However, he was removed from the Power and Dignity

he had before enjoyed, and was again recalled to *Rome*, and not long after, *viz.* the Week before *Eaſter*, Mr. *Herlot*, or *Arlot*, the Pope's Notary and Special Secretary, came with mighty Pomp into *England*, inveſted with great Authority; and though he was not ſtiled a Legate, yet he wanted not the Power of one.

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Mr. *Herlot* the Pope's Notary, comes as his Nuncio into *England*.

[2] The late Truce between the *Engliſh* and *Welſh* now expiring, they again miſerable ſtraitned the King's Subjects in thoſe Parts, inſomuch that they could get neither Salt nor Corn, nor other Neceſſaries; and they had alſo invaded *Pembrokſhire*, and fallen upon many of the Inhabitants there: Wherefore the King being highly incenſed at it, [3] on the Fourteenth of *March* iſſued out his Writs to all that owed him Service, both Clergy and Laiety, enjoining them to meet him at *Cheſter* eight Days before *Midſummer*, to march into *Wales* againſt *Llewellyn* the Son of *Griffin* and his Accomplices, who had ſeized on, and waſted divers of his own Lands, as well as thoſe of his Son *Edward*, and other his Liege Subjects, againſt the Homage and Fealty they had ſworn to him.

[2] *Id.* p. 963.

The *Engliſh* are miſerably ſtraitned by the *Welſh*.

The K. iſſues out his Writs of Summons to all Tenants by Knights Service to meet him at *Cheſter*.

[3] *Clauſ.* 42. *Hen.* 3. *M.* 11. *Dorſ.*

It ſeems that [4] the *Welſh* made theſe Incurſions at this time, in confidence that the King would be diverted by the *Scots*; for whereas that King, upon Marriage with King *Henry*'s Daughter, had put himſelf and Kingdom under his Protection and Government, until he ſhould be of lawful Age, ſome of his Rebels had lately taken him out of the hands of thoſe Councellors and Curators whom King *Henry* had ſet over him, and detained him againſt his Will: For repreſſing of which Inſolence and Rebellion, the King had iſſued out [5] Summons, dated on the 17th of *January* before, to all his Military Tenants of the *North*, eſpecially thoſe of *Yorkſhire*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, to march with Horſe and Arms and all their Forces into *Scotland*, together with ſuch as he ſhould ſend to them. Theſe Writs are ſtill upon the Roll; but yet I do not find any thing done in purſuance thereof.

[4] *M. P ib.* 63.

The *Welſh* made theſe Incurſions, in hopes of being diverted by the *Scots*, and on what account.

[5] *Clauſ.* 42. *Hen.* 3. *M.* 11. *Dorſ* *M.P. ib.*

[1] Then preſently after *Hock-Tueſday* (that is, the *Tueſday* after *Eaſter-Tueſday*) a Parliament was convened at *London*, wherein the King being preſſed with the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Sicily* (concerning which, Mr. *Herlot* was ſent to urge him to a poſitive Anſwer) now demanded a very great Sum, which the Pope upon his Requeſt obliged himſelf to pay the Merchants: But the Great Men obſtinately denied to aſſiſt him with Money, for they would not impoveriſh themſelves to pay his Debts, which he had contracted through his own Weakneſs; and if he had bought the Kingdom of *Sicily* of the Pope for his Son *Edmund*, it was done without the Conſent of his Nobility, ſince there were ſo many inſufferable Difficulties lying in the way to the gaining of that Kingdom.

[1] *M. P. ib.*

A Parliament held at *London*, where the K.'s Demands for Money are rejected by the Great Men.

[2] When

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[2] *Id.* p 965. The K. obtains a Bond from the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* for 2500 Marks, which is urged as an Example for other Abbeys.

But the Abbot of *Waltham* denies the like Requeſt, and gives very ſhrewd Reaſons for it.

An honeſt Anſwer of an *Engliſh* Abbot.

[2] When the King had received this Repulſe in Parliament, he tried ſome other ways to get Money; for he applied himſelf to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, who was ſo wheedled by his falacious Promiſes, that he put the Seal of the Convent to a Charter, where it became bound for the King in Two thouſand five hundred Marks, and ſo gave a pernicious Example to other Abbeys; for immediately thereupon the King ſent *Simon Paſſeleve* to the Abbey of *Waltham*, who ſhewed them the King's Letters, and ſaid, that the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* deſired them to do the like; but the Abbot of *Waltham* would by no means conſent to charge his Houſe with any Money, notwithſtanding all *Simon*'s Entreaties; ſo he not ſpeeding here, went immediately to the Abbey of *St. Albans* with the ſame Meſſage; but the Abbot and Convent there plainly told him, That it was againſt their own Privileges, and alſo the Pope's Prohibition, thus to oblige their Houſe for the King: Whereunto *Simon* anſwered, That the King had ſent along with him a Frier *Minor*, who had Power to abſolve them from that Oath: But the Abbot would not hear of this, but honeſtly replied, *That it was not ſafe to undergo* Excommunication *in hopes of being abſolved; as no Man would hearken to one that ſhould perſwade him to break his Leg to have it well ſet again; and beſides, in doing this, they ſhould tell a great Lye, and the Convent-Seal would be Witneſs againſt them of their Breach of Truſt*, And when *Simon* urged them farther, That they ought to aſſiſt the King, becauſe all they enjoyed came from him and his Progenitors; their Anſwer was, That it was true, all they had was the King's, *but for the Preſervation and not Subverſion of the Kingdom*; and that the King had at his Coronation, as well as many times ſince, ſworn to this: So that notwithſtanding all *Simon* could ſay, he could not prevail with them to put their Common Seal to the Obligation. Yet for all this Repulſe, *Simon* went from thence to the Abbey of *Reading*, but neither did he there find any better Entertainment: Upon which he wos forced to return without getting any Obligations Sealed by them for the Two thouſand five hundred Marks, which the King hoped, by the Aſſignment of this Security, to have taken up of the *Italian* Merchants. I have inſerted this Paſſage (which Dr. *Brady* has omitted) to let the Reader ſee the honeſt Stoutneſs of the *Engliſh* Abbots at that time.

[3] *Id.* p.968. The Barons make Complaints againſt the K. for not obſerving the Great Charters, and for other Grievances.

But to return to Civil Matters, from whence we have a little digreſſed: [3] In this Parliament there aroſe great Heats and Contentions, which laſted till after the Feaſt of *Aſcenſion*, between the King and Barons, who made great Complaints againſt him, That he ſlighted the Authority of the *Church*, and did not obſerve the *Great Charter*; That he had raiſed to Dignities and Riches his Half-Brothers againſt all Law, as if they had been the Natural People of the Land, and would not ſuffer any Writ to iſſue out of *Chancery* againſt them; and that although the Inſolence of his other Brothers and the *Poictovins* were intolerable, yet that of *William de Valence* exceeded them all.

[4] Alſo

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[4] Alſo *Simon Montfort*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, taking his Advantage of thoſe Differences, highly complain'd to the *Univerſitas Regni*, i. e. General Body, or Repreſentative of the Realm, concerning his own private Grievances, and told the King, that he only promoted and enriched Strangers, and deſpiſed and waſted his own People, to the ſubverſion of the whole Kingdom; by which means he became unable to repel the Injuries of the weak and inconſiderable *Welſh*: And indeed this had been a reaſonable Complaint, in one who had not been a Foreigner himſelf.

[4] *Id. ib.*
S. Montfort complains to the General Repreſentative of the Kingdom, concerning his own Grievances.

[5] To conclude, the King's various ſorts of Exceſſes, and unwillingneſs to receive any good Advice, required many particular Conferences before they could be ended; but at laſt He came ſo far to himſelf, that being convinced of the Juſtneſs of their Reproofs, he grew more moderate, and confeſſed he had often been miſled by evil Counſel, but he then Promiſed and Swore upon the Altar and Shrine of St. *Edward*, That correcting all his former Miſcarriages and Abuſes, he would for the future follow the Advice of his own natural Subjects.

[5] *Id. ib.*
The King being ſenſible of his former Miſcarriages, ſwears to correct them for the future.

[1] But becauſe his former frequent breaches of his Oath and Promiſes, had now rendred him wholly ſuſpected by his People, and that the Great Men knew not how to bind this *Proteus* of a King, (as this Author calls him;) and alſo becauſe the Affair was very difficult, the Parliament was therefore Adjourned unto St. *Barnaby*'s Day, and to be holden then at *Oxford*; but before this Adjournment, upon *Aſcenſion-*Day (or ſecond of *May*) the Barons promiſed, that if he would reform the State of the Kingdom, according to their Advice, and the Pope would make the Conditions about the Affair of *Sicily* more eaſie, ſo as it might be proſecuted with effect, they would do their endeavour, with the * Commonalty of the Kingdom, to procure him a common Aid or Tax for that purpoſe; and thereupon the King agreed, that before *Chriſtmaſs* next the State of the Kingdom ſhould be redreſſed and ſettled by them, and the Pope's Legate, if in *England*; and for the performance of what ſhou'd be ordain'd, he would put himſelf under the Pope's Pleaſure, ſo that it ſhould be in his Holineſs's Power to compel him to it by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. He alſo cauſed his Son *Edward*, the Prince, to ſwear, that he would obſerve and keep what his Father had granted: This appears by a [2] Charter recorded on the * Roll, and is recited at large in Dr. *Brady*'s Appendix. Moreover, he granted at the ſame time to the Barons, another [3] Charter confirm'd by his Oath, that the State of the Kingdom ſhould be rectified and reformed by Twelve faithful Perſons of his Council then choſen, and by Twelve others to be choſen by the Barons, who ſhould meet at *Oxford* a Month after *Whitſunday* next coming, as they ſhould think moſt to the Honour of God, and Profit of the Kingdom; and promiſed inviolably to obſerve whatever ſhould be ordained by thoſe Four and Twenty, or the major part of them, under ſuch Security as they ſhould direct; and he likewiſe cauſed his Son *Edward* to ſwear, that he would inviolably obſerve the ſame things; whereupon the Earls and Barons promiſed to endeavour, that the Community or general Body of the Kingdom ſhould grant him an Aid.

[1] *Id ib.*
The great Men reſolving not to believe him any more, the Parliam. is adjourn'd to *Oxford.*

The Barons make new Propoſals to the King.

* *Communitate Regni.*

The King's Conceſſions to the Barons.

[2] * *Rot. Pat.* 42. *H.* 3. *M.* 10. Dr. *B.'s* Append. *N.* 188.

[3] *Ib.* N. 189.
By which the Government was put into the hands of 24 Perſons.

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[4] *Rot. Pat.* 42. *H.* 3. *M.* 4. *Vid.* Dr. B's Appendix, N. 190. They to Elect 4 who ſhou'd have power to chooſe the K.'s Council.

[5] *M.P.* p. 970. The great Men come with their Military Tenants all arm'd, to the Parliament at *Oxford.*

It farther appears by a Third [4] Charter in *French*, that the King, at the requeſt of his Great and Wiſe Men of the Community of the Kingdom, granted that theſe Four and Twenty, who were thus to be choſen, ſhou'd have full Power to chooſe Four more, and theſe to chooſe the King's Council, who were to redreſs and amend all Matters appertaining to him and his Kingdom; and this Council, or the major part of them, were to chooſe one or more in the place of ſuch as ſhould make default. [5] *Barnaby*-day approaching, the Great Men and Nobles of the Land haſten'd to the Parliament, then to be holden at *Oxford*, and commanded all ſuch as owed them Military Service to accompany them; ſo that they made Preparations, as if they were to defend their Borders from the Attempts of their Enemies the *Welſh*; thô that was but a pretence to palliate their coming thus Armed; yet really it was from their fears of a Civil War, leſt the King and his Brothers, together with the *Poictovins*, ſhould bring in Foreign Troops againſt them: and therefore they cauſed all the Ports to be ſtrictly guarded.

[1] *Id.* p. 971. *Annal. de B.* p. 412. The Parliament firſt begins with the Election of the 24. The Names of the 12 choſen by the King.

[1] The Parliament being thus Aſſembled at *Oxford*, they firſt fell upon the Election of the Four and Twenty, according to the King's Grant, who were to amend and reform what they ſhould think amiſs in the Kingdom. Thoſe choſen by the King, were the Biſhop of *London*, the Biſhop Elect of *Wincheſter*, *Henry* Son to the King of *Almain*; *John*, Earl of *Warren*; *Guido de Luſignan*, and *William de Valence*, the King's Half-Brothers; *John*, Earl of *Warwick*; *John Manſel*, Frier; *J. de Derlington*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; *Henry de Wengham*, Dean of St. *Martins* in *London*; the Twelfth is omitted, but it may be worth enquiring, whither the Lord *Peter* of *Savoy*, or *James Audley*, were not the Perſon.

[2] *Id. ib.* The Names of the 12 choſen by the Barons.

[2] The Twelve choſen by the Earls and Barons were, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*; *Simon*, Earl of *Leiceſter*; *Richard*, Earl of *Glouceſter*; *Humfry*, Earl of *Hereford*; *Roger*, Earl of *Norfolk*, and Earl Mareſchal; the Lords, *Roger Mortimer*, *John Fitz-Geoffrey*, *Hugh Bigod*, Brother to the Mareſchal, *Richard de Gray*, *William Bardolf*, *Peter de Montfort*, and *Hugh de Eſpenſer*. Theſe Twenty Four choſe Four of their own number, *viz.* the Earl of *Warwick*; *John Manſel*; Earl *Roger*, the Mareſchal; and *Hugh Bigod*, his Brother; and theſe were to name the King's Council, who were in number Sixteen, being theſe that follow; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Earl of *Glouceſter*, the Earl Mareſchal, *Peter* of *Savoy*, the Earl of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Albemarle*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Hereford*, *John Manſel*, *John Fitz Geoffrey*, *Peter Montfort*, *Richard de Gray*, *Roger Mortimer*, *James de Aldithlege*, or *Audley*.

[3] *Id.* 414. The firſt thing the 24 demand, is a Confirmation of the great Charter. With ſeveral other Alterations of no leſs Moment.

[3] Theſe Twenty Four Great Men, in the firſt place, required the King's Confirmation of the Charter, which had been granted by King *John* his Father, and ſo often confirmed by the King himſelf, and which he had alſo ſworn to obſerve, and had cauſed all Tranſgreſſors thereof to be ſolemnly *Excommunicated* in his own Preſence, as well as in that of the whole *Baronage*.

Secondly, They required ſuch a Juſtitiary as would do Juſtice to thoſe that had ſuffer'd Wrong, as well to the Poor as Rich.

Thirdly,

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Thirdly, That they ſhould chooſe the Juſtices, Chancellors, Treaſurers, and other Officers and Miniſters from Year to Year.

Fourthly, That they themſelves, or their Adherents, ſhould have the Cuſtody of the King's Caſtles.

Fifthly, By an Edict or Statute to be aſſented to by the King, they made it Capital for any Perſon, of what Degree or Order ſoever, to refuſe their conſent to theſe things; and againſt ſuch the Archbiſhops and Biſhops alſo pronounced *Excommunication*.

They alſo required ſome other things of publick Concern, which tended to the good of the King, as well as benefit of the Kingdom; tho' it muſt be confeſſed, that moſt of theſe Demands were unreaſonable, and inconſiſtent with Kingly Government.

[4] *Id. ib.* Three Parliaments are appointed to be holden in every Year.

[4] The Twenty Four alſo ordained, that there ſhould be Three Parliaments held every Year; as likewiſe when and how they ſhould be holden; which Order I find drawn up in this Form in the Annals of *Burton*, and is here faithfully tranſcribed out of the *French* Original.

[5] *Id. p.* 415. The Form of this Ordinance.

[5] 'Be it remembred, That the Twenty Four have ordain'd, there 'may or ſhall be Three Parliaments in the Year, the firſt on the '*Octaves*, or eight Days after St. *Michael*; the ſecond on the Mor'row after *Candlemaſs*-Day; and the third on the firſt of *June*, that 'is *(to wit)* Three Weeks before the Feaſt of St. *John*; to theſe 'Three Parliaments ſhall come all the choſen Counſellors of the 'King, tho' they be not ſent to, (*i. e.* tho' not ſummoned by par'ticular Writs) to provide for the State of the Realm, and to treat 'of the common buſineſs thereof, when need ſhall be, by the Com'mand of the King, or by his Summons.

[1] *Id. ib.* The Commons chuſe Twelve Perſons to repreſent them, to ſave Charges.

[1] Then the *Commons* or *Community* alſo choſe Twelve Perſons to repreſent them in theſe Parliaments to ſave the Charges of the *Community*; the Act for this *Election* was drawn up in this Form, the Original of which is in *French*.

[2] *Id. ib.* The Form of this Ordinance.

[2] 'Be it remembred, that the *Commons* or *Community* have cho'ſen Twelve Wiſe Men, who ſhall come to Parliaments, as alſo at 'other times, when there ſhall be need, and the King or his Coun'cil ſhall command or ſend to them to treat of the buſineſs of the 'King and Realm; and the *Commons* or *Community* will hold for e'ſtabliſhed what theſe Twelve ſhall do; and this ſhall be done to 'ſpare the Coſt or Charges of the *Commons* or *Community*.

The Names of the which Twelve are entred in the ſaid Annals in this Form.

The Names of the Twelve who were to appear, and act for the whole Community of the Land.

Theſe are the Twelve who are choſen by the Barons to treat in the Three Parliaments every Year with the King's Council, for all the *Commons*, or whole *Community* of the Land, upon the common buſineſs, *viz.* the Biſhop of *London*, the Earl of *Wincheſter*, the Earl of *Hereford*, *Philip Baſſet*, *John de Baliol*, *John de Verdun*, *John de Gray*, *Roger de Sumerie*, *Roger de Montalt*, *Hugh de Eſpenſer*, *Thomas de Greſley*, and *Ægidius de Argentun*.

It muſt alſo be owned, that theſe were all Barons, and great *Tenents in Capite*, not one Commoner (as now reputed) amongſt them; yet that theſe were choſen by the *Commons*, properly ſo called, ſhall be proved in another place.

What other Statutes and Ordinances were made in this Parliament.

Many other Statutes and Ordinances were made in this Parliament concerning *Feudal* Tenures, about Cuſtody of Wards, Mariages, and Eſcheats; as alſo about Suits to the King's Courts, before his Juſtices; and likewiſe Suits to Itinerant County-Courts, Hundred-Courts, Sheriffs-Turns, Writs of Right, waſte of Eſtates in Wardſhip, taking of Diſtreſſes, &c. moſt of which were made in abatement of the Rigour of the *Feudal* Law, and for the eaſe and benefit of the People, which are to be found in the Annals laſt cited, and are alſo on [3] Record in the *Tower*.

[3] *Vid. Rot. Clauſ.* 44. *H.* 3. *M* 17. *Dorſ.* & 47. *H.* 3 *M* 17. *in ſcedula Dorſ.*

[4] *M. P. p.* 971. This Body of Laws were call'd the Proviſions of *Oxford*, which the King, the Prince, and all the Nobility ſwore to obſerve.

[4] Theſe Laws were then called the Proviſions of *Oxford*, which the whole Baronage of *England* were bound by Oath to obſerve, and that they would never deſiſt from proſecuting theſe their juſt Reſolves, either for loſs of their Lives or Eſtates; ſo that they often beſeeched the King to agree to obſerve them; which ſeeing he was no longer able to avoid, He, together with the Prince, his eldeſt Son, took the ſame Oath.

Thus through the eaſineſs of a weak and inconſtant Prince, and the over great Power of an Inſolent and too much provoked Nobility, the Head of the State became a Cypher, and this whole Government was put into the hands of a few Men, who notwithſtanding all their fair Pretences minded their own Intereſt and Grandeur more than the common good of the Nation, as you will find hereafter.

Other Charters of the King, whereby he authorizes the 24 Noblemen abovemention'd, to proceed in the Reformation of the Kingdom.

Alſo before the Diſſolution of this Parliament, the King granted his Charters to the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and unto thoſe Twenty Four Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and others, who had either by himſelf, or the Baronage, been choſen Governours or Reformers of the Kingdom; wherein after a recital of his ſaid Promiſe and Oath, to hold for firm and ſtable, whatſoever they ſhould Ordain for the Reformation of the Kingdom; he thereby alſo Commands them to proceed to the ſaid Reformation, under pain of his Diſpleaſure, as alſo of his Heirs, if they omitted it: And he farther Promiſes for himſelf and his Heirs, that if they proceed in the ſaid Reformation, neither he, nor his Heirs will be * moved or diſpleaſed with them, or theirs, any time hereafter for ſo doing, but will always preſerve them undemnify'd on that account. [5] This Charter bears date at *Oxford* the twenty ſecond of *June*, and is upon Record. And is alſo Printed in Dr. * *B*'s Appendix tho' he has omitted to give us the Contents of it in his Hiſtory; as alſo of another Charter of the like nature, which is found upon the ſame Roll, and is likewiſe Printed in the ſaid *Appendix* *, whereby the King commands *John Manſel*, and *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk*; *Hugh Bigod*, Juſtitiary; and *John Pleſſy*, Earl of *Warwick*, (who were elected by the Twenty Four Great Men, to nominate thoſe who were to be of the King's Council) to proceed to the ſaid nomination, by the Faith whereby they were bound to him, and as they would avoid the diſpleaſure of himſelf and his Heirs, if they omitted to do it, with an Indemnity to them and theirs, if they performed it. This bears date at the ſame Time and Place with the former, and ſhews how cautious theſe Lords and Great Men then were, not to act any thing in theſe Affairs without the King's expreſs Commiſſion, as well as the authority of the Parliament it ſelf.

[5] *Rot. Pat.* 42. *H.* 3. *M.* 8.
* *N.* 192.

Another Charter to the Four, who were to chuſe the King's Council.
* N. 193.

Anno Dom. MCCLVIII.

When all this was done, Commiſſions for the Governours of the King's Caſtles, were iſſued out, during the Eleven Days time that this Parliament ſate, as appears by the [1] Records cited at large in Dr. *Brady's* Appendix, where you may ſee the Form of thoſe Commiſſions that alſo bear date *June* the twenty ſecond. There is alſo the Form of the Oath that the Governours were to take, to this effect, *viz.* faithfully to keep the ſaid Caſtles for the King and his Heirs, and not to deliver them up to any, without the conſent of the King's Council, that is, by the Wiſe Men choſen thereunto, or by the major part of them; which is worth your noting.

[1] *Rot. Pat.* 42. *H.* 3. *M.* 6. *Append.N.*191.

Commiſſions iſſued out to all Governors of Caſtles, who take a new Oath.

[2] There were alſo appointed at this Meeting, by the ſaid Community, Twenty Four Perſons to treat and conſult of an Aid for the King, whoſe Names (as they ſtand in the ſame Annals) are theſe, *viz.* the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Earl of *Glouceſter*, the Earl Mareſchal, *Peter* of *Savoy*, the Earl of *Hereford*, the Earl of *Albemarle*, the Earl of *Wincheſter*, the Earl of *Oxford*, *John Fitz-Geofrey*, *John de Gray*, *John de Baliol*, *Roger Mortimer*, *Roger de Montalt*, *Roger de Sumerie*, *Peter Montfort*, *Thomas de Greſley*, *Fulco de Kerdiſton*, *Giles de Argenton*, *John Kyriel*, *Philip Baſſet*, and *Giles de Erdington*, all Earls and Barons, or Knights, and Tenants *in Capite*.

[2] *Annal. de Burt. p.* 414.

Twenty Four Perſons are appointed to conſult about an Aid for the King.

But whither theſe Noblemen ever came to any Reſolutions about giving the King this Aid, we do not find; perhaps they were diverted by [3] his Half-Brothers, *viz.* *Adomar* or *Athelmar*, Biſhop Elect of *Wincheſter*, *Guy de Luſignan*, *Geofrey de Luſignan*, and *William de Valence*, their refuſing at that time to ſwear to obſerve or give their conſents to the Acts called the *Proviſions of Oxford*; whereupon the Barons fell into great Heats and Differences, not only againſt thoſe Strangers, but among themſelves; for altho' Prince *Edward* had ſworn to the late Proviſions, yet he did all he could to go from them; but *John*, Earl of *Warren*, had directly refuſed to conſent to them, and *Henry*, Eldeſt Son to the King of the *Romans*, ſeemed unreſolved, ſaying, *He could by no means take this Oath without his Father's conſent*; to whom it was preſently anſwered, *That if his Father would not agree with the Baronage, he ſhould not enjoy one Foot of Land in* England.

But being diverted by the King's Half-Brothers, who refuſed to ſwear to the Proviſions at *Oxford*, we do not find any thing farther done in that Affair.

[3] *M. P. p.* 970, 971.

Prince *Edward* endeavours all he can to go from the ſaid Proviſions, and ſome other great Lords refuſe alſo to conſent to them.

[4] And further, the King's Half-Brothers utterly refuſed to deliver up the Caſtles and Wardſhips which the King had beſtowed upon them: This produced very hard Words between them and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, inſomuch that he plainly told *William de Valence*, (who took upon him more than the reſt) that he ſhould either part with the Caſtles he detained from the King, or with his Head; which was alſo made good by all the Earls and Barons there preſent; this ſtruck ſuch a Terror into theſe Noblemen, that they, with the *Poictovins*, fearing the whole Body of the People would riſe againſt them, and then no Caſtles they had would be ſtrong enough to defend them, reſolved to ſteal away privately, whilſt the reſt of the Lords were at Dinner, which they did, taking Refuge at firſt with their Brother, the Biſhop Elect at *Wincheſter*; but being perſued thither by the Barons, with Horſe and Arms, and (who had now choſen *Hugh Bigod* Juſtitiary) they quickly found that place too hot for them; ſo going from thence to *London*, under the ſafe Conduct of the

[4] *Id. ib.*

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They ſteal away privately and go to *Wincheſter*, whither they are perſued by the Barons.

the Barons, they ſtayed ſome time at the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Houſe in *Southwark* to refreſh themſelves, and there inviting ſeveral of the Great Men to an Entertainment, divers of them were thought to be there poyſoned by the *Poictovins* their Servants, as appear'd pretty plainly by the ſtrange and ſudden Deaths of thoſe Noblemen not long after.

[5] *Rot. Pat.* 42. *Hen.* 3. *M.* 5. *Vid.* Dr. *B*'s *Appen.* N. 194. where it is printed at large.

They obtain the King's ſafe Conduct, and are guarded to the Sea-ſide by ſeveral Noblemen.

[5] But the King's Brothers having obtain'd his ſafe Conduct, which bore date the Fifth of *July*, whereby *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*; *John*, Earl of *Warren*; *William de Fordz*, Earl of *Albemarle*, and other Nobles were aſſigned to guard and conduct them to the Sea-ſide; from thence they paſſed over to *Bologne*, where they were fain to ſtay ſome time, expecting the King of *France*'s Safe-Conduct to carry them thither, but that was for a while refuſed; he being then exaſperated againſt them, by his Queen, becauſe they had defam'd her Siſter the Queen of *England*; but in the mean time the Barons blocked them up there both by Sea and Land, to hinder their return into *England*.

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But we will now look back on what the Barons and *Community* of the Kingdom had farther done at *Oxford*, before they roſe; where they enter'd [1] into an Oath of *Confederacy* or *Aſſociation*, to obſerve the Proviſions there lately made; the Form of which was as follows.

The Form of the *Confederacy* or *Aſſociation* entered into by the Barons.

‘We (*ſuch* and *ſuch* there named) do make known to all People, that we have ſworn upon the Holy Goſpels, and ſo being obliged together by that Oath, we promiſe in good Faith, that each of us, and all together, will aid and aſſiſt one another, and that we will do Right to our ſelves and others againſt all Men, without taking any thing for the ſame, which we cannot do without miſdoing; ſaving the Faith we owe to the King and the Crown: and we farther Promiſe, upon the ſame Oath, that we will not take any thing from each other, either in Land or Moveables (*i. e.* Goods) whereby this Oath may be diſturbed, or any ways impaired; and if any ſhall do contrary hereunto, we will hold him for our mortal Enemy.

They alſo appointed a new Oath for the Twenty Four Chief Governours; which was to this effect:

The Form of the Oath to be taken by the Twenty Four Chief Governours.

‘Every one of them was to ſwear upon the Holy Goſpels, that to the Honour of God, and for keeping Faith to the King, and for the Profit of the Realm, he would ordain and treat with thoſe that had ſworn before, about the Reformation and Amendment of the State of the Kingdom; and that he would not deſiſt from that Work, for any Gift, Promiſe, Love, or Hatred, nor for the Power of any Man; nor for Gain, or Loſs; but that he would Loyally (that is legally and faithfully) do according to the Tenor of the King's Letter or Charter, which he had lately Granted and Made.

Id. ib.

There is alſo to be found the Oath, which was at that time adminiſtred to the Chief Juſtice of *England*, in this Form.

The Form of the Oath to be taken by the Chief Juſtitiary of *England*.

The High or Chief-Juſtice of *England* ſhall ſwear,
'That he ſhall well and faithfully to his Power do whatever appertaineth to his Office of Juſtitiary, and do right to all Men, to the Advantage and Benefit of the King and Kingdom, according to the Proviſions lately made, and others to be made by the Twenty four, and by the Council of the King and Great Men of the Land, who had ſworn to aid and maintain him in theſe things.

The Oath of the Chancellour.

Then follows the Oath of the Chancellour of *England* to this effect, 'That he ſhall ſeal no Writs without the Command of the King and his Council, ſome of whom ſhall be then preſent; nor ſeal the Grant of any Great Ward, or Great * —— nor of Eſcheats, without the Aſſent of the Council or the major part of them; nor ſhall ſeal any thing contrary to the Ordinances, &c. made or to be made by the Twenty four, or the greater part of them; nor ſhall take any Reward, but ſuch as had been given formerly to other Chancellours: And that if he ſhall take to him an Aſſiſtant or Deputy, it ſhall be according to a Form to be provided by the ſaid Council.

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The Barons Practices to advance themſelves and their Relations.

When theſe Twenty four Governours had by theſe their Ordinances procured their Friends and Confidents to be made Conſtables of all the King's Caſtles and Places of Strength in the Nation, and had alſo provided themſelves of a Juſtitiary and Chancellour for their purpoſe, and bound them by Oath to act according to their Dictates, they then (if any credit may be given to [3] *Matt. Weſtminſter*) held continual Parliaments without the King's Conſent, took to themſelves the King's Eſcheats and Wards, and gave to their Sons and Relations all Churches in the Patronage of the King.

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But to return to the Hiſtory; though it is certain from [4] *Matt. Paris*, That upon the ſudden Flight of the King's Half-Brothers to *Wincheſter* and the Barons perſuing them thither, That the Parliament at *Oxford* then broke up in Confuſion; yet it appears from the MS. † Annals of *Wincheſter* in the *Cottonian* Library, as alſo from another nameleſs || Chronicle in the ſame Place; that this Parliament met again preſently after at *Wincheſter*, and there made an Ordinance for the Baniſhment of the King's Half-Brothers above-mentioned; but *Adomar*, Biſhop Elect of that City, though by reaſon of his Character, he was excus'd from that Sentence, yet voluntarily underwent the ſame Fortune, and paſſed over beyond Sea along with them; and then the King and his Son Prince *Edward* were throughly reconciled in the Chapter-Houſe of that Cathedral, after which, about the Fifteenth of *July* the Parliament broke up.

[4] *M. P.* p. 971.

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And I ſuppoſe it was from hence that (as [5] *Matt. Paris* relates) certain Commiſſioners were ſent on the Behalf of the general Body of *England* to the City of *London*; and the MS. Annals of that City, tell us, they were the Earl-Mareſchal *Simon Mountfort*, and *John Fitz-Geoffrey*, and ſome others, who, producing the Charter lately ſealed by the King and his Son Prince *Edward*, in confirmation of the late *Oxford*-Proviſions, in a great Aſſembly or Common-Council of the Citizens at *Guild-hall*, then asked of them, whther they would adhere to, and faithfully obſerve the ſame Statutes, and

[5] P. 974.

Anno Dom. MCCLVIII.

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[4] *M. P.* p. 971.

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|| *Claud.* E. 3.

[5] P. 974.

bravely reſiſt all ſuch as would oppoſe them, and to that end afford the Barons an effectual Aſſiſtance when ever there was Occaſion? To all which the Citizens then freely aſſented; and in token thereof oblig'd themſelves by a Charter under the Common-Seal of the City: It is not therefore to be thought criminal in them, if they afterwards proved very zealous for theſe Proviſions, ſince the King and Prince had then agreed to them; and that they were deſign'd highly beneficial for the whole Kingdom, tho' upon Tryal they did not prove ſo.

[1] *M. P.* p. 978. *V. Ad* p. 215.

The Community of *England* write Letters to the Pope to excuſe their late Reformation of the Kingdom without his Conſent.

[1] About the ſame time the Community of Earls, Barons, Great Men and others of the Kingdom of *England*, wrote Letters to the Pope to excuſe themſelves as to what they had done, which were to this Effect, 'That altho' his Holineſs had lately ſent Mr. *Herlot* (or *Arlot*) his Sub-Deacon and Notary, who had admoniſh'd and induc'd them to aſſiſt the King in the Proſecution of the Affair of *Sicily*, which he had undertaken without their Advice and Conſent, nay, and againſt their Wills: Yet out of Reverence to him and the Holy See, they thought fit to return this Anſwer; 'That if by their Advice the King would reform the Kingdom, and his Holineſs would mitigate the Conditions contain'd in his Bull of the Grant of *Sicily*, ſince they were beyond the King's Power to perform; That then according to the Terms of the ſaid Reformation and Mitigation, they would effectually aſſiſt the King: But ſeeing that He had conſented to chuſe twelve, and the Barons to chuſe twelve others, by whom the Reformation of the Nation was to be made; and that he had named *Adomar*, the Biſhop Elect of *Wincheſter*, and his Brothers, in the Number of theſe Twelve; and that they (but more eſpecially the ſaid *Elect*) had ſollicited the King to break his Oath, and go from the Promiſes he had already made; and that he had animated Prince *Edward*, and ſome others of the Nobility againſt them, to the Deſtruction of the Kingdom, and the Hindrance of the intended Reformation, and this by falſe Cavils and cunning Inſinuations; ſo that of this Biſhop *Elect* it might be ſaid, *That this is the man who had troubled the Land, and ſhaken the Kingdoms.*

Adomar Biſhop Elect of *Wincheſter* accuſed for tempting the King to break his Oath.

They farther complain of the Exorbitancies of the reſt of the King's Half-Brethren and their Officers.

'They therefore ſignified unto the Pope, that the Offences of theſe Brethren were grown ſo great, *as that the Cry of the Poor aſcended to Heaven againſt them*; that their Miniſters and Officers were rather to be called Thieves and Ruffians who prey'd upon the Poor, enſnar'd the Simple, encourag'd the Wicked, oppreſs'd the Innocent, triumph'd in the worſt Actions, and rejoic'd when they had done ill, than any thing leſs: Therefore the *Community* aforeſaid conſidering *that a Common-weal was a certain Body which grew up by Divine Beneficence*, and that it was not expedient, there ſhould be any claſhing amongſt the Members of the ſame Body, they had cauſed the King to ſummon the ſaid Elect, and his Brothers as Diſturbers of the publick Peace, to anſwer their Accuſers according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom; yet ſo, that if they deſired it, they might have leave to depart, who, rather than they would ſtand to, or undergo the Rigour of Juſtice, went out of the Nation; and therefore now they declared their Intentions to hinder the ſaid *Elect* from returning again; who (they urg'd) was the chief Cauſe of all this Diſtur-

And therefore declare their Intentions to hinder the ſaid Biſhop Elect from returning hither again.

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'bance, and would certainly undo, if ever he return'd, what they had taken ſo much Pains happily to effect, ſince he and his Brothers had already ſo far infatuated the King and his Son Prince *Edward*, that not only their Inſolencies remain'd unpuniſh'd, but (which was worſe, and was indeed terrible to hear) if any Man being wrong'd by them, complain'd againſt them, the King, inſtead of puniſhing the Offenders (as he ought to have done) rather took their parts, and defended them againſt the Complainants; and inſtead of an equal Judge, ſhew'd himſelf an Adverſary; ſo that they concluded with heaping more Crimes upon the *Elect*; as that he had terribly violated the Liberties of the Church, impriſon'd and wounded Clerks, to the Prejudice of the Crown, which had the ſole Power of impriſoning; and therefore they beſeech his *Holineſs* by the Fulneſs of his Power, wholly to remove him from the Adminiſtration of the Church of *Wincheſter* (he having receiv'd it by the munificence of the Apoſtolick See) leſt worſe things might happen; and they his moſt devoted Supplicants ſhould be forc'd to do it by other means; and further let him know for certain, *That tho' the King and the greater men of the Kingdom ſhould conſent to his Return, yet the Community thereof would in no wiſe permit his Entrance into it*; therefore pray'd, that he might be remov'd without any Scandal, ſeeing he was not a Conſecrated Biſhop.

The many Offences of him and his Brethren.

To theſe Letters Eleven great Perſons put their Seals, and witneſſed them on behalf, and inſtead of the whole *Community*.

Of theſe Eleven, Eight were of the Number of the Twenty four, *viz.*

Richard Clare, Earl of *Glouceſter* and *Hereford*.
Simon Montfort, Earl of *Leiceſter*.
Roger Bigod, Mareſchal of *England*.
Humphrey Bohun, Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*.
John de Plaſey, Earl of *Warwick*.
Hugh Bigod, Juſtitiary of *England*,
John Fitz-Geoffrey, and
Peter Montfort.

The other Three were of the Fifteen of the King's Council choſen by four of the ſaid Twenty four, *viz.*

William de Forz, Earl of *Albemarle*, *Peter* of *Savoy*, Earl of *Richmond*, and *James Aldithley* or *Audley*.

And further, in Purſuance of this Complaint, [2] the ſaid Great Men of *England* fearing leſt the Elect of *Wincheſter* ſhould make haſte to *Rome*, and by the Promiſe of a great Sum of Money to the Pope and Cardinals, obtain his Conſecration, that ſo he might more effectually prejudice them, they ſent four ſkilful and eloquent Knights, Men of Worth and Credit, to preſent the above-mention'd Epiſtle to the Pope and *Roman* Court; and, when they had fully declared the Cauſe of their Errand, they added greater Wickedneſſes which the *Elect* and his Brothers had committed in *England*, that is to ſay, *Homicide* or Murther, Rapines, Oppreſſions and other Injuries to the Subjects; and that the King would not reſtrain their Violence; Nor

[2] *Id. Ad.* p. 17.

The Great Men of *England* ſend Envoys to *Rome* to hinder the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* from obtaining Conſecration

there, and ſet forth the orher Offences of this Biſhop and his Brethren.

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did they forget to tell the Pope of a great Injury they had done to Mr. *Euſtace* of *Len*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Official; for which all that abetted it were *Excommunicated* through all the Province of *Canterbury*, and at *Oxford* before the Univerſity: And they further told the Pope, that one of the Brothers, *viz.* *Geoffrey* of *Leuzignan* roaſted the King's Cook, and tortur'd him to Death with Exquiſite Torments.

[3] *Id.* p. 976. The Pope's Nuncio ſeeing theſe publick Diſturbances, privately withdraws.

[3] About this time, *viz.* the Feaſt of the Aſſumption of the Virgin (that is, *Auguſt* the Fifteenth) Maſter *Herbert* the Pope's Clerk and ſpecial Councellour, when he ſaw the Diſturbances of the Nation, privately and prudently withdrew himſelf till the Storm ſhould be blown over.

[4] *Id.* P. 977.

[4] It had been further ordain'd in the late Parliament held at *Oxford*, that all Exceſſes, Tranſgreſſions and Injuries done or committed, as well by Juſtices, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other Perſons in the Kingdom, ſhould be inquired into by four Knights in every County by Juries, to be ſummoned by the Sheriffs to come before them; and the Inquiſitions ſo made were to be ſealed with their own Seals, and the Seals of the Jurors to be deliver'd in their own proper Perſons at *Weſtminſter* to the King's Council Eight Days after *Michaelmaſs*, and [5] Writs were iſſued out to four Knights in every County to that purpoſe, dated the fourth of *Auguſt*, who made their Inquiſitions and Returns accordingly; but what was done upon the Return of theſe Writs and Inquiſitions, I find not.

[5] *Rot.* 42. *H.* 3. *M.* 3. *vid.* Dr. B's *Ap. N.* 196. See alſo the like Writ in *Addit. M. P.* p. 214.

Only by another [1] Record it appears, that by the King's Writs the four Knights above-mention'd had their Expences allow'd them by the reſpective Counties for coming to *Weſtminſter*, returning home, and Attendance upon the King's Council in Parliament.

[1] *Ibid. Cl.* 42. *H.* 3. *M.* 3. *Vid. Dr. B*'s App. N. 197, 198.

The Contents of another Charter. A memorable Record omitted by Dr. *Brady*.

But I cannot here omit another memorable old *Engliſh* Record in *Saxon* Characters of this Year, [2] which Dr. *Brady* hath either careleſly or elſe wilfully paſſed by, as perhaps not liking the Contents of it, being the King's Charter or Declaration to the Clergy and Laiety of *Huntingtonſhire*, in which he confirms all that his Counſellors, or the major part of them (that were choſen by himſelf and by the * *People of the Land*) had done, or ſhould do for the Honour of God, and for the Amendment of the Kingdom; and that it ſhall be inviolably obſerv'd and perform'd in every particular; and further commands all his Liege-People by the Fealty they owe to him, that they ſteadfaſtly hold, and ſwear to maintain the Ordinances which were made or ſhould be made by the ſaid Counſellors, or the major part of them, as is already mention'd; and that all Men aſſiſt each other to perform the ſame according to their late Oath againſt all Men that ſhould oppoſe or hinder the ſame: And that no Perſon whatſoever ſhould be damnified in any wiſe on this account; and if any Perſons ſhould oppoſe themſelves againſt the Premiſes, he wills and commands that all his Liege-People ſhould hold them for deadly Enemies; and becauſe he will have theſe Preſents the more firm and laſting, he ſends them this Writ patent, or open, ſealed with his Seal to be || ſafely kept in † ſtore: Witneſs the King at *London* the Eighteenth of *October* in the Forty ſecond Year of his Coronation. And it alſo atteſted by his ſworn Counſellours, *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Walter* of *Cantelow* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Richard Clare* Earl of *Glouceſter* and *Hartford*, *Roger Bigot* Earl of

Norwich

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 42. *H.* 3. *M.* 3. *M.* 15. *Vid. Somner*'s *Saxon* Dictionary, Verb. *Unnan*.

* *Loandes Folk*, *i. e.* à *Gentis Plebe* in *Somner*'s Dictionary, and in an *Engliſh* Tranſlation of this Author's own Hand is rendred *Commons*.

|| *Engliſh*.

† *In Hord.*

Norwich, and Mareſchal of *England*; *Peter* of *Savoy*; *William* of Forz, Earl of *Albemarle*; *John* of *Pleſſeiz*, Earl of *Warwick*; and many other Earls and Barons, whoſe Names are too tedious here to be recited.

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There is alſo a Clauſe at the end of this Record, whereby it appears, that the ſame was ſent into every Shire of *England*, and alſo into *Ireland*; which is a plain proof, that that part of it which was then under the *Engliſh* Government, was obliged by the Laws made by the King and his Parliament of *England*, without the Conſent of the Parliament there.

The *Iriſh*, obliged by the Laws of Parliament made in *England.*

This Writ or Charter, as appears by the Date, was made by the King and his new Counſellors, to confirm and reinforce the late Proviſions made at *Oxford*; and ſince it is therein expreſs'd, that theſe Counſellors were choſen by the *Folk* or *People* of the Land, it ſeems, that the *Commons* (as we now call them) had alſo a hand in the making of them.

I do not find any thing elſe conſiderable to have happen'd this Year, yet I will give you here ſome things of leſs Moment, ſince they may prove either Inſtructive, or at leaſt diverting to the Reader.

[3] About this time the Earl of *Glouceſter* was taken ſtrangely ill, ſo that many ſuppoſed him poyſon'd by ſome of the *Poictovins*, for he broke out all over in Boils, inſomuch that he loſt both his Hair and Nails: However, by the Care of a ſkilful Phyſician he eſcaped with his Life; but this much is certain, that many Noblemen died ſuddenly about that time, as I have ſaid before, who were alſo thought to have been poyſon'd.

[3] *Id. p.* 974. *M. W.* The Earl of *Glouceſter* being ſuppoſed to be poyſon'd, hardly recovers.

[4] But about the ſame time his Brother *William*, a young Nobleman, of great hopes, died, under great ſuſpicions of Poyſon; the Symptoms being much the ſame as thoſe of the Earl his Brother, which highly exaſperated the Nobility againſt thoſe Strangers, whom they ſuppoſed to have done it.

[4] *M. W.*

[5] About this time likewiſe there fell out an accident, which much diſturbed the Earl of *Leiceſter* and the Barons, ſince it ſhew'd them the King's private Reſentment. It ſeems one Day, as the King was going by Water from *Weſtminſter*, He was ſurpriſed by a great and ſudden Storm of Thunder and Lightning, of which He being naturally very fearful, commanded the Barge-men to ſet him on Shore at the next Stairs, which happen'd to be *Durham*-Houſe, where the Earl of *Leiceſter* then lay; he hearing the King was there, preſently ran down to receive him, and finding him ſomewhat frightned with the Thunder, ſaid unto him, *Your Majeſty need not be afraid, the Storm is over.* *No*, Montfort, (ſaid the King, with a ſevere look,) *by God's Head*, *I fear not the Thunder, ſo much as I do thee:* At which words the Earl being out of Countenance, ſaid, *Sir, I am ſorry you ſhould fear your true Friend and humble Servant, more than the Enemies and Deſtroyers of your Kingdom.* It was thought the King ſaid this, becauſe He looked upon the Earl of *Leiceſter* as the Head of the Party againſt the *Poictovins*, and the chief Promoter of their Baniſhment. And this may ſerve as a Caution to Great Men, not to become terrible to the Princes they ſerve, ſince whomſoever they Fear, they alſo Hate, and will be reveng'd of them at one time or other.

[5] *M. P. p.* 974. The King's great fear of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ſhewn by an odd accident.

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[1] *Id. p.* 978. Dr. P's Chron. The *Welſh* murther'd by the *Engliſh* at a Treaty of Peace.

[1] Nothing happen'd remarkable this Year in relation to *Wales*, but that the *Welſh* and *Engliſh* meeting upon a Parly, or Treaty of Peace, which was then held at *Emlyn*, between a Baron then called *Patrick de Canton*, for the King; and *David*, Brother to the Prince of *Wales*, with ſome others of his Council; *Patrick* finding the *Engliſh* to be ſuperiour in number to the *Welſh*, took the advantage, and ſlew a great many of them; but *David*, and ſome other of the Lords eſcaping, raiſed the Country, and perſuing *Patrick*, killed him with moſt of his Men. [2] Yet notwithſtanding Prince *Llewelyn* being deſirous of Peace, was willing to purchaſe it with his Money, and not long after offer'd the King Four Thouſand Marks for all Damages, and to his Queen Two Hundred Marks, and to Prince *Edward* Three Hundred Marks for their Good-will; but the King refuſed to accept of it, ſaying, *What is this to all our Loſſes?*

[2] M. W. *in hoc Anno.*

[3] M. P. *p.* 979. *Manfred*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick*, choſen King of *Sicily*, againſt the Pope's Will.

[3] As for Foreign Affairs this Year, the King receiv'd the ill News that *Manfred*, Son of the Emperor *Frederick*, was, by the Biſhops and Great Men of the Country, choſen King of *Sicily*; and that he had made Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops without the Pope's conſent, and that in contempt of his Prohibition to the contrary, they had given that King all due Obedience; and beſides that, the Nobility of that Kingdom took no notice of Earl *Edmund*, on whom the Pope had conferr'd it, but did their Homage and Fealty to *Manfred*, and gave him Poſſeſſion of all their Cities and Caſtles.

[4] *Id. p.* 969. The Deceaſe of *Sewal*, Archbiſhop of *York*, who died Excommunicated by the Pope.

[5] *Id p.* 973.

[1] *Id. p.* 976, 981.

The Civil Affairs of this Year proving ſo various and turbulent, gave the leſs opportunity for Eccleſiaſtical; only [4] about the Feaſt of *Aſcenſion*, *Sewal*, Archbiſhop of *York*, departed this Life, being a Prelate of great Piety and Conſtancy of Mind; he died *Excommunicated* by the Pope, becauſe he refuſed to obey his unjuſt Commands, nor would beſtow the Revenues and Preferments of the Church upon unworthy and unknown *Italians*: at his Death he made a devout Prayer to God for Abſolution from all his Sins, and appeal'd to him from the Pope's unjuſt Sentence, calling Heaven and Earth to witneſs, how unjuſtly he was perſecuted; and then, after the Example of *Robert*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, ſent the Pope a Letter, full of Complaints and wholſome Admonitions, but all to no purpoſe. [5] However, tho' he died thus *Excommunicate*, yet the Sentence being unjuſt, our Author reckons him a Saint, and relates a Miracle done by him before his Deceaſe. Some time after which, the Chapter of *York* choſe *Godfrey de Kniveton* for their Arch-biſhop, who going to *Rome*, tho' not without great Charges, yet obtain'd his Confirmation, and ſoon return'd home. [1] Alſo this Year the Dearneſs and Scarcity of Corn encreaſed more and more, by reaſon of the wetneſs of the Seaſon which ſpoiled the Grain that was then abroad at *All-hollontide*, whereby the Famine became ſo great, that a World of poor People died of Hunger.

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[2] *Id. p.* 981. The Nobility keep their *Chriſtm.* with the King, and conſult what Anſw. to give the K. of the *Rom.* about his return to *Eng.*

[2] This Year the Nobles kept their *Chriſtmaſs* at *London* with the King, where they alſo treated among themſelves with great Sollicitude, how they might carry on their Deſigns, and yet ſatisfie the Requeſt of *Richard*, King of *Almaigne*, who had given them notice of his Intentions to return into *England*, to viſit his Friends, and look after his own Affairs. But they ſuſpected, that his coming hither might be to pour out his Indignation and Revenge upon the

Barons,

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Barons, for their behaviour towards his Father King *John*, and his Brother King *Henry*; and they were alſo afraid leſt he might divide them, and bring off many to be his Followers, and ſo fruſtrate all their Purpoſes.

[3] About the Feaſt of St. *Hilary* (that is *January* the thirteenth) they again entered into a common and ſolemn Conſultation and Debate, about his coming over into *England*; and thereupon ſent the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, the Abbot of St. *Edmunds-bury*, *Peter* of *Savoy*, and *John Manſel*, to him, to know the cauſe of his ſo ſudden and unexpected coming over, and how long he deſigned to ſtay here, and [4] to acquaint him, that before his coming hither, he muſt take an Oath to join with, and aſſiſt the Barons in compleating and eſtabliſhing their late Proviſions and Reformation. But King *Richard* being come toward the Sea-Coaſt with a well equipp'd Guard of good Horſe, carried himſelf very haughtily towards theſe Meſſengers, ſwearing by *the Throat of God*, that he would not take the Oath they required of him, nor would he tell them how long he intended to ſtay in *England*; and farther added, that thoſe Nobles ought not to reform the Kingdom without him, nor preſumptuouſly undertake ſuch a difficult buſineſs as that was, unleſs they had his Preſence and Aſſent.

[3] *Id. ib.* And reaſſume the Debate after the Holy-Days, and agree to ſend Meſſengers to treat with him about it.

[4] *Ib. p.* 983.

King *Richard* carries himſelf very haughtily towards theſe Commiſſioners.

[5] The Nobility, upon hearing of this, fitted out Ships and Galleys from the Cinque-Ports, and other Places, reſolving to fight him, and hinder his Landing if poſſible; and likewiſe rais'd an Army, both of Horſe and Foot to oppoſe him: But when he had certain Intelligence of theſe Preparations, he became more calm and eaſie; and through the perſwaſion of his Friends, engaged by his Charter to take ſuch an Oath as the Barons required of him; ſo on the Seven and twentieth of *January*, He with his Queen, and Son *Edmund*, Landed at *Dover*, with only Two *German* Earls, and Eight Knights, beſides their Retinue, but they were not permitted to go into the Caſtle; the next Day King *Henry* met him at *Canterbury*, and both Kings went into the Chapter-Houſe there, and then *Richard* Earl of *Glouceſter* called upon the King of *Almain*, by the Name of *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwall*, (without ever having any regard to his being Crowned King of the *Romans*) to take the ſaid Oath according to his Promiſe; which was in theſe words, *viz.*

[5] *Id. ib.* Whereupon the Nobility ſend out Ships and raiſe an Army to ſtop his Landing. Yet upon his engaging to take the ſame Oath as the Barons had done, he is permitted to come.

The Earl of *Glouceſter* calls him by no other Title than *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*.

[1] *Hear ye, all People, that I* Richard, *Earl of* Cornwal, *do here ſwear upon the Holy-Goſpels, that I will be faithful and diligent, together with You the Barons, to reform the Kingdom of* England, *hitherto too much out of Order by the Council of Evil Men; and I will be your effectual Helper to expel all Rebels and Diſturbers of the ſame Kingdom, and will obſerve this Oath inviolably, under pain of loſing all the Lands I have in* England.

[1] *Id. ib.* Whereupon he takes an Oath to join with the Barons in the Reformation of the Kingdom.

[2] On *Candlemaſs-Day* following, the Two Kings, with their Queens, made their publick Entry into *London*, and were received with great Joy, becauſe King *Richard* had not brought his Half-Brothers over with him, as was expected.

[2] *Id. ib.* The 2 Kings with their Queens, make their Entry into *London*.

[3] Eight

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[3] *Id. ib.* The Nobility meet at *London* in Parliament, and treat about compoſing the differences betw. K. *H.* and the K. of *France*.

[3] Eight Days after this, the Nobility, as they had agreed before at *Oxford*, met in Parliament at *London*; where the Earl of *Leiceſter*, having been for ſome time abſent beyond Sea, alſo appear'd, bringing over along with him the Dean of *Bourges*, one of the *French* King's Privy-Council, to treat of compoſing the Differences between his Prince, and the King of *England*; the occaſion of which was this.

[4] *Id. p.*980. Ambaſſadors had been before ſent into *France*, to treat about it, but it came to nothing.

[4] About the beginning of *November* laſt paſt, the Earl, with the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Lincoln*, and *Roger*, Earl Mareſchal, had been ſent, by Advice of the Baronage then Aſſembled at *London*, to meet the Kings of *France* and *Almain* at *Cambray*: But the Two Kings not coming thither, and nothing been done, all the reſt return'd home, but only the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſtayed behind, and went into *France* to treat further about theſe Affairs of the *French* Territories detain'd by that King; and he having been long expected by the Barons, now again return'd to their great Satisfaction: in this Parliament there was no ſmall debate about the Matter in difference between the Two Kings of *England* and *France*; and what had been before treated of beyond Sea, was now approv'd of, and thereupon a Peace was concluded on St. *Valentine*'s Day, provided both the Princes would conſent to what their Agents had agreed on and determined.

A great debate in this Parliam about the difference between the K.s of *France* and *England*.

[5] *Id. p.*986. Ambaſſadors appointed by the K and the Baronage, to go to the K. of *France* and his Parliam. who carry the K.'s Beſignation of *Normandy* upon certain Conditions.

[5] In the beginning of *April*, by the Command and Advice of the King, and whole Baronage, the Earls of *Glouceſter* and *Leiceſter*, *John Manſel*, *Peter* of *Savoy*, and *Robert Wallerand*, were ſent over to the King of *France*, and his Great Parliament (or Aſſembly of Eſtates) holden at that time; and they carried along with them King *Henry*'s Charter of Reſignation of *Normandy*, with Letters Credential to put an end to all Diſputes that were then, and had been for a long time depending between the ſaid Kings, on that Account; as alſo to confirm and eſtabliſh what had been lately agreed on by their Agents.

[1] *Id. ib.*

[2] *Id. p.*987. But the Agreement of the Kings is broke off for the preſent, becauſe the Counteſs of *Leiceſter* would not reſign her expectant Right.

[1] But becauſe theſe Envoys were (for ſome reaſon or other not mention'd) ſoon parted from each other, what was done in this Matter was not certainly known, or at leaſt not made publick; yet this much appears from the ſame Author, that when all things were in a manner agreed on between the Two Kings, the [2] Counteſs of *Leiceſter* (Wife to *Simon Montfort*) would not reſign her Right expectant in *Normandy* to the King of *France*; whereupon aroſe a mighty Quarrel between the Earls of *Glouceſter* and *Leiceſter*, to the great ſatisfaction of the *French*; but at laſt (tho' with much difficulty) it was taken up and compromiſed by the Mediation of Friends.

Matt. Paris here ends his Hiſtory.

The K. Q. and K. *Rich.* go to *France* to conclude the Treaty with that King.

Matthew Paris ending his Hiſtory about the middle of this Year, hath left the Account of this great Tranſaction with *France* very imperfect, and therefore we muſt make it up as well as we can from *William Riſhanger* his Continuator, and *Matt.* of *Weſtminſter*; who both agree, that King *Henry*, his Queen, and *Richard* his Brother, with a vaſt Retinue, paſſed over from *Dover* into *France* preſently after *Martinmaſs*, leaving the Cuſtody of the Kingdom to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Hugh Bigod* the Juſtitiary. But I cannot, in this place, omit a remarkable Tranſaction, which was performed here, not long before the King's going beyond Sea, tho' I cannot

find

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find it in any other Author, but the MS. Chronicle of the City of *London*; that about the Feaſt of St. *Simon*, a great Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, where the King being preſent, with many of his Earls and Barons, and an * innumerable multitude of other People, he there cauſed the late Agreement with the Barons, (by which I ſuppoſe this Author means the late *Oxford*-Proviſions) to be openly and diſtinctly read; then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and divers other Biſhops, being in their *Pontificalibus*, pronounced Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt all ſuch as ſhould preſume to act any thing to the contrary.

Cum innumerabili Populo.

And in the beginning of *November* the King came to St. *Paul*'s Croſs, and the *Folkmote* of the City being there Aſſembled, he took his leave of them, for he was then going beyond Sea; and at the ſame time he freely granted to the City divers new Privileges relating to that great Body. But to return to our Hiſtory.

So ſoon as the King arrived, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of *France* to demand Reſtitution of the Territories which had been wrongfully taken away from his Father King *John* and Himſelf, by *Philip* and *Lewis* his late Predeceſſors, as alſo by Himſelf, and which were by him ſtill detain'd; the *French* alledg'd many things againſt it; and particularly, that the antient Donation of *Normandy* was never ſpontaneous, but had been forcibly extorted by Duke *Rollo* from the King of *France*.

The Argum. of the *French* againſt reſtoring any thing to K. *Henry*.

[3] Upon this King *Henry* having neither Courage enough to undertake, nor Money enough to maintain a War to recover his loſt Rights, came in Perſon to the King of *France*'s Parliament at *Abbeville*, and there made a Peace, and firm Agreement with that King, upon theſe following Conditions, *viz.* That the King of *England* ſhould reſign his Right to the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and Earldom of *Anjou*, upon payment of Three Hundred Thouſand ſmaller Pounds of *Turon* Money; and in conſideration of which King *Lewis* promiſed him the reſtitution of certain Territories in *Gaſcony*, of the yearly Value of Twenty Thouſand Pounds *Sterling* Money; by which means having fully and abſolutely reſign'd his Right to all the reſt of the Dominions in the King of *France*'s Poſſeſſion, King *Henry* from thenceforward ſhortned his Stile in his Patents and Letters, and no longer called himſelf Duke of *Normandy* and Earl of *Anjou*.

[3] *Id. ib.* Who comes to the K. of *France*, and makes a full Agreement with him for all that had been taken away, with the Conditions thereof.

[4] But *Walter Hemingford* in his Chronicle (tho' he allows the Agreement abovemention'd, yet) ſays, that K. *Henry* ſoon repenting him of it, would never receive the Money, and that he ſtill uſed the aforeſaid Titles in all his Writings, as long as he lived; But I doubt in this he is miſtaken, for it is certain, that this Year he alter'd his Effigies upon his Seal, which inſtead of a Sword, carried a Scepter in its Hand, as may be ſeen by the Draught thereof in *Speed*'s Chronicle.

[4] *L.* 3. *c.* 26. *Inter Scriptor. Oxon. Edit. Vol.* II. *Walt. Hemingford*'s miſtake concerning this Affair.

[5] Yet *T. Wikes* with greater Probability relates, that the King, ſo ſoon as he came over into *France*, ſent *Robert* of *Graveſend*, Biſhop of *London* to *Paris*, to Treat about the abovemention'd Territories; and that when the buſineſs was near finiſhed, the King of *France* further inſiſted, that beſides King *Henry*'s own Releaſe of his Right to thoſe Territories, he ſhould alſo procure the Charter of Prince *Edward* his Son, with that of King *Richard*, and of *Simon* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and their Heirs. But

[5] *Ibid. Sub hoc anno.* A more exact Account from *T. Wikes*'s Chronicle.

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But upon the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s oppoſing this Agreement above-mention'd, by reaſon of what future claim might occur to him and his Heirs, in right of his Wife, the King's Siſter, as has been already ſaid, this Peace did not then take effect; through which obſtacle, the King and Queen ſtaying beyond Sea till *Eaſter* following, they there ſpent a great deal of Money to little purpoſe.

But tho' this Treaty was not at that time fully concluded, yet it is certain it was made an end of, and ratified by the beginning of the following Year, as you will find anon: And I have been the more particular in this great Tranſaction, becauſe Dr. *Brady* has given us ſuch an imperfect Account of it.

[1] *Cl.* 43. *Hen.* 3. *M.* 4. *Dorſ.* *Adomar* deſires to be admitted into *England*, but is deny'd.

I ſhall conclude this Year with ſome Eccleſiaſtical Affairs not mention'd by our Hiſtorians, but is found on [1] Record. *Adomar*, the Biſhop Elect of *Wincheſter*, coming to *Rome*, had ſo far prevail'd with the Pope as to ſend one *Velaſca* his Penitentiary and Chaplain, with Letters directed to the King and Barons, to intercede with them for his re-admiſſion into *England*, and enjoyment of his Biſhoprick: But the anſwer both of the King and the Barons to this Letter and Mediation, was a flat denial, tho' modeſtly drawn up; and it is printed in Dr. *B.*'s Anſwer to Mr. *Petyt*'s Rights of the Commons, *&c.* on which Letter I will alſo make ſome Obſervations hereafter.

[2] *P.* 982. The Monks choſe *Henry de Wengham*, Bp. of *Wincheſter*, who refuſes it.

[3] *Vid* D.B.'s Ap. N. 199. where it is at large.

But I ſhall at preſent add ſomewhat more concerning this *Adomar*, from [2] *Matt. Paris*, in whoſe abſence the Monks choſe *Henry de Wengham*, then Dean of St. *Martin*'s, and Lord Chancellor, for their Biſhop, and the King conſented to it, but ſtill ſaving the Right of *Adomar*, if he could obtain his Conſecration to that Biſhoprick from the Pope; but the Chancellor refuſed it, becauſe the Title was Litigious, and likewiſe excuſed himſelf as being unfit for ſuch a Dignity, as the cure of Souls, having read but little Divinity, nor ſtudied the Scriptures as he ought; yet this ſeems but a politick fetch, for *Fulk*, Biſhop of *London*, dying ſome time after, he accepted of that Biſhoprick, notwithſtanding his former pretended Inſufficiencies, and procured the King's Letters [3] Patents, by Advice of his Council, to hold and retain all his former Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Benefices (whereof the King was Patron) together with the Biſhoprick, for ſo long time as the Pope ſhould pleaſe to give him a Diſpenſation for it.

[4] *Id. ib.* N. 200. has the Patent at large. Bp *Adomar*'s Stock granted to the Biſhop of *London*, and on what Conditions.

[4] Whilſt Biſhop *Adomar* was beyond Sea, the King looking upon the Biſhoprick as good as void, ſeized the Temporalities and Stock belonging to the ſaid Elect, and granted Five Thouſand Sheep, Two Hundred Cows, and Ten Bulls to *Fulk*, Biſhop Elect of *London*, to Stock the Lands belonging to that See, warranting them againſt all the ſucceeding Biſhops of *Wincheſter*; yet with this Proviſo, that they ſhould be reſtored to his Brother *Adomar*, when ever he ſhould be confirmed by the Pope in that Biſhoprick. This appears upon Record; and though the Roll be not worth the inſerting here, yet you may find it in Dr. *Brady*, to whom I refer the Reader, who deſires farther ſatisfaction therein.

[5] *P.* 989. The ſad Condition under which *Engl.* lately groan'd.

[5] The Continuator of *Matt. Paris*, concludes this Year with a ſhort account of the ſad condition under which *England* had lately groan'd, through the domineering Power of the *Poictovins* and *Romans*, but eſpecially of *Adomar*, Elect of *Wincheſter* above-mention'd, and *William de Valence*, the King's Half-Brothers, as alſo of *Peter* of

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Savoy, the Queen's Uncle, who treated the King's Subjects, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Laicks, very ſeverely; for if any one who had ſuffer'd Wrong came to the Seneſchal or Steward of *William de Valence*, to complain of any Injury done them, they only receiv'd this Anſwer, *If I do you Wrong, who ſhall Right you, whatſoever my Lord pleaſes, pleaſes the King*; whereas it ſhould have been the quite contrary.

[1] *Id. ib.* As alſo by the domineering Power of the Popes Legates.

Likewiſe in thoſe Days [1] the Pope's Legates, and the *Italians*, ſtrangely domineer'd over both Clergy and Laiety, exceedingly grieving them in Preſentations to Advowſons, providing ample Benefices for their Friends and Relations, according to their own Will; but croſſing the Biſhops and Abbots in all things, and perplexing them with frequent *Excommunications*, whence it happen'd that the Great Men of the Kingdom being provok'd by their Inſolence, were reſolv'd (tho' late) to give ſome redreſs to theſe intolerable Miſchiefs, and at laſt drove ſome of theſe Strangers out of the Kingdom, as will be related in due time, tho' they did not all at once, for at that time only the *Poictovins* were baniſhed.

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[2] *Ib.* *W.* of *Riſhanger* makes the K. keep *Chriſtm.* this Y. at *Lond.* but is miſtaken, for he kept it at *Par.*

[2] *William* of *Riſhanger* makes the King to have kept his *Chriſtmaſs* this Year at *London*, with a multitude of Strangers, but this is a great Miſtake; for as *Matt.* of *Weſtminſter* truly reports, (which is alſo confirmed by the Clauſe [3] Rolls of this Year) that he was then at *Paris*, making a final Concluſion of the late Treaty with the King of *France*: From hence it appears, that King *Henry* was from the Nineteenth to the Eight and Twentieth Day of *December* at *Paris*, and continued in *France* and *Flanders* a great part of this Year.

[3] *Cla.* 44. *H.* 3. *M.* 5. *Dorſ.* Dr. B.'s *compl. Hiſt. p.* 636.

Mat. of *Weſtm.* Account of the King's Entertainment at *Paris*, and what he did there.

Matt. Weſtminſter deſcribes his magnificent Entertainment at *Paris*, and that King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmaſs* there, with many Noblemen his Attendants, being ſplendidly regal'd by the King of *France*, they ſometimes feaſting together, and ſometimes treating of Affairs of higheſt Moment; and that then in a great Aſſembly of the Nobility, there was a final Peace and Agreement concluded and ratified by their mutual Charters, teſtified under the Seals of the Noblemen of both Kingdoms; by which the King of *England* ſurrend'red to his Brother of *France*, all his Right in *Normandy*, and his other Territories; in conſideration of which He was to receive a great Summ of Money from the King of *France*, with divers fertile and opulent Territories in *Guienne* and *Gaſcoigny* in exchange.

[4] *Paulus Æmilius* in *Ludovico Sancto. Chezeray. Sub An.* 1159. The *French* Hiſtorians relation of the Treaty betw. K. *Lewis*, and K. *Henry* about his Dominions in *France*.

But the [4] *French* Hiſtorians are more exact, and tell us expreſly, that their King, by his Charter then made over to Ours all that part of *Guienne* on this ſide the *Garonne*, and on the other ſide *Limoſin* and *Peregord*.

But I do not find that this Agreement was ever confirm'd by the Prince, or his Uncle Earl *Richard*, as was at firſt inſiſted on; and then if not, according to the *French* Maxims, that Kings can only renounce for themſelves, and not for their Heirs, it could only oblige thoſe Princes that made it; and the Annals of St. *Auguſtine* of *Canterbury* farther tell us, that this Agreement being chiefly made by the Advice of *Richard*, Earl of *Glouceſter*, and without the conſent of the Prince (who then remain'd in *England*) he was very much incenſed againſt that Earl, and thoſe other Counſellors of the King his Father, who procured it.

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[5] M. W. King *Hen.* having done his Homage for the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, takes his Journ. for *Engl.* but returns to *Paris*, on the ſudden Death of the *French* King's Son.

[5] So ſoon as this Treaty was finiſh'd, King *Henry* having done his Homage to the King of *France* for thoſe Countries which he was to enjoy under the Title of Duke of *Aquitaine*, took his leave of him in order to return into *England*; but before he could reach the Sea-ſide, he received the News of the ſudden Death of *Lewis*, eldeſt Son of *France*, a young Prince of a comely Preſence, and great hopes; at which being much concern'd, he return'd to *Paris*, and attended as a chief Mourner at his Funeral, and then went back again with a full deſign to go for *England*, tho' he ſtill met with ſomewhat to retard him, as you will hear preſently.

[1] W. R. p. 990. During the King's Abſence the Great Men ſequeſter the Revenues of the *Italian* Clergy.

[1] During the King's Abſence, the Great Men had commanded all the Religious Orders, who farmed the Revenues of the Churches poſſeſs'd by the *Italians*, not to anſwer the Rents to them, but to pay them in at a time and place appointed, to ſuch as ſhould be aſſigned by the Barons to receive them; which if they refuſed to do, they threatned to burn their Houſes and Goods, and to inflict the ſame Puniſhment upon their Perſons as was intended for the *Romans*; they likewiſe commanded the Biſhops not to interpoſe or concern themſelves for any of the *Italians*, or their Revenues, upon the like Penalties; and ſo by this ſevere Proviſion or Decree of the Barons, *England* for almoſt Three Years was freed from theſe Exactors, until *Simon Montfort* was ſlain, or (as it was believ'd by this Monk) Crowned with Martyrdom.

[2] T.W. M.W. p. 54.

* Note, *Thom. Wikes* places this under the Year 1259. but it is a miſtake.

King *Henry* at St. *Omers* believing a falſe Report of his Son *Edw.* Conſpiring againſt him, begins to raiſe an Army, but afterwards is ſatiſfied to the contrary by his Son's and the Nobility's Letters. And comes over into *Engl.* where he is joyfully received.

[2] King *Henry* being arriv'd (as I ſaid but now) at the Sea-ſide, as far as St. *Omers*, in order to his return into *England*, * heard a report (tho' a falſe one) that his Son, Prince *Edward*, (being diſcontented at his late Agreement with *France*) had conſpired with ſome of the Chief Noblemen of the Kingdom, to Impriſon or Dethrone him at his Return: to which Rumours giving too much credit, the King began to raiſe an Army for his Defence; but when the Prince his Son, and Earl *Richard* his Brother had notice of it, having aſſembled moſt of the Nobility to a great Council at *London*, they preſently cauſed Letters to be written, and ſent to the King, under the Seals of the Prince, and his Brother, with all the reſt of the Great Men there preſent, aſſuring him of their entire Fidelity, and that he might return home with ſafety, whenever he pleaſed; wherewith being very well ſatisfied, he diſmiſſed all his Forces, except Three Hundred Foreign Knights or Horſemen, (beſides his own ordinary Retinue) and took Shipping, and landed at *Dover*, about the latter end of *April*, being met and joyfully received by Prince *Edward*, and all the reſt of the Nobility; yet it ſeems the King's Suſpicions were not quite removed, for he did not ſo much as ſalute ſome of thoſe that had been formerly moſt in his favour.

[3] *M.W.* The K. continues in *Lond.* to ſee the iſſue of the Differences between the Prince and E. of *Glouceſter*.

[3] In the beginning of *May* the King came to *London*, yet went not to his own Palace at *Weſtminſter*, but ſtayed at the Biſhop of *London*'s Houſe near St. *Paul*'s for about Fifteen Days, till he ſaw what effects thoſe private Differences, that were now riſen among the Nobility might produce; for the Gates and Streets of the City were then guarded, as if it had been a time of actual War; inſomuch that none but Perſons very well known, could go in or out of them; but the reaſon of this Diſturbance was, that there had been ſome time before the K's arrival, a great miſunderſtanding between him

and his Son (who then it ſeems took part with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Barons) and there was alſo a great Quarrel between Prince *Edward* and the Earl of *Glouceſter*, with thoſe of his Party; ſo that each Faction ſtrengthning themſelves, a Civil War had like to have broken out, had it not been for the Mediation of the King of the *Romans*, who did all he could to keep them in quiet till the King's Return. Not long after, He being come to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, the Baronage or Nobility of *England* were again ſummoned to meet the King at *London*; when they were aſſembled, the Injuries pretended to be done by Prince *Edward* to the King his Father, being firſt diſcuſs'd, the Prince offer'd to prove his Innocence before his Father and Uncle, the King of the *Romans*, and that he was ready to make ſatisfaction for any thing he had done amiſs; affirming, that all the reſt of the Earls and Barons were not of Right his Peers, nor could exerciſe any Authority over him; whereupon the truth of thoſe Accuſations being now throughly canvaſs'd, and they appearing altogether falſe, the Prince was ſoon reconcil'd to the King and Queen, and all the Nobility, except the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and thoſe of his Faction.

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Which had like to have cauſed a Civil War, but was prevented by the King of the *Romans*.

An Aſſembly of the Nobility at *London*, in which the Prince is clear'd, and throughly reconciled to the King his Father.

[4] The Earl finding he could do no good againſt the Prince, accuſed the Earl of *Leiceſter* of divers Offences committed againſt the King, as well on this, as on the other ſide the Sea, and a Day was prefix'd for the Earl's Anſwer, wherein he was to clear himſelf from theſe Accuſation; when it came, and that he appear'd ready to ſtand his Tryal, the Earl of *Glouceſter*, with his Accomplices withdrew their Accuſations, deſiring that the buſineſs might be further adjourn'd till the next Parliament; for he was afraid leaſt if the Earl were acquited, he ſhould recriminate; ſo this Diſturbance being pretty well quieted for the preſent, the Parliament broke up to the King's great ſatisfaction.

[4] *Id. ib.* The Earl of *Glouceſter* accuſes the Earl of *Leiceſter* of many great Offences but a Day being appointed to hear the Accuſation, the Earl of *Glouceſter*, withdraws it.

[5] About this time, as the City MS. Chronicle relates, the King cauſed a *Folkmote* of the Citizens to be aſſembled at St. *Paul's* Croſs, whither he himſelf came with his Brother, King *Richard*, and divers other Noblemen, and there told them, that all of the Male Sex, above Twelve Years of Age, ſhould take an Oath before the Alderman of their particular Ward, to be faithful to the King, and after his Deceaſe to his Heir, without naming any Perſon; which was done accordingly.

[5] *In Libro de Antiquis Leg.* The K. cauſes all the Males in the City, above 12 Yea. of Age to take a New Oath of Fealty.

Some time after, *Richard*, [1] King of the *Romans*, having now continued in *England* about a Year and a half, being put in mighty Expectations by the Pope of obtaining the Empire, went beyond Sea about the end of *June*, with his Queen, for *Italy*; but being fruſtrated of his main deſigns by the great Factions made againſt him, he ſtayed not long in *Germany*, but return'd again in *October* following.

[2] *Id ib.* King *Richard* goes beyond Sea, in hopes to obtain the Empire, but is fruſtrated.

Some time after *Michaelmaſs*, [2] *John*, Son to the Earl of *Bretaigne*, came over hither, and married the Lady *Beatrice*, the King's ſecond Daughter, and at the Feaſt of St. *Edward* next following (which was held with more than ordinary Solemnity) received the Order of Knighthood, as did alſo the Two Sons of the Earl of *Leiceſter*. And theſe, together with Prince *Edward*, went over beyond Sea to a great Tourneament they had appointed there.

[2] *T. W.* The Earl of *Bretaigne* arrives in *Engl.* and marr. the King's ſecond Daughter.

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[3] *Id. ib.* A Parliament held, wherein ſeveral great Officers are choſen.

About the ſame time alſo there was held a Parliament [3] where, after ſome Debates, a new Juſtitiary, Chancellor, and Treaſurer, were appointed by the Barons, in the places of thoſe that were either lately dead, or elſe prefer'd, or had reſign'd; as *Nicholas*, Arch-Deacon of *Ely* was made Keeper of the Great Seal; the Abbot of *Peterburgh* was appointed Treaſurer, and *Hugh d' Eſpenſer* chief Juſtitiary.

[4] *M. W.* The King and Queen of *Scots* come to *Lond.* and on what Account.

And are nobly received, with his daily Allowance for his Journey.

[4] This Year, in Autumn, the King of *Scots* came to *London* upon divers Accounts, partly to ſee the King and Queen, as alſo to appear and act as Earl of *Huntington*; but the chief Cauſes were to demand the Sum of Four Thouſand Marks, which he ſaid remain'd yet unpaid of his Wife's Portion; as likewiſe to renew his Demands for *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*; ſome Days after him, the Queen his Wife arrived, big with Child, having a great deſire to ſee her Relations and Country, and to Lye-in here; they were received with great Solemnity, and certainly the State and Expence muſt be very great, when no leſs than Three King's appear'd at once; and it was ſaid, that from the time of his coming into *England*, to his return into his own Country, he received Five Pounds a Day for his Expences (which was then more than Forty Pounds now:) this he claim'd as a Right, tho' many affirm'd, that it was no otherwiſe given, than by the King's Bounty; but how he ſucceeded in the Buſineſs he came about, our Author does not tell us.

[5] *T. W.* *Adomar* Bp. of *Wincheſter*, receives the Pope's Conſecration, but dies in his return home.

[5] As for the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Year, the moſt conſiderable are, that *Adomar*, Biſhop Elect of *Wincheſter*, having at laſt obtain'd the Pope's Favour, and receiv'd his Conſecration from his own Hands, took his leave of him in order to return into *England*, but died by the way at *Paris*: And his Departure was very grateful to all thoſe, who were for maintaining the late Proviſions at *Oxford*.

[1] *R. W.* The Death of P. *Alexander*, to whom *Urban* ſucceeds.

This Year is alſo noted for the Death of divers other conſiderable Noblemen, Biſhops, and Judges, for whoſe Names I refer the Reader to my Author. [1] But it is much more remarkable for the Deceaſe of Pope *Alexander* IV. to whom ſucceeded *Urban* IV. who was Conſecrated the fourth of *September* after.

[2] Dr. *P.*'s *Chron.* Pr. *Llewellyn* invades the Territories of Sir *Roger Mortimer* in *South-Wales*, and takes them.

This Year, tho' *England* continued quiet from Civil Wars, yet [2] Prince *Llewellyn* early in the Spring appear'd in the Field, and paſs'd into *South-Wales*, and there fell upon Sir *Roger Mortimer*, the King's Governour in thoſe Parts; and having forcibly diſpoſſeſs'd him of all *Buelht*, and without any oppoſition taken the Caſtle of *Melyenyth*, and killed thoſe in the Gariſon, he marched through all *South-Wales*, making new Conqueſts about *Brecknock*, and afterwards return'd to his Palace at *Aber*, betwixt *Bangor* and *Conwey*.

[3] *M. W.* The King ſummons all that owed Military Service, to provide for an Expedition into *Wales*.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* made General of the Army.

[3] But when this News came to the King's Ear, he, fearing leſt theſe Diſturbances might end in an Invaſion upon *England*, iſſued out a Proclamation, that all Perſons that owed Knight-Service ſhould provide all things neceſſary for an Expedition into *Wales*, to revenge the Injuries the *Welſh* had done the King there. Then the Earl of *Leiceſter* was appointed General of the Army, as being the moſt Valiant and experienc'd Commander *England* then had; but divers Accidents happening which hinder'd this Expedition, ſo it ended in a Truce, tho' but for a ſhort time neither. But we ſhall now return to Matters of far greater Moment at Home.

[4] But tho' the King, together with the Prince his Son, had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve the Proviſions of *Oxford* (as you have already heard) yet He now began to grow grievous weary of them, and was reſolved not to be bound up by them any longer; yet fearing the imputation of Perjury, He had ſent privately the Year before to the Pope to be abſolved from his Oath to the ſaid Proviſions, which was obtain'd about this time, without any great difficulty, both for the King, and Prince *Edward* his Son: But Pope *Alexander* deceaſing this laſt Year, before the *Diſpenſation* could be ſeal'd, the King was forc'd to ſtay ſome time till it could be confirm'd by Pope *Urban* his Succeſſor.

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[4] *M. W.* The King being weary of the *Oxford Proviſions*, ſeeks to get a Diſpenſation from the Pope.

The Continuator of *Matt. Paris* falſely ſuppoſes the King to have kept his *Chriſtmaſs* this Year in the *Tower* of *London*, as being afraid of the Barons, becauſe he had broken his Oath with them, concerning the abovemention'd Proviſions; but this Author is again miſtaken in the placing this Year, as well as the laſt; for I find in better [5] Authors, that he kept this Feaſt at *Windſor*, with his Queen, and his Daughter the Queen of *Scots*, being then ready to Lye-in; and it is not likely that the King would as yet pull off the Vizor, or declare himſelf Jealous of the Barons, before he had receiv'd his Abſolution from *Rome*.

Will. Riſhanger again miſtaken.

[5] *M. W. T. W.* The K. keeps his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Windſor*.

[1] But it is certain that in the beginning of *February* the King having held a ſecret Council, reſolved to declare himſelf, and ſhake off that Yoke which the Barons had laid upon him; wherefore having ſome time after ſummoned them to a Council or Parliament at *London*, he there plainly and briefly told them, that ſince by the 'late Proviſions of *Oxford*, which they had made both Himſelf and 'his Son Prince *Edward* to ſwear to obſerve, they had likewiſe obliged 'themſelves on their part, to encreaſe his Revenue, and pay his 'Debts, neither of which he had by experience found to be by them 'perform'd, according to their Engagements; but inſtead of that, 'ſeeking their own private Intereſts, they had rather diminiſh'd than 'increas'd his Revenues; and that *by putting himſelf under their* '*Government, he was become more their Slave than their King*; there'fore they muſt not wonder, if truſting no longer to their Councils, 'he had now ſought for redreſs elſewhere.

[1] *Id. ib.* And having held a ſecret Council, reſolves to caſt off the *Oxford* Proviſions.

He ſummons a Parliament, wherein he plainly declares he will be no longer bound by them, and for what Reaſons.

For indeed beſides his ſending to *Rome* for Abſolution, he had now wrote to the King of *France*, and his Son Prince *Edward*, (who was then gone over thither to a Tourneament, as I have ſaid before) to provide him what Forces he could.

And [2] being now reſolved actually to vacate all theſe late Proviſions, about the beginning of *March* he put himſelf into the *Tower* of *London*, together with the Queen, and then commanding the lock of the Treaſure (which had for ſome time been kept there) to be forced open, he employed the Money to repair and ſtrengthen the Walls of the *Tower*, where it moſt needed: Moreover, he order'd the City of *London* to be fortify'd round about, and called all the Youth of the City, from Twelve Years old and upwards together, cauſing them to ſwear Fealty to him; and commanded it to be proclaim'd, that whoever would take up Arms under him, ſhould be maintain'd at the King's Charge. Upon this many Barons, from all parts, came with multitudes of Armed Men, who were lodged without the Walls, becauſe the Citizens refus'd to give them any Entertainment.

[2] *Id. ib.* And then in order to it, puts himſelf into the *Tower*, and ſeizes upon the Treaſure there, and with it fortifies the *Tower* and City, and makes all of above 12 Years old to take a new Oath of Fealty.

Theſe

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Upon a Report, that the K. intended to impoſe new and unheard of Taxes, he iſſues out a Declaration to the contrary.

[3] 45. *H.* 3. *M.* 15. *Dorſ.* Dr. *Brady*'s Appen. N. 15.

Theſe were the grounds and beginnings of that unhappy Civil-War, which for near Four Years tormented this Kingdom; but upon theſe Alterations, thoſe who had no kindneſs for the King, raiſed a report, that he would impoſe upon, and exact from the Great Men and Community of the Kingdom, undue and unheard of Taxes and Talliages: Therefore the King being ſenſible of this, by his [3] Writ or Declaration, bearing date at the *Tower* of *London*, the fourteenth of *March*, directed to the Sheriffs of all the Counties of *England*, took notice of it, and after having recited the aboveſaid Calumnies, he Commands them to make Proclamation that he intended no ſuch thing; and if they found any ſuch Reporters of Lyes, to arreſt and ſecure them, till they could produce the Authors of them, or that they ſhould receive further directions from himſelf.

[4] *Ex libro Civitatis* Lond. *de Antiquis legibus.*

The K. makes *Philip Baſſet*, his Juſtitiary, againſt the Will of the Barons.

[5] *W. R. M. R.*

The K. goes to all the *Cinque-Ports*, and takes freſh Oaths of Fidelity from their Barons, and then gives the Governm. of *Dover* Caſtle, to *Edw. de Waleran.*

The King receives the Pope's Bull of Abſolution for himſelf and the Prince

And by the Mediation of the Bps puts all Differences between himſelf and the Barons to 3 indifferent Perſons.

[4] Then the King kept his *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter*, where taking Courage, he made the Lord *Philip Baſſet* his chief Juſtitiary, againſt the Will of the Barons; by reaſon of which there aroſe a great Diſſention between the King and them; but He did not much regard that, for being now reſolved to proceed in the Courſe He had already begun, He went a Circuit [5] to all the *Cinque-Ports*, and received the Oaths of Fidelity from the Barons of them; and coming to *Dover*, he took the Government of the Caſtle from *Hugh Bigod*, and gave it to *Edward de Waleran*, together with the Cuſtody of the *Cinque-Ports*, and County of *Kent*. Then the King return'd to *London*, where He not long after receiv'd from the Pope the Bull of Abſolution, both of Himſelf and his Son Prince *Edward*, from their Oaths to the Proviſions of *Oxford*, but the Prince then refuſed to accept it, tho' afterwards he was perſwaded to it: However, the King received it joyfully; but when the Barons had notice of it, they ſent Meſſengers to him, *Humbly beſeeching him to obſerve the Oath he had ſo ſolemnly taken; and if any thing diſpleaſed him, and that He would be pleaſed to ſhew it, they would amend it.* To which the King in great Paſſion replied, *That they had fallen from their Agreement, and He would be obliged no longer by it*; yet at length, through the powerful Mediation of the Biſhops it was conſented to, that Two diſcreet and indifferent Perſons ſhould be choſen, One by the King, and the Other by the Barons, who ſhould make choice of a Third, and theſe Three were to hear the Complaints on both ſides, and ſettle a laſting Peace betwixt them: But nothing could then be determined in this Affair, becauſe Prince *Edward* was beyond Sea, and therefore it was adjourn'd till his return.

[1] *Idem.*

The Prince returns into *England*, and brings *Will. de Valence* over with him.

And [1] he having notice, that the Agreement between the King and the Barons depended upon his coming over, (having got the better in the late Tourneament at *Paris*) forthwith return'd into *England*, and brought along with him his Uncle *William de Valence*, who had been for ſome time before baniſhed the Kingdom; yet could he not obtain leave to return, until he had ſworn to be obedient to the Proviſions of the Barons, and to anſwer ſuch Complaints as ſhould be made againſt him.

The Prince underſtanding by what Councils his Father was govern'd, adheres to the Barons.

But when the Prince underſtood by what Councils his Father had been govern'd, he was very angry, and retir'd from his Preſence, and adhered to the Barons, according to his Oath, and enter'd into a Confederacy with them, to ſearch out, and drive away from the

King,

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King, all evil Counſellors, and their Favourers, becauſe that by their Inſtigation the King had been deceiv'd; and thoſe Proviſions, which the Prince then believ'd to be beneficial both to the King and Kingdom, were now vacated by the Pope's late Abſolution.

When this came to the King's Knowledge, He and his Counſellors were very much afraid, and ſecured themſelves forthwith in the *Tower* of *London*, whilſt Prince *Edward* remain'd with the Noblemen; to whom there was now a great and continual Reſort.

Whereupon the K. being afraid, ſhuts himſelf up in the *Tower*.

But that which made worſe for the King's Intereſt, was, that the Earls of *Glouceſter* and *Leiceſter*, who were before at variance, were now reconcil'd, and confederating themſelves with the Prince, and other Noblemen, threaten'd, that if the King did not remove from his Councils, thoſe Diſturbers of the Publick Peace, they would do it by force; but the King keeping himſelf, and thoſe Counſellors they diſliked, cloſe up in the *Tower*, a Peace, by the Queen's Mediation, was patch'd up on the ſudden, between the King and the Barons, ſo that for the preſent they ſeem'd reconcil'd, and all things remain'd for a time in the ſame ſtate they were at the making of the ſaid Proviſions.

The Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glouceſter* are reconciled, and threaten the King, that if he did not remove his Evil Counſellors, they wou'd do it by force.

[2]. But things did not long continue in this Poſture, for the King finding himſelf now ſomewhat more at liberty, reſolved to ſet himſelf wholly free from the Impoſition of the Barons, as well as from his former Oaths: Wherefore he went now boldly on Progreſs about the Cities and Caſtles of the Kingdom, reſolving to repoſſeſs himſelf of them, being much encourag'd to it by the Promiſe which the King of *France* and his Nobility had made him, of ſending a great Aſſiſtance; inſomuch that the Earl of St. *Paul*, and *Gerard de Rhodes*, were come over to the King with a great many Foreign Soldiers, who receiv'd Forty Days Pay before their Arrival, and the Earl himſelf had Ten Marks a Week out of the *Exchequer*. Then the King went to *Wincheſter*, and kept his *Whitſontide* in that Caſtle, where calling before him the Juſtitiary and Chancellor, who had been choſen by the Barons, he demanded from them the Seals, and the Rolls belonging to their Office; but they anſwered that they could not therein obey him without the conſent of the Barons: When the King heard this, he notwithſtanding made *Walter de Merton*, Chancellor, and Sir *Philip Baſſet* chief Juſtitiary, in the room of *Richard de Lucy*, whom he did not look upon as one firm to his Intereſt.

[2] *M. W.*

The King goes on Progreſs, and repoſſeſſes himſelf of the Cities and Caſtles, being incourag'd by the Promiſes of the King of *France*.

The K. turns out the Juſtitiary, and Chancellor, who had been choſen by the Barons.

[3] But *Thomas Wikes* has given us a better reaſon of the King's Confidence at this time; for he now publickly produced and ſhewed to all the Noblemen there preſent, the Pope's Bull, whereby he was abſolved from the Oath which he had taken concerning the late *Oxford*-Proviſions, as in it ſelf unlawful, being made without his Holineſs's conſent, *who was his ſupreme Lord, and whoſe Vaſſal the King now acknowledged himſelf to be*; adding, that neither would he be obliged by his Oath, becauſe he made it againſt his Will: Thus could Princes, in thoſe Days be abſolved either for Money or Favour, from what Oaths they thought inconvenient for their Intereſt: And it ſhews us how impracticable a thing it is, to think to make Princes, (unleſs it be by force) to obſerve thoſe Oaths or Promiſes they make by compulſion, and only to ſerve a preſent turn.

[3] *In hoc Anno.*

The King ſhews the Pope's Bull of Abſolution from the *Oxf.* Proviſions, as being made without his conſent, whom the K. own'd as his ſupreme Lord.

When

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[4] *Id. ib.* *M. W.* **Whereupon the Great Men take Arms.**

[4] When the Great Men of the Kingdom underſtood this, and had conſider'd how contrary it was to the late *Oxford*-Proviſions, and fearing the King ſhould take upon him wholly to diſannul all that had been then agreed on, they preſently put themſelves into Arms, and made haſte to march to *Wincheſter*, where the King then was; but *John Manſel* hearing of it, and being much afraid for the King's as well as his own and his Accomplice's ſafety, he went privately thither, and warning the King of the imminent Danger, adviſed him ſpeedily to retire; whereupon He immediately left that Place, and made haſte to the *Tower* of *London*, with a ſmall Retinue.

The King retires into the *Tower*.

[5] *Id. ib.* **The K. ſends Juſtices Itinerant all over *England*, but the Barons forbid all Men to appear before them.**

[5] About this time the King, by his own Commiſſion, and without the conſent of the Barons, ſent Juſtices Itinerant all over *England*, who, though they ſate quietly at *Glouceſter*, yet coming to *Hereford* ſome Days after *Midſummer*, they could Act nothing there, becauſe ſome from the Barons forbad all Men, at their Peril, to appeal, or plead before them, becauſe they had gone their Circuits within leſs than Seven Years time, before the end of which, it was not lawful by the late Proviſions to begin new ones; as alſo becauſe the Juſtices had not iſſued out the Legal Summons of Forty Days, which was then requir'd by Law.

[1] *Id. ib.* **A great diſturbance about the new Sheriffs raiſed by the King.**

[1] This Year likewiſe there was a great diſturbance in the Nation, by reaſon of the new Sheriffs, whom the King had now named in the room of thoſe the Barons had formerly made: wherefore the People of ſeveral Counties, being excited by ſome of the Great Men of the Kingdom, ſtoutly reſiſted thoſe Sheriffs, and would neither obey their Precepts, nor appear before them; at which the King being very much concern'd, directed his Writs or Letters to his Sheriffs, in all the Counties in *England*, to force the People to their former Loyalty, and good Opinion of his Actions; which being upon Record, I ſhall give you the Subſtance of them from Dr. *Brady*'s [2] Appendix.

Rot. Char. H. 3. *M.* 46. *Dorſ.* [2] *Append. N.* 205.

The King iſſues out his Writs, ſetting forth the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and commanding all ſuch to be apprehended who adher'd to the Proviſions of *Oxford* or oppoſed the new Sheriffs.

The King recites his own late ſubmiſſion of himſelf, and the Affairs of his Realm to the Proviſions at *Oxford*, under certain Conditions which the Barons had not perform'd on their part; and further ſets forth the Injuſtice of thoſe Ordinances, which tended to the prejudice and depreſſion of his own Royal Power, as well as the damage of his People; and alſo acquaints them with his Abſolution from his Oath to obſerve thoſe Proviſions, which was granted him both by Pope *Alexander* and *Urban*, as likewiſe his own readineſs to do Juſtice to all Men, both Great and Small, in his Courts, to which they might freely, and with all ſecurity reſort. And moreover declares his willingneſs to obſerve the Articles contain'd in the Great Charter, and Charter of Foreſts, which they, the Sheriffs, were now commanded to proclaim in all places; and were ordered to apprehend and ſecure all ſuch as adhered to the former Ordinances of *Oxford*, or preſum'd to ſpeak or act any thing prejudicial to the Rights of the Crown, or his own Honour and Dignity, or to the Sheriff's execution of their Office.

Thus

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Thus did this King, being in a great ſtreight, make no difficulty to give large Promiſes, and ſpecious Declarations, which when the Danger was over he obſerv'd as he thought fit. But to return to our Hiſtory.

[3] *N. W. Annal. Sti. Auguſti in Bib. Col. Sti. Ben. Cantab.*

The Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glouceſter* go a Circuit about the *Cinque-Ports*, and engage them to ſtand by the Barons.

The Quarrel being thus begun afreſh between the King and his Barons, and ſtill encreaſing, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glouceſter*, with many other Noblemen, went a Circuit round the *Cinque-Ports*, and obtain'd an Inſtrument from them, whereby they engaged, that they would ſtand by the Barons for their fidelity to the King; and that as for the Kingdom, they would guard it ſo well, that no Stranger ſhould enter it to its prejudice; at which News the King, and thoſe of his Party were highly concern'd: From whence we may obſerve the great Power of the *Cinque-Ports* in thoſe times, to which the chief Guard of the Kingdom, by Sea, was then committed, and which in that Age found the King no leſs than a Fleet of above Fifty Sail, each Town according to its proportion; and this they were to do for the Privileges they enjoy'd.

[4] *M. W.*

The Barons aſſemble again at *Lond.* whilſt the K. keeps cloſe within the *Tower*.

[4] After this the Barons again aſſembled at *London*, about the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, of whoſe Power the King being afraid, he ſtill kept himſelf, with thoſe of his Party, cloſe within the *Tower* of *London*, and from thence ſpeedily ſummon'd all thoſe that ow'd him Military Service, to come to his Aſſiſtance: But when the Adherents to both Parties were now Aſſembled, either of them fearing the doubtful Succeſs of a War, a Treaty of Peace was again ſet on foot, by the mediation of ſome cool and moderate Perſons amongſt them; and it was then agreed, that all differences between the King and them, ſhould be left to the Arbitrement of certain Noblemen to be choſen for that purpoſe; and ſo all this Labour and Diſturbance that the Barons gave themſelves came to nothing for the preſent; but you will hear more of it the next Year.

Both Parties agree to refer all their Differences to certain Noblemen equally choſen between them.

The Death of the Queen of the *Romans*

In this nothing elſe happen'd remarkable, but the death of *Sanchia*, Siſter to the Queen, and ſecond Wife of *Richard*, King of the *Romans*, who was ſoon after buried in the Monaſtery of *Hailes*, which her ſecond Husband had Founded.

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[5] *W. R.* [1] *M. W.*

The Breach between the King and the Barons grows wider, upon his cauſing the Pope's Diſpenſation to be openly read at St. *Paul*'s-Croſs.

[5] King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmaſs* there in the *Tower*, together with ſuch Counſellors, as our Author ſuppoſes were not for his own, or the Kingdom's benefit; ſo that [1] the difference between the King and the Barons grew ſtill wider and wider, for He now cauſed the new Pope *Urban*'s Diſpenſation of his Oath to the late *Oxford*-Proviſions to be openly read at St. *Paul*'s-Croſs, and not long after to be proclaim'd through all *England*; by which, not only the King, and the Prince his Son, but likewiſe all others who had ſworn to them, were abſolved from them, however very few of the Barons would accept of it.

[2] *A. S. A.*

None of the Biſhops durſt ſhew their diſlike to it, but the Bp. of *Worceſter*, who appeals to the Pope himſelf:

[2] But tho' this Diſpenſation diſpleaſed a great many, yet none of the Biſhops durſt ſhew their diſlike of it, except *Walter de Cantelupe*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who, on the behalf of himſelf, and all the Great Men of *England*, publickly appeal'd from it to the Pope himſelf: But this Appeal ſignified nothing, ſo long as the Pope and the King had both agreed againſt the Obſervation of thoſe Proviſions.

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[3] *Id. ib.* The Barons finding the King and the Pope agreed, think beſt to make the beſt Terms they can. It is at laſt agreed, that the Barons ſhall refer themſelves wholly to the King's Pleaſure, and that of the King of the *Romans*.

[3] And now the Barons finding that the King was reſolved wholly to lay aſide theſe uneaſie Bridles of his Prerogative, and that the Pope had thus declared for his Intereſt, they thought it high time to make the beſt Terms they could with him: Therefore after a long Debate between both Parties, (*Richard* King of the *Romans* being appointed to tranſact for the King his Brother, and the Earl of *Glouceſter* for the Barons) it was at laſt agreed, that the Barons ſhould renounce all their former Demands, and refer themſelves wholly to the King's good Will and Pleaſure, and the Judgment of the King of the *Romans*, in all things concerning the Government of the Kingdom; but the Earl of *Leiceſter* not conſenting to this, left the Court, and tho' many of the other greater and leſſer Barons were not at all pleaſed with this Agreement, yet it was in vain for them to ſtand out, the greater Part having already complied with what the two Kings would have done: So changeable were the Baron's Reſolutions, varying according to their ſeveral Humours, and the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, of which we are not at this diſtance competent Judges.

[4] *In hoc Anno.* The Barons meet fifteen days after *Eaſter*, and yield to give up ſome of the *Oxford* Proviſions, provided he would confirm the reſt.

Four Perſons to be nam'd for Sheriffs, out of whom the K. of the *Romans* was to chuſe one.

But [4] *Thomas Wikes* gives ſomewhat a larger, and more different Account, and relates, that fifteen Days after *Eaſter* the Barons met again at *London*, to treat with the King; where, after many Debates, they at laſt yielded, that if he would confirm ſome of the *Oxford* Proviſions, they would give up all the reſt; and it was likewiſe then provided, that the Barons ſhould elect out of every County Four Knights, whom they ſhould judge moſt fit for *Sheriffs*, whoſe Names being given in to the King of the *Romans*, he out of them ſhould nominate one for each County, whom he thought beſt qualified for that Office; and theſe were to continue but till *Michaelmaſs* following, and then the King was again to name whom he pleaſed.

[5] *Id. ib.* The Great Men meet again to conclude the former Agreement. The King of his own free Will commands the *Oxford*-Proviſions to be obſerved. The ſame that ſome years after were inſerted into the Statutes of *Marlebridge*.

[5] Then preſently after *Whitſontide* the Great Men met at the ſame Place, to conclude and ſettle the former Agreement: But the Earl of *Leiceſter* being diſcontented at what had been done, went over into *France*; and now (it ſeems) the King did in ſome Points anew confirm the late *Oxford*-Proviſions; for *Matt. Weſtminſter* ſays expreſly, that the King following more wholeſome Counſels, of his own free Will commanded the Conſtitutions of *Oxford* to be inviolably obſerved, and ſent them down into every County. But tho' none of our Hiſtorians have given us the Heads of the Articles that were now agreed to on both Sides, yet I find in two antient *MSS.* (the one in *Bennet*-Colledge Library in *Cambridge*, and the other in the *Bodleian* in *Oxon*) that thoſe Statutes chiefly related to thoſe Suits of Court, and Diſtreſſes made by Tenants *in Capite*, and other Lords of Mannors, upon their under-Tenants, which being very much for the Benefit both of the Lords and Tenants, were ſome Years after again confirmed by the King, and inſerted Word for Word in the Statutes of *Marlebridge*, as you will find at the End of this King's Reign.

[1] *Id ib. M.W.* All Quarrels between the King and Barons for a while reconciled.

[1] After the King's paſſing and confirming of theſe Laws, all Quarrels between him and the Barons ſeem'd for the preſent to be made up; So that about the end of *June*, the King of the *Romans* went over for *Germany*, and about the end of *July* or beginning of *Auguſt*,

King

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King *Henry* with his Queen paſſed over to their Territories in *France*, where they continued till almoſt *Chriſtmaſs*, tho' our Authors are ſilent as to what was done there; only that the King, and ſeveral others near his Perſon, fell dangerouſly ill of Quartan Agues at *Bourdeaux*; which delay'd his Return longer than he deſigned.

K. *Henry* and his Brother both go over beyond Sea.

[2] In the mean time *Richard* Earl of *Glouceſter* dying, his Son *Gilbert* was now obliged to go over into *France* to the King, to compound for his Father's Eſtate; but the King having had no Kindneſs for him, becauſe he had held him ſo ſtrictly to the *Oxford*-Proviſions, the Son was received very roughly at firſt; yet at length, by the means of *William de Valence* the King's Half-Brother, he treated him more favourably, and at laſt having made a full Agreement with him for his Lands, he was ſent home well ſatisfied for the preſent; yet all that had been done could not oblige this Young Lord to take part with the King in the War, which not long after broke out; for it ſeems his Father had upon his Death-bed charged him not to depart from thoſe *Statutes* or *Proviſions* above-mentioned. But to return to the Affairs of *England*.

[2] *A. S. A.* The Earl of *Glouceſter* deceaſing, his Son goes over to the King, and is roughly received, till his Peace was made by *William de Valence*. Then is ſent home well ſatisfied for the preſent.

[3] During the King's Abſence in *France*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* arrived here privately from thence, about the beginning of *October*, without being reconciled to the King before he came over; but ſo ſoon as he came to *London*, he appeared at a Great Council, which the Lord *Philip Baſſet*, Juſtitiary of *England*, then held; where the Earl produced a Brief or Letter from the Pope, wherein he confirm'd the Proviſions of *Oxford*, and recalled the King's Abſolution, declaring, that he was deceived in the granting of it. This Brief was publickly read in the Council, contrary to the Will of the Juſtitiary, but as ſoon as ever the Earl had publiſhed it, he preſently went back into *France*, to proſecute the Deſign which he had now again ſet on foot.

[3] *Id. ib.* The Earl of *Leiceſter* arrives in *England*, And at a great Council, produces a new Bull from the Pope, in Confirmation of the *Oxford*-Proviſions, Which was publickly read.

This Paſſage is found in no other Writer, except the Manuſcript Chronicle of St. *Auguſtine*; and, if true, not only ſhews us the variable Temper of the Pope and his Court, in firſt condemning, and now again confirming the *Oxford*-Proviſions; but alſo gives us the Reaſon of the ſo ſudden Change in the Baron's Humour, from what it was in the beginning of this Year; and ſhews us the Cauſe of what happen'd in the next, as you will find by and by: But if the Abſolution was now recall'd, it was ſhortly after re-confirm'd, as we ſhall hear anon.

I have nothing elſe worth taking notice of under this Year, [2] but that the *Welſh* ſtill continuing their Hoſtilities, a little before *Chriſtmaſs* a Party of Prince *Llewellyn*'s Men ſeized by Surprize the ſtrong Caſtle of *Melienyth*, or *Kenet*, belonging to Sir *Roger Mortimer*; and having put moſt of the Gariſon to the Sword, they took *Howel ap Meyric* the Governour, with his Wife and Children, Priſoners; and after that, the Caſtle was demoliſhed by the Prince's Order: But when Sir *Roger* heard of it, he marched with a great Body of Lords and Knights to the Caſtle, where Prince *Llewellyn* met him; but *Mortimer* not daring to hazard a Battel, took Shelter within the Ruines of his Caſtle, and not finding himſelf ſecure there, deſired leave of the Prince to retire peaceably: Thereupon, by reaſon of the near Relation that was betwixt them, and withal becauſe he would

[2] *Dr. P. Chron.* The Prince of *Wales* ſeizes certain Caſtles in the Marches, And permits Sir *Roger Mortimer* to retire in ſafety.

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The Prince makes himſelf Maſter of *Brecknock* and the adjacent Country.

not be thought ſo mean ſpirited as to fall upon an Enemy that wanted Power to reſiſt him, he let him go off with his Forces, and then the *Welſh* Prince paſſing on to *Brecknock*, made himſelf Maſter of it with the Deſire of the People of that Country, who thereupon ſwore Fidelity to him, and then he returned to *North-Wales*.

[3] *Dr. P's Chron.*

Sub hoc Anno Mat. Weſtminſt. gives ſomewhat a different Account of this Action.

This is the Account the [3] *Weſh* Chronicles give of this Action, and is (I ſuppoſe) the ſame which *Matt. Weſtminſter* relates; only he calls it the Caſtle of *Kenet*, and further adds, that it was taken by Surprize, and not delivered for want of Victuals; yet ſays nothing of the Earl's encloſing himſelf within its Ruines, nor of Prince *David*'s Licence for his Retreat; but, on the contrary, that *Roger Mortimer* being highly incens'd at this Affront, called to his Aſſiſtance ſome of the Lords Marchers, who not only deſtroy'd the *Welſhmen* by frequent Excurſions, but alſo laying Ambuſh for them in fit Places, ſometimes ſlew three or four hundred of them at a time; and they likewiſe in return ſurpriz'd and ſlew about the like Number belonging to the Marchers.

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[4] *G. R. A. S. A.*

[5] MSS in the Heralds-Office.

The King and Queen kept *Chriſtmaſs* at *Canterbury*.

[1] *A. S. A.*

The Quarrel between the King and the Barons breaks out afreſh, and on what Occaſion.

[2] *In libro de Antiquis Leg. London.*

The King and Queen being now returned out of *France*, (according to [4] *Matt. Paris's* Continuator) kept their *Chriſtmaſs* in the Tower of *London*; but I rather credit [5] *John Everſden*'s Chronicle, and the Annals of St. *Auguſtine*, which do both aſſure us, that the King and Queen landing at *Dover* on St. *Thomas*'s Eve, came to *Canterbury*, where the Lord *Philip Baſſet*, and *John Manſel* the Juſtitiary, meeting them, with ſome others of their Party, they kept this Feſtival at that City; and it is very certain, that not long after the old Quarrel between the King and his Barons began afreſh. [1] For the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and thoſe of his Party, (being much the greater Number) poſitively inſiſted, and were very urgent with the King, that the *Proviſions* of *Oxford* might be again obſerved and proclaimed anew through the whole Kingdom: This the King refuſed to grant, inſiſting upon the Pope's Abſolution from his Oath, being ſeconded by the King of the *Romans*, Prince *Edward*, and divers other Great Men, who were the King's chief Counſellors and Miniſters; ſo that (as the [2] City Annals relate) the King was ſo far from agreeing to the Baron's Demands, that abont the ſame time he iſſued out his Writs throughout *England*, expreſly forbidding the ſaid Statutes or Proviſions to be any more obſerved.

[3] *Dr. P's Chron.*

Prince *Llewellyn* invades the Earldom of *Cheſter*.

[4] *T. W. M. W.*

Prince *Edward* is order'd by his Father to march into *Wales*.

The *Welſh* retire into their Faſtneſſes.

Yet however a Civil War did not preſently break out, both Parties being either not ſufficiently prepar'd, or elſe taken up in putting a ſtop to the Incurſions of the *Welſhmen*; [3] who in the beginning of the Spring, under the Conduct of their Prince *Llewellyn*, being confederated with ſuch Barons of thoſe Parts as were Prince *Edward*'s Enemies, invaded the Earldom of *Cheſter*, and taking the Caſtles of *Dyſert* and *Tyganway*, the latter of which (being one of the ſtrongeſt in the Marches) was delivered up to him for want of Proviſions.

Whereupon Prince *Edward* being newly returned home, about *Eaſter*, with a great number of Foreign Souldiers, ſome time before *Whitſontide* he was ordered by his Father to march with them againſt the *Welſh*; thereupon entring the Countrey, and advancing towards *Snowdun*, the Prince found them retreated into their Faſtneſſes in the

Mountains

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Mountains and Woods; ſo that not being able to attack them by reaſon of the Roughneſs of the Countrey, and Thickneſs of the Woods, all he could do was, to ſecure the reſt of his Caſtles, by providing them very well with Souldiers, and all things neceſſary for Defence: At laſt having made a ſhort Truce with Prince *Llewellyn*, he return'd into *England* ſome time after the above-mention'd Feſtival; but the main Deſign being thus defeated, this Truce ſerved rather to encourage than abate the Preſumption of the *Welſhmen*.

He makes a Truce with that Prince.

[5] So ſoon as the Prince return'd from the *Welſh* Expedition, he went down into the Iſle of *Sheppey*, and ſending for the Barons of the Cinque Ports, he made them (tho' with ſome difficulty) to renew their Oath of Fealty to the King; however it ſignified little, for it being done out of fear, they broke it upon the firſt Opportunity.

[5] *A. S. A.* The Prince goes down to the Iſle of *Sheppey*, and makes the Barons of the *Cinque Ports* renew their Oath of Fealty to his Father.

[1] Preſently after the Prince's Return to *London*, one of the firſt things he did, was to go to the *New-Temple*, and there entring the Treaſury of the Knights-*Templars*, without their Conſents he broke open the Locks of the Cheſts, and took away Ten thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, belonging to ſeveral Noblemen and Merchants of the City; at which raſh Action both the King and Queen, and the King of the *Romans* ſeem'd much offended; but the Prince, ſo ſoon as he had got the Money, carried it preſently to *Windſor* Caſtle, where he ſtaid with his Foreign Souldiers in Gariſon, till the War broke out, tho' very much to the diſcontent of the Earl of *Leyceſter* and the Barons of his Party: In the mean while the King and Queen, with *John Manſel*, and other their Counſellors, kept themſelves cloſe in the Tower of *London*.

[1] *Id. ib.* The Prince breaks open the Treaſury of the Knights *Templars*, and there ſeizes 10000 *l.* belonging to divers Perſons, and carries it away to *Windſor* Caſtle.

[2] At *Whitſontide* a Great Council of the Nobility, headed by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, was held at *London*, (as it ſeems without the King's Summons) where they openly declar'd againſt the King and Prince, as guilty of Perjury, in thus receding from the Proviſions of *Oxford*; and having then a great many of the Younger Noblemen of their Party, they ſummon'd the reſt to come in to them, threatning to treat all thoſe as Enemies who refuſed; ſo that moſt of the Barons now joined with them, ſome out of an honeſt Deſign, ſome out of fear for their Perſons and Eſtates, and others out of hopes of Gain by fiſhing in theſe troubled Waters.

[2] *T. W.* A great Council of the Nobility met at *London*, where they accuſe the King and Prince of Perjury, and ſummon all the reſt of the Barons to appear.

[3] Theſe being thus aſſembled, made up a great Army, under the Command of *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, as their General, and declared for the late *Oxford*-Proviſions. And farther (according to the City Annals) they ſent the King a Letter or Declaration, (ſeal'd by the Lord *Roger Clifford* in the Name of the reſt) in which they firſt petition'd his Majeſty to obſerve the *Proviſions* of *Oxford*, and defied all thoſe that oppos'd them, (the King, Queen, and their Children excepted) [4] after which, about the end of *June*, they proceeded to Acts of open Hoſtility, falling upon all Strangers (towards whom the ſaid King and Prince had ſhewn too much Favour) as alſo on the King's Counſellors, and all thoſe that adhered to him; and plundered their Houſes, and deſtroyed their Eſtates, without any Mercy or diſtinction of Perſons; [5] but the Storm fell moſt ſeverely upon *John Manſel* and *Robert Walerand*, as thoſe whom

[3] *Id. ib.* Who being aſſembled, form themſelves into an Army, and declare for the *Oxford* Proviſions. They ſend the King a Declaration.

[4] *M. W. Annal. de Abingdon, MS. in Cantab.* They plunder all Strangers.

[5] *A. S. A.* On whom the Storm falls moſt ſeverely.

who they thought had chiefly adviſed the King not to come to an Agreement with them; and they had likewiſe the greater Spleen againſt *Simon de Walton*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, and *John Manſel*, becauſe they had, by the Pope's Command, publiſh'd his Bull of King *Henry*'s Abſolution from his Oath to obſerve the *Proviſions* of *Oxford*, and had declar'd all that reſiſted him *Excommunicated*.

[1] *M. W.* A great Perſecution of Strangers, whereupon *John Manſel* quits the Kingdom.

Henry Son to the K. of the *Romans* going over to ſeize him, is made a Priſoner at *Boloigne*.

[1] And indeed it now went very ill with the Foreigners, for who ever could not ſpeak *Engliſh* were very roughly treated by the common People; ſo that many for fear of Death or Impriſonment left the Kingdom, as did *John Manſel*, the King's Chief Miniſter, who thought it his ſafeſt way to get over beyond Sea, and leave all his rich Benefices behind him; but *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans* perſuing him, out of an eager deſire to ſeize him, he himſelf was taken Priſoner at *Boloigne*, by the Queen's Procurement; and being brought back was here committed to ſafe Cuſtody.

[2] *Id. ib. T. W.* Some of the moſt active Barons marched to *Hereford*, and there made the Bp. Priſoner, becauſe he was a Foreigner.

[3] *M. W.* They marched alſo to *Glouceſter*, and took the Caſtle and carri'd the Sheriff away Priſoner.

[2] In the mean time, *Roger de Clifford*, and *Roger Leyburn*, with others of the moſt active Barons marched up and down the adjacent Countries, ſeizing the Goods, and ſpoiling the Eſtates of thoſe that declared againſt the *Oxford*-Proviſions, and marched down to *Hereford* with a ſtrong Army, where they took *Peter Egue-blank*, Biſhop of that See, *Priſoner*, [3] becauſe he was a *Burgundian*, together with thoſe Chanons of the Church that were his Countrey-Men, whom he had brought into it, and carried them all Priſoners to *Eardeſly* Caſtle, plundering them of all their Money and Goods: after this the Army marched to *Glouceſter*, where they took the outward Caſtle after five Day's Siege; but not being able preſently to poſſeſs themſelves of the main Tower into which *Matthias de Beſille*, the Governour (then Sheriff of *Glouceſter-ſhire*) had retreated, they at laſt broke open the Iron Door of that Place, and taking him Priſoner carried him away (becauſe he was a Stranger) to keep the Biſhop company: From thence they march'd back, and took *Worceſter*, and then went to *Bridge-North* (a Town of the King's) but tho' it held out at firſt, yet it was ſurrend'red the next Day upon Articles, leſt the *Welſh-men* (a great number of whom likewiſe beſieged the Town) ſhould enter it by force.

[4] *Id. ib. A. S. A.* *Briſtol* is alſo ſurrend'red, but the Caſtle holds out.

The Prince takes ſeveral Caſtles in *Wales*.

[5] *T. W.*

[4] Some time after they had likewiſe the Town of *Briſtol* ſurrend'red to them by the Citizens, tho' the Caſtle ſtill held out for the King: then theſe Barons return'd back towards *Windſor*, which Caſtle was ſtill kept by Prince *Edward*'s Men; but in the mean while the Prince, and the Noble-men of the King's ſide, that were then in the Marches of *Wales*, took the Caſtle of *Haye*, *Brecknock*, and other Places. [5] Thus on both ſides they waſted, burnt, and deſtroyed each other's Houſes and Eſtates, whilſt the Barons, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, did what they pleaſed about *London*, by reaſon that the greateſt part of the Men of Eſtates came in to them.

The Barons write a Letter to the City, to know whither they would ſtand to the *Proviſions* of *Oxford*.

But after theſe Military, we ſhall now give you ſome Civil Tranſactions, not to be found among our printed Authors, but in the City-Annals already cited, which tell us, that about Midſummer, the Barons ſent a Letter to the City of *London*, under the Seal of the Earl of *Leiceſter* their General, to know from the Citizens, whither they would hold firm to the late Statutes or Proviſions of

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Oxford, which they ſuppoſed to be for the Honour of God, and the Good of the King and Kingdom, or whither they would adhere to thoſe that broke them.

[1] Upon the receipt of theſe Letters, the chief Citizens carried them to the King, being then in the *Tower* with his Counſellors, and plainly told them, that the Community of the City were obliged by Oath to obſerve thoſe Statutes, which they thought tended to his Benefit, and that of the whole Realm; and therefore hoped he would not take it ill, if for the future they ſhould not permit any Foreign Knights, or other Strangers, to continue or lodge within the City: then ſome of the principal Citizens were ſent to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Barons, lying then at *Dover*, to aſſure them that they would ſtand to the former Engagements they had made, ſaving their Allegiance to the King.

[1] *Id. ib.* The Citizens carry the Letter to the K. and let him know, that they were reſolved to obſerve the *Oxford-Proviſ.*

[2] About the ſame time, the Barons, that they might not ſeem deficient in their Duty to the King, ſent him an humble Petition in Writing, wherein they deſired, that the abovemention'd Statutes, or Proviſions, might be obſerved, ſince they had been confirmed by his own Oath, and that of the Great Men of the Kingdom; yet however, if it could be made appear, to the Judgment and Conſideration of worthy and honeſt Perſons, that any thing in them was prejudicial to the King and Kingdom, thoſe things ſhould be annull'd; or if they were obſcure, explain'd, ſo that what was good and profitable might be preſerv'd and maintain'd; they further deſir'd, that for the future the Kingdom ſhould be govern'd by the Native Subjects thereof, as was practiced in all other Kingdoms.

[2] *Id. ib.* The Barons ſend the King an humble and modeſt Petition.

This Petition, tho' it ſeem'd very modeſt and reaſonable, I do not find the King would then agree to, [3] but keeping ſtill cloſe in the *Tower*, expected the Prince, his Son, to come and relieve him; [4] to prevent which the Earl of *Leiceſter* drew up a powerful Army near *London*, and lay encamped with it in the Park at *Thiſtleworth*, [5] having before he left *Kent*, engaged the *Cinque-Ports* to revolt from the King, and take an Oath to live and die with the Barons.

[3] *M. W.* The K. keeps cloſe in the *Tower.*

[4] *T. W.* The Earl of *Leiceſter* draws up his Army near *London.*

[5] *A. S. A.*

[1] But the King now finding himſelf diſappointed in his hopes of Relief, and ſeeing he was on every ſide ſurrounded with Enemies, and fearing the Succeſs, thought it his beſt way to agree to all the Propoſals of the Barons, and once more promiſed to obſerve the Proviſions of *Oxford*; [2] whereupon the Barons of both Parties being now outwardly reconciled, receiv'd each other with mutual Embraces; after which, the King adventur'd to truſt himſelf out of the *Tower*, and go to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*; ſo that there was now a temporary Agreement clap'd up, that laſted for a while, which is alſo confirm'd from the City Annals (already mention'd) relating, that on the Morrow after the Feaſt of St. *Margaret* (that is, on the 21ſt of *July*) the King's Writ or Letter to the Mayor and Citizens of *London*, was read in the *Guild-Hall*, ſetting forth, 'That the Difference between the King and the Barons was now made up; and therefore he Commanded, that his 'Peace ſhould be kept; and if any one broke it, he ſhould be arreſted, and his Goods alſo ſeiz'd and kept ſafe till the King's further Order concerning them ſhould be known.

[1] *T.W.M.W.*

[2] *J. G.*

But

[3] *Sub hoc Anno.*

But as for the chief Articles of this Agreement, they are in [3] *Matt. Weſtminſter*, and *William Riſhanger* (tho' falſly enter'd by this laſt Author under the next Year) being to this effect:

Firſt, 'That *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans* (who was then kept Priſoner in *France*) ſhould be releaſed. *Secondly*, That the King's Caſtles ſhould be put into the hands of the Barons. *Thirdly*, 'That the *Statutes* or Proviſions of *Oxford* ſhould be again inviolably obſerved. *Fourthly*, That all ſhould be baniſh'd the Realm by a certain Time, except ſuch as ſhould be allowed of by the unanimous conſent of the King's Loyal Subjects; and that only Natives of the Kingdom, being ſuch as were faithful and diligent, ſhould be admitted to tranſact the Publick Affairs thereof.

But the Terms of this Peace were too ſtrict to be obſerved, either by the King, or Prince *Edward* his Son, longer than till they could find an opportunity to break them; as you will ſee anon.

[4] *M.W. G.R.*

But I have no more to obſerve concerning the making of this Peace, only that it was for the preſent concluded, notwithſtanding all the Queen's endeavours to the contrary, which tho' done out of her great Zeal, for the King her Huſband's Intereſt and Prerogative, yet our [4] Authors make it rather to proceed from a Feminine Malice, and that for this, the ordinary Citizens of *London* were ſo incenſed againſt her, that as ſhe was ſome time after in her Paſſage from the *Tower* (where ſhe till then kept her ſelf) to *Windſor* by Water, juſt going to ſhoot the Bridge, ſhe was from thence ſet upon, not only by foul and vile Reproaches, but alſo with Dirt and Stones, with which ſhe being much affright'ned, was forc'd to return back to the *Tower*. This Story, tho' it ſeems of ſmall Moment, yet will ſerve to inform the Reader, why the Prince her Son was afterwards ſo eager in the perſuit of the *Londoners* at the Battel of *Lewes*, which happen'd to their Prejudice, as well as the loſs of the Victory to the King his Father, as you will find hereafter. But to return to our Hiſtory.

Prince *Edw.* marches to *Briſtol*, where, upon a Quarrel between his Soldiers and the Townſmen, he is by them beſieged.

As this Peace was ſuddenly made, ſo it was as ſuddenly broken, and that on this occaſion. The Earl of *Leiceſter* being gone toward the Sea-Coaſt, in order to ſet *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, at liberty, in the mean while the Garriſon of Foreigners in *Windſor*-Caſtle laid hold on this opportunity to Sally out and plunder the adjacent Countrey of their Proviſions, whilſt Prince *Edward*, their Lord, was march'd with ſome other Forces to the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, which was ſtill in his Cuſtody, where having continued ſome Days, there aroſe ſuch a Quarrel between the Prince's Soldiers, and the Townſmen, as could by no means be compos'd, ſo that they wholly withdrawing themſelves from his Obedience, were about to beſiege the Caſtle.

[5] *Id. ib.* And is ſet free by the Bp. of *Worceſt.* the Prince making him believe, that he would join with the Barons.

[5] But the Prince finding himſelf in a ſtreight, and that the greateſt part of *England* was now ſet againſt Strangers, he had no ways to ſecure himſelf from being taken, but by ſending for *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter* (who then joyn'd with the Barons) and making him believe, that he would conclude a firm Peace with them, and wholly be guided by his Advice; he thereupon ſo far prevail'd with

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But as ſoon as he came to *Windſor*, he claps himſelf into the Caſtle.

Whereupon the Earl of *Leiceſter* reſolves to beſiege it.

The Prince going out to parly, is ſeiz'd by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and forc'd to ſurrender the Caſtle to the Barons.

with the Citizens, that they let the Prince go away free: But he prov'd too cunning for the Biſhop and them too; for tho' he pretended to go along with him to Court, in order to perſwade his Father to agree to what he had promiſed, yet ſo ſoon as he came near the Caſtle of *Windſor*, he left the Biſhop, and clapping Spurs to his Horſe rode directly thither, to the Biſhop's great diſappointment, who reſented it very highly to be thus over-reach'd. And when he had inform'd the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Barons of it, they gathered what Forces together they could, and about the beginning of *Auguſt* march'd towards the Caſtle, in order to beſiege it: But when the Prince receiv'd intelligence of it, he went out of the Caſtle, as far as *Kingſton*, to meet the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and offer him a Treaty of Peace; but they not coming to any Agreement, the Earl, by the Advice of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, ſeiz'd upon the Prince's Perſon, and would not let him return again into the Caſtle, ſo that he was forc'd to make the beſt Terms he could for himſelf, and to order thoſe Strangers that kept it, to ſurrender it upon Condition, that they might all have liberty to march out with their Horſes and Arms, and leave the Realm, as they immediately did, being guarded to the Sea-ſide by ſome of the Barons.

[1] Upon this ill Succeſs, the King being now deſtitute of all Aſſiſtance, together with the Prince his Son, were neceſſitated at preſent to be outwardly reconcil'd to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Barons of his Party: [2] whereupon the Lord *Hugh le d' Eſpenſer* was again made Juſtitiary of *England*, in the room of the Lord *Philip Baſſet*; and the Earl of *Leiceſter* was made High Steward of *England*; and Sir *Roger de Leyburne*, who had been looked upon as one of the King's greateſt Enemies, was likewiſe made Steward of his Houſhold.

[1] *M. W. T. W.* The K. now deſtitute of Aſſiſtance is fain once more to be reconcil'd to the Barons.

[2] *A. S. A.* And ſeveral new great Officers are thereupon made.

[3] Then to perfect this Agreement, about the beginning of *September*, there was a great Council or Parliament aſſembled, and that ſo numerous, as the like had not been known for a long time before; at which the *Proviſions* of *Oxford* were appointed to be publickly proclaim'd, and inviolably obſerv'd through the whole Kingdom; yet to do ſomewhat in favour of the oppoſite Party, *Peter*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, and *Matthias de Bezile*, and thoſe that were Impriſon'd with them, were all ſet free, and the Spoils and Depredations which had been committed upon the Goods of Eccleſiaſticks, and ſuch Noblemen as took part with the King (about which there had been ſo much Diſcord) were ordain'd to be made good.

[3] *M. W.* Another Parliament call'd, in which the Proviſions of *Oxf.* are again eſtabliſh'd.

The Biſhop of *Hereford*, with others are ſet at liberty.

[4] Thus all Differences being ſeemingly huſhed up for a time, the King found ſo much leiſure, that He, with his Queen, about *Michaelmaſs* went over into *France*, to confer with King *Lewis*, who then held a Great Council at *Boloigne*, in order to make up and compoſe all the Differences between the King and the Barons; for it ſeems there remained ſome Things ſtill to be adjuſted.

[4] *M. W. T. W. A. S. A.*

All Differences being again compoſed, the King and Queen go over to a Parliament in *France*.

But what the Event of this Aſſembly was, I can find in no other Author, but the Annals of St. *Auguſtine*, and another nameleſs Writer in the *Cottonian* Library; and they both relate, that the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and divers Barons of his Party, went alſo over thither, where they were met by *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and

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thoſe Foreigners that had been before baniſhed *England*, who complain'd of it to the *French* King, as a great piece of Injuſtice and Tyranny, and therefore deſired leave to return home; to which Demand the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the reſt of the Deputies, who went over on behalf of their Party, replied, *That they were not obliged to give any Account of what had been done in* England *in the Court of the King of* France, *but only in that of their own Prince, and that only by Judgment of their Peers:* Inſomuch that the Barons of *England* not complying with any of thoſe Things that were propoſed to them on the King's behalf, the Aſſembly broke up.

The Foreigners complain to the *Fr.* K. of their Baniſhment, but are anſwered by the E. of *Leiceſter*, and the Deputies of the Barons.

Who not complying with ſome Propoſals, the Aſſembly broke up.

[5] But the *French* Hiſtorians give it us thus, That *Simon Montfort* being ſummon'd by King *Lewis* to come to this Council, he earneſtly entreated him to comply with his King's Deſires, and not to preſs him too far, leſt whilſt he ſet himſelf up for a Patron of the Laws, he raiſed an inveterate Civil War, in which he might both ruine himſelf, as well as the Publick; but this Earl pretending the Defence of the Laws, which he was bound by Oath to obſerve, would by no means hearken to King *Lewis* his reaſonable Requeſt; who finding he could by no means be prevail'd upon, diſmiſs'd him: Whereupon the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Aſſociates returned preſently home, nor did the King ſtay long behind them; but leaving the Queen (who did not care to come back into *England* in ſuch troubleſom Times) with her Siſter the Queen of *France*, [1] he return'd into *England* preſently after *Michaelmaſs*, to keep the Feaſt of St. *Edward* the Confeſſor, to whom he always paid a ſingular Devotion.

[5] Chron. *Will. de Nangiſ. Paul. Æmyl. in D. Lud. p.* 52 *b.*

K. *Lewis* perſuades the E. of *Leiceſter* to comply with K. *Henry*, but in vain.

The King returns home, but leaves the Queen behind him.

And that we may here intermix ſome Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, to this time alſo may be referred what is found at the end of certain Manuſcript Annals of the Abbey of *Hide* in the * *Bodleian* Library, *viz.* that *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being then at *Boloigne*, did at this time iſſue out an *Excommunication* againſt *Henry* and *Simon*, Sons to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Humphrey de Bohun* Son to the Earl of *Hereford*, and divers other Barons that joined with Earl *Simon*, for laying violent Hands on Prelates and Churchmen, and ſpoiling and robbing of Churches, notwithſtanding their Priviledges; yet I do not find, that the Earl of *Leiceſter* himſelf is mention'd in this *Excommunication*; for he was too politick at that time to do any ſuch thing himſelf.

[1] *T. W.*

* *NE. A.*3.19. *p.* 136.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* excommunicates the two Sons of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with ſeveral other Noblemen, and on what occaſion.

[2] But the King having now celebrated the Feaſt of St. *Edward*, he forthwith held another Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, wherein he endeavoured, by offering the Barons very fair Conditions, to have ſettled a good Underſtanding between himſelf and them; but theſe Hopes were blaſted, by reaſon of the Obſtinacy of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who relying on the Number of his Adherents, wholly refuſed the King's reaſonable Propoſals; ſo that the Parliament broke up without coming to any Concluſion; of which ill Fortune Prince *Edward* made this Advantage, that thereupon, by fair Promiſes and Perſuaſions, he drew off from *Simon Montfort*'s Faction the Earl *Mareſchall*, [3] *Henry* Son to the King of the *Romans*, the Lord *John Baſſet*, and divers other Noblemen, with all the Barons of the Marches, who were unanimouſly reſolved to curb the Inſolence of the Earl of *Leiceſter*.

[2[*T. W. ib.*

Another Parliament held at *Weſtm.* but would not comply with the King's fair Propoſals.

[3] *O. R.*

[4] The

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[4] The King now finding his Party much ſtronger than it was, having held a private Council with his Brother the King of the *Romans*, Prince *Edward*, and the reſt of thoſe Noblemen above-mention'd, they all concluded, that it was the ſafeſt courſe for the King to force the reſt of the Barons to a complyance, by ſurpriſing what Caſtles he could, that were ſtill in the Cuſtody of the oppoſite Faction, which was thus put in execution: Prince *Edward*, under pretence of viſiting his Wife, preſently enter'd and ſurpriz'd the Caſtle of *Windſor*, turning out the Gariſon put in by the Barons; and the Morning following the King himſelf, together with his Family, privately withdrew from *Weſtminſter*, and went to the ſame place, and was immediately follow'd by the * Lord *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*; *John*, Earl of *Warren* and *Surrey*, and ſuch of the Barons who had before ſecretly deſerted the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Party, who notwithſtanding kept himſelf cloſe in the City of *London*, whilſt in the mean time the King, attended by his Son Prince *Edward*, and the King of the *Romans*, with a good ſtrength of Horſe and Foot which they had now raiſed, marched down to *Dover*, to reduce that Caſtle into the King's Power; but thoſe that were within, and kept it for the Barons, would not deliver it upon the King's Summons; and the Beſiegers finding it too ſtrong to be taken by Force, were, to their Shame, obliged to march off and leave it.

[4] *T. W. ib.* The King and his Brother, with the reſt of the Noblemen of that Party, reſolve to force the Barons to a Complyance.

[5] *Annal. de London.*

* *M. W.*

And all marched down to take *Dover*; but they are forced to retire *re infectâ*.

The Annals of St. *Auguſtine* farther add, that the Cauſe of the King's being denied Entrance into the Caſtle, was, from a Letter written by the Earl of *Leiceſter* to the Conſtable or Deputy-Governour, under the Lord *Richard Grey*, adviſing him not to give the King himſelf entrance, unleſs he would be content to come with only Nine or Ten in his Retinue, which he refuſed to accept, as that which would be of no advantage to him.

[1] The King being thus fruſtrated in his main Deſign, yet that he might not return without doing ſomething worth his Journey, took a Circuit round about the *Cinque-Ports*, and then ſummoning their Barons before him, made them renew their Oath of Fidelity to himſelf; after which he went towards *London*, about the beginning of *December*: But when the Citizens, who were headed by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and *Thomas Fitz-Richard*, heard of his coming, they peremptorily denied the King and the Prince his Son entrance into the City, tho' moſt of the elder and wiſer Sort did all they could to oppoſe it.

[1] *Id. ib.*

The K. goes to the *Cinque-Ports*, and makes them renew their Oath of Fidelity to himſelf, and then returns to *London*, where he is denied Admittance by the Citizens.

[2] In the mean while the Earl of *Leiceſter* had raiſed a great Army to relieve *Dover*-Caſtle, if the King had actually beſieged it, but now he lay encamped about *Southwark*, to hinder his coming to *London*; whereupon Prince *Edward*, lying at the ſame time with his Forces about *Merton*, marched towards the Borough of *Southwark*, and joining his own Forces to his Father's, had like to have ſurprized the Earl of *Leiceſter* (who was then inferiour to the King in Number;) [3] for ſome of the Chief Citizens being ſecretly of the King's Party, had, unknown to the reſt, ſhut up the Gates of the Bridge, and taken away the Keys, ſo that the Earl could not retire into the City, nor could the Citizens march out to his Aſſiſtance: The chief Contriver of this Deſign was one *John de Giſors* (a *Norman* by Birth:) But the Common Citizens hearing of the Earl's

[2] *T. W. M. W.*

The E. of *Leiceſter* with an Army lies about *Southwark*, to hinder the King's coming to *London*.

And is like to be ſurpriz'd by P. *Edward*, through the Treachery of ſome Citizens.

[3] *A. S. A.*

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but the common Citizens break them open, and march out to his Relief.

Danger, broke open the Gates and Chains, and preſently got out to his Relief, upon whoſe Arrival the Earl commanded his Men to their Arms, and to put white Croſſes on their Breaſts, and then he marched out with them into the Fields near **Lambeth**: but ſo ſoon as the King, and the Prince his Son, had notice of it, they retir'd, and ſo both Parties went back to their former Quarters; upon which a Truce was agreed on for Eight Days, but it continu'd on till *Chriſtmaſs*.

[4] *T. W.* After divers Treaties of Peace, the K. and his Party, as alſo the E. of *Leiceſter* & the Barons agree to refer all Differences to the Arbitration of the K. of *France*.

[4] During this Interval, there were frequent Treaties of Peace carried on by ſome of the Biſhops, and divers other moderate Perſons, who foreſaw the Ruine and Miſchief that this Civil War would bring upon the whole Kingdom; ſo that at laſt the King, with his Brother King *Richard*, Prince *Edward*, and the reſt of the Earls and Barons who eſpouſed the Royal Intereſt; as likewiſe on the other ſide, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and all the Barons of his Party, did by an unanimous Conſent, agree to refer all their Differences about the Proviſions of *Oxford*, as alſo concerning the other Matters in diſpute, to the Arbitration of *Lewis* King of *France*.

All Degrees and Orders of Men on both ſides agree to it, and ſwear to obſerve it.

See the Copy of the King's in Dr. *B.*'s Ap. N. 206. from the *Pat. Roll.* 48. *H.* 3. *M.* 18. N. 75. where is alſo that from the Barons.

But whither the King and the Earl's Party ever met in one Aſſembly or Council, about this great Affair, our Authors do not expreſly tell us, only *Thomas Wikes* reckons up all Degrees and Orders of Men, of the whole Clergy and Laiety, who agreed to the ſaid Arbitration, and confirm'd it by an Oath, as alſo by mutual Charters under the Seals of the King, and the Prince his Son, on the one Part, and the Earl of *Leiceſter* and the Barons on the other, provided the King of *France* gave his Sentence in this Matter, before the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* following.

[5] *A. S. A.* Prince *Edw.* going over into *France*, is in great danger by a Storm.

The Earl of *Leiceſter*, and moſt of the Barons decline going over, and the reaſon of it.

Yet ſend their Deputies to appear for them at the Parliament of *France*.

[5] Then Prince *Edward*, with the Lord *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, and ſome other Lords, went beyond Sea on the *Sunday* before *Chriſtmaſs*; the occaſion of their going over was, to meet the King of *France*, who then held an Aſſembly of the Eſtates at *Amiens*, on purpoſe, that he might, by their Mediation and Advice, make a Reconciliation between King *Henry* and the Barons; but moſt of them, together with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, pretended they were not able to appear there in Perſon, by reaſon of the War that *Roger de Mortimer*, and his Adherents, then made againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter* in *Wales*: However the Barons ſent over the Lord *Peter Montfort*, and Mr. *Thomas de Cantelupe*, (to whom *Wikes* adds, the Lords *Adam* of *Newmarket* and *William Blund*) as their Deputies, to the Aſſembly of Eſtates above-mention'd; whither alſo came Queen *Eleanor* to meet the King her Husband; as alſo did the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and all the exil'd Foreigners, in hopes of being reſtor'd.

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[1] *M.W.T.W.* The King goes over at the end of *Decem.*

The K. of *Fr.* gives Sentence for K. *Henry*, and annuls the Proviſ. of *Oxf.*

[1] But the King reſolving to keep his *Chriſtmaſs* in *England*, did not go over thither till about the 28*th* or 29*th* of *December*, and as ſoon as he Landed, he made all the ſpeed he could to meet King *Lewis* at *Amiens*, who having accepted the Arbitration, after a full hearing of whatever could be ſaid on both ſides in that Great Aſſembly of his Biſhops and Nobility, gave Sentence, tho' perhaps too haſtily (as our Author ſays) in favour of his Brother the King of *England*, againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Barons of his Party,

and by declaring the Proviſions of *Oxford* to be null and void, reſtor'd the King to his antient Power; adjudging further, that the King might nominate his Juſtitiary, Chancellor, Treaſurer, and other Officers of the Kingdom, as he pleaſed himſelf; and that Foreigners were as capable of Offices and Dignities in *England* as the Natives.

* *Vid. Append.* N. 11.

* Vol. 18. Edit. *Paris.*

* This Award or Arbitrement of the King of *France* (which I have given you at large at the end of this Volume, from Father *Dacherie*'s * *Specilegium*) bears date the 3*d* Day of *Febr. A. D.* 1263. The *French* not beginning their Year till our *Lady-Day*, in which they are there alſo follow'd by moſt of our own Writers, who then begin the Year according to the Eccleſiaſtical Account, which about this time took place; whereas according to that obſerv'd by *Matt. Paris*, and all our former *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, the Year was to have begun on *Chriſtmaſs-Day*, as I my ſelf have alſo here plac'd it; ſo that according to our Account, this Aſſembly of Eſtates was held, and King *Lewis*'s Award above-mention'd was Sign'd *A. D.* 1264. The not obſerving of which difference in Accounts, hath led *Speed*, and all our modern Hiſtorians, into a great Miſtake in point of Time; ſo that Dr. *Brady* himſelf, blindly following *William* of *Riſhanger*, has plac'd all this tranſaction after *Chriſtmaſs*, in the Year 1263. whereas if he would but have conſulted *Matt.* of *Weſtminſter*, or any other Author of that time, he would have there found, that they place this great Affair not in the beginning, but latter end of this Year, reckoning as we do now from our *Lady-Day*.

[2] *Matt. Paris* p. 992.

[2] But *W. Riſhanger*, above-mention'd, is wholly inexcuſable, who tho' he begins the Year at *Chriſtmaſs*, yet places thoſe Actions at the beginning of the former Year, which did not happen (according to his own Accout) till this; and that which is yet more prepoſterous, he places all thoſe Actions under this preſent Year, as done after the King of *France*'s late Sentence or Award, which indeed happen'd the Year before it; and that they did fall out in the laſt Year, and not under this (as he falſly places them) is prov'd by a great Eclipſe of the Sun, which fell out on the *Nones* or 5*th* of *Auguſt*, about Three of the Clock, as *Matt. Weſtminſter*, and ſeveral of our Manuſcript Chroniclers agree.

But it muſt be confeſs'd, that the Tranſactions of theſe two or three laſt Years are Regiſter'd very confuſedly by our Printed Hiſtorians, who Writing long after theſe things were done, and not well attending to the time in which the Actions they ſet down were perform'd, have fallen into great Miſtakes in the Account of the Time, when they were done; which I have, by the help of the Manuſcript Annals, belonging to the City of *London*, as alſo thoſe of the Abbey of St. *Auguſtine* above cited, I hope ſufficiently rectified; but it is time to return to our Hiſtory, from whence we have too much digreſſed.

[3] *M.W.T.W.*

The Barons being highly diſpleaſed at this Award return'd to *Engl.* and conſulting with the E. of *Leiceſt.* reſolve not to ſubmit to it, and on what pretence.

It is not to be doubted, but King *Henry* receiv'd this Award of the King of *France* (being ſo highly for his Advantage) with much Joy and Satiſfaction, as it gave the Deputies of the Barons no leſs Grief and Indignation: But they ſaying little while they were in *France*, immediately return'd back into *England*, and communicating what had been done to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the reſt of the Barons who had ſent them, they found no other way to evade the King of *France*'s Sentence, than by laying hold of one conſiderable Article of it, wherein it was declar'd, *That he did not intend thereby to abrogate the antient Liberties granted by King* John's *and the preſent King's Charters*, of which Clauſe, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and thoſe of his Party taking advantage, would not ſtand to the King's Arbitrement, alledging, that it contradicted it ſelf; and that the *Oxford*-Proviſions, and all things that had been acted by vertue thereof, was only in perſuance and corroboration of the ſaid Charters.

[4] *T. W.* This Sentence of the King of *France* makes the Barons begin the War afreſh, and ſeize the City of *London*.

[4] Thus this Sentence of the King of *France* was ſo far from procuring Peace (as was intended) that it rather made the War break out more fiercely than before; for no ſooner did the Deputies of the Barons arrive in *England*, but they began to renew the War afreſh, ſeizing again upon the City of *London*, and ſallying out from thence, ſpoil'd and plunder'd the Goods of their Enemies in the adjacent Countries, as you will hear further anon.

[5] *A. S. A. T. W*, Prince *Edw.* arriving in *England*, and hearing his Friends were like to be worſted towards *Wales*, marched down thither to aſſiſt them.

[5] Prince *Edward*, with his Couſin *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, arriving in *England* about the end of *February*, from the late Aſſembly in *France*, and hearing, that notwithſtanding Sir *Roger de Mortimer*, Sir *Robert de Clifford*, and Sir *Thomas Corbet*, with divers other Barons of the King's Party, ſtill proſecuted the War againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and his Sons in the Marches of *Wales*, with a ſufficient vigour, yet that by Prince *Llewellyn*'s joining his Forces with thoſe of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Sons, they had deſtroyed the Eſtates of the Lord *Mortimer*, and other Lords Marchers, and burnt the Caſtle of *Radnor*, ſo that the King's Friends in thoſe Parts were like to be worſted; therefore to put a ſtop to this, Prince *Edward* reſolved to go with all ſpeed to their Aſſiſtance, and raiſing what Forces he was able in ſo ſhort a time, he march'd from *Dover*, quite croſs the Countrey, as far as *Hereford*; but there receiving Intelligence that the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Sons were coming againſt him with a powerful Army of *Engliſh* and *Welſh*, and being apprehenſive that he ſhould not be ſtrong enough to encounter them, he fortify'd himſelf as ſtrongly as he could in the Caſtle of that Town.

But hearing of the approach of the E. of *Leiceſt.* Sons he fortifies himſelf in *Hereford*.

[1] *Id. ib.*

[1] In the mean time, as ſoon as the King his Father could receive the King of *France*'s Award drawn up into Form, he made no delay, but taking leave of that Prince in the beginning of *February*, he went to *Whitſand*, and there ſtaying ſome time, in order to go for *England*, he thought fit, before he took Shipping to ſend over Meſſengers to *Dover* to demand admittance into that Caſtle, in obedience to the *French* King's late Sentence; but they could receive no other Anſwer from thoſe that kept it, than that they could not do it without the conſent of Sir *Richard de Grey*, their Conſtable; however the King reſolved to paſs over thither himſelf, and being ſafely arriv'd, was there honourably receiv'd in the Priory, and from thence He again ſent to demand the delivery of the Caſtle into his hands; but being ſtill deny'd it, he went forthwith to *Canterbury*, and ſpent there ſome Days; but to what Place he went from thence is not certain, our Authors being ſilent in it; only we find from *Tho. Wikes*'s Chronicle, that he was in the beginning of *Lent* at *Oxford*, (which fell out then about the firſt Week in *March*) and that he continu'd there till the end of that Month, as we find by a * Commiſſion ſtill upon Record (tho' not mention'd by any of our Hiſtorians

K. *Henry* ſends Meſſengers into *England* to demand admittance into *Dover*-Ca. but is refus'd.

The K. Lands in *Engl* and again demands the Caſtle, but being deny'd it, goes to *Canterbury*.

He goes in the beginning of *Lent* to *Oxf.*

* *Pat.* 48. *H.* 3. *M.* 16. *Vid.* Dr. *B.*'s *Ap.* N. 207.

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rians) by which it appears, that the King had not been long there, before He began a Treaty of Peace with the Barons, and to that end impower'd the Biſhop of *Coventry*, and *Nicholas*, Arch-Deacon of *Norfolk*, to treat on his behalf at *Brackley*, with *Simon* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the reſt of the Barons, in the preſence of *John de Valenciennes*, Envoy from the King of *France*, who was (as I ſuppoſe) come over as a Mediator between them, and to endeavour to make a Peace, but whither they ever met or not, I do not find. But one of the firſt things I perceive the King did, after he came to *Oxford* was, (as the Manuſcript * Annals of the Abbey relate) that he then ſummon'd all his Military Tenants to attend him there with Horſe and Arms to march againſt his Enemies.

Where he grants a Commiſſion to treat of Peace with the Barons.

* MS. *in Bib. Pub. Cantab.*

[2] Prince *Edward* having done all he could for the King's Intereſt in the Borders of *Wales*, (tho' without any great Succeſs) left *Hereford*, and plundering and deſtroying the Houſes and Eſtates of the Barons in his March, came to his Father at *Oxford*, who having ſent away all the Scholars of that Univerſity, there was in *Mid-Lent*, held another great Council of the Barons and Gentlemen of his Party, who being inform'd, that a great part of the Barons then in Arms againſt the King, had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Town and Caſtle of *Northampton*, they adviſed him to march thither againſt them, which he approving of, [3] on the 15*th* of *April* (being *Eaſter*-Eve) He ſet out from *Oxford*, for that Town, with a great Army, being attended by his Son Prince *Edward*, and his Brother King *Richard*, and many other Earls and Barons (for whoſe Names I refer you to my Author) moſt of whom had now come over to him from the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Party, of whoſe Actions it is time to give you ſome Account; for the Earl having ſtay'd all this while in *England*, expecting the Event of the King of *France*'s Determination, and finding it wholly againſt his Intereſt, was reſolved to make his beſt Advantage of theſe Diſturbances, and having again poſſeſs'd himſelf of the City of *London* (as you have already heard) into which the Citizens had willingly admitted him, he did all he could to fix it to his Party, which was not at all difficult for him to bring about, the City being then ſo naturally diſpoſed to it.

[2] *T.W MW*

Prince *Edw.* returns to his Father at *Oxford*, where is held a Council of the Great Men, who adviſes the King to march to *Northampton*, againſt the Barons.

[3] *G. R.*

The Earl of *Leiceſter* ſtrengthens himſelf in *London*.

And here I think it may not be impertinent, from the Annals of the City (already cited) to ſhew you by what means this was effected. *Thomas Fitz-Thomas* being choſen Mayor the laſt Year, was ſtill kept in Office, as one highly for the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Faction; this Man, to flatter the Rabble or vulgar ſort of Citizens (who then call'd themſelves the Community of the City) permitted them to give their Votes in the firſt place, and if the major part of them cried out *Ya, Ya*, (which was then the ſame thing with our *Yea*) the thing (tho' never ſo violent and unreaſonable) was preſently put in execution; ſo that during theſe Commotions, little or nothing was done by the Aldermen and * Chief Men of the City; by which means the common People became ſo proud and headſtrong, that they Canton'd themſelves into divers particular Aſſemblies or Combinations, ſome of which conſiſted of a Thouſand Men, who, under pretence of keeping the Peace, were the moſt notorious breakers of it, for their principal deſign being to enrich themſelves, they plunder'd the Houſes of whomſoever they had a Pique at, under pretence of

their

* Call'd in the Annals, *Magnatibus Civitatis*.

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their being of the King's Party, (or *Malignants*, as they have been call'd in our Times) tho' indeed their Fury mainly fell upon the *Italian* Bankers call'd the *Caurſini* and the *Jews*: nor did this mad Faction prevail in *London* alone, but (as *Thomas Wikes* informs us) was alſo in other Cities and Towns in *England*, where the ungovernable Mob calling themſelves by the name of * *Batchellors*, ran down and overpower'd the better ſort of Citizens and Townſmen, much to the prejudice of the whole Community; and it was theſe ſort of People that kept the King out of the City, when he would have laſt return'd thither; but to give you ſome account of their Exploits.

* *i. e.* Stout young Fellows who carried Staves. *Vid. Gloſſ.* to *Matt. Paris.*

[4] *T.W. G.R.* The Citizens fortify the City of *Lond.*

And then marched out, and burnt the King of the *Roman*'s Houſe at *Thiſtleworth.*

[4] The War being thus again renew'd, theſe Factious Citizens of *London* having new fortify'd their City, they preſently ſeiz'd the King's Juſtices, and the Barons of the *Exchequer*; and then their next Expedition was in the beginning of *Lent*, when, under the Conduct of *Henry d' Eſpencer* (whom the Barons had lately made Juſtitiary of *England*) and *Thomas Pynpleſdon*, and *Stephen Buckerel* (the former of whom they call'd their Conſtable, and the latter their Mareſchal) upon the Ringing of the Great Bell at St. *Paul's* they marched out early in the Morning, with Banners diſplay'd as far as *Thiſtleworth*, where they burnt a moſt ſtately Mannor-Houſe of the K. of the *Romans*, who had hitherto been a great Friend to the Community of the City, and then in their return they pulled down and deſtroyed a fair Summer-Houſe of the King's in the Suburbs of *Weſtminſter*; then afterwards they fell upon the *Jews*, and not only plunder'd, but cruelly Maſſacred above Five Hundred of them, ſparing neither Age nor Sex, and more had then periſh'd, had not the Juſtitiary and the Mayor interpoſed their Authority: ſo that whoever will compare the preſent Temper of the vulgar People of that City, when left to themſelves, with what it was in that Age, may find, that tho' it is often violent and headſtrong to do Miſchief, yet are not the effects ſo cruel and fatal as they were in thoſe Times.

[5] *T.W. M.W.* The King beſieges *Northampton.*

And takes it by an Aſſault; many Barons and Knights being taken Priſoners.

[1] *T. W. Ib.* *Simon Montfort* the younger is taken Priſoner by a very odd Accident.

[5] But to return to the King, whom we left in his March againſt *Northampton*, before which Place, ſo ſoon as He and the Barons that attended him arriv'd, they preſently laid cloſe Siege to it, and ſtorming the Town, enter'd it by a Breach, that was made by undermining the Wall; where, after a great Slaughter of the Gariſon in the Streets of the Town, there were taken Priſoners Fifteen Barons bearing Banners, and Sixty Knights, beſides common Souldiers, whoſe number is not related; alſo *Peter Montfort*, Couſin to Earl *Simon*, who had retir'd into the Caſtle, finding it no longer Tenable againſt ſo great a Force, ſurrend'red it the next Day, together with himſelf; [1] but *Simon de Montfort*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, before the Town was taken, was made a Priſoner, by a very ſtrange Accident, which was this. He riding too near the Breach, his Horſe being frighten'd at ſomewhat, ran headlong with him through the Ruines of the Wall, down into the Ditch, where his Rider hardly eſcap'd breaking his Neck, but he was taken up by the King's Souldiers, who now got great ſtore of Spoil, ſparing neither Churches nor Monaſteries.

[2] *Ib.* The manner of taking the Town is ſomewhat differently related by the Annals of S. *Auguſtine.*

But the [2] Annals of St. *Auguſtine* relate the taking of this Place more particularly, and alſo differ in ſome Circumſtances of it from other Writers; for after giving us the Names of the Barons that were within it, they tel us, that it was taken by the ſpringing of a Mine, which made the Wall fall down, whilſt there was a Treaty on foot for the Deliverance of the Town upon Terms; as alſo that *Simon Montfort* the younger was taken in the Town fighting Valiantly even to the laſt; and that he, with the reſt of the Noblemen were ſent Priſoners to *Windſor*-Caſtle.

But I cannot here omit a very remarkable Paſſage related by [3] *Walter Hemingford*, concerning the Carriage of the *Oxford* Schollars at this Siege; who after their Baniſhment from thence, being now ſettled at *Northampton*, did the King's Men a great deal of Miſchief during this Siege, wherefore at the taking of the Town, the King ſwore that he would hang them all; however, ſeveral of them made their eſcape by flight, and others ſhav'd their Heads like Friers; but at laſt all being over, the King commanded his Oath to be put in Execution upon thoſe Schollars that were taken Priſoners; but his Courtiers interceding for them ſaid, *It was by no means convenient to be done, for that they were the Sons of Great Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Kingdom; and if he ſhould now cauſe them to be Executed, their Fathers and Relations would certainly riſe againſt him as one Man*; whereupon the King pardon'd them all.

[3] *Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 29.

The K. being very angry with the *Oxford* Scholars for their reſiſting him in the Siege, ſwears to hang them all, but is perſwaded to the contrary by his Courtiers.

This I take notice of to let you ſee how ſtrong and numerous a Body the Schollars of *Oxford* were in thoſe Days, and what a great Intereſt they then had in the Kingdom. But to return to the Hiſtory.

[4] The K. fluſh'd with this Victory preſently march'd to *Leiceſter*, and took it, and from thence advanc'd to *Nottingham*, which Caſtle was held by *William Bardulph*, a Valiant Baron; yet he now thought it his ſafeſt way to ſurrender it to the King, upon the moſt advantageous Terms he could. Here the King, with his Noblemen kept his *Eaſter*, but receiving News, that the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with a great multitude of *Londoners* had, on the Paſſion-Week, beſieg'd the Earl of *Warren* in the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, he was reſolv'd to raiſe the Siege and relieve it; ſo marching almoſt Night and Day, he arriv'd in five Days at *Rocheſter*, but the Earl of *Leiceſter* hearing of his approach, durſt not ſtay to give him Battel, but went back to *London*, leaving only a few Souldiers behind, whom thoſe of the Garriſon, in a Sally they made, quickly deſtroy'd.

[4] *M.W. T.W.* The King takes *Leiceſter*: *Nottingham*-Caſtle ſurrenders.

The King marching to relieve *Rocheſter*-Caſtle, the E. of *Leiceſter*, and the *Londoners* raiſe the Siege.

[5] Upon this good Succeſs the King ſent his Son Prince *Edward*, and great part of his Army into *Derby-ſhire*, where he waſted the Lands of *Robert de Ferrars*, Earl of *Derby*, and took his ſtrong Caſtle of *Tutbury*, and razed it; ſo that where-ever the Prince marched, there appear'd nothing but Slaughter, Burning, and Deſolation, no Peace nor Security being to be found in the whole Kingdom; but about the ſame time (in return) *John Gifford*, Governour of *Kennelworth*-Caſtle, for the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſurpriz'd *Warwick*, and demoliſh'd the Caſtle, leſt the Royalliſts ſhould again fix themſelves in it.

[5] *M. W.* The K. ſends Prince *Edw.* into *Derby-ſh.* who there waſtes the Lands of Earl *Ferrars*, and takes *Tutbury*-Caſtle.

John Gifford ſurpriſes *Warwick*.

[1] In the mean while the King march'd with his whole Army directly towards *London*, but when the Citizens heard it, they went out to meet him with a great Body of Foot very well Armed; upon the News of which he declin'd Fighting, and march'd back into *Kent* to ſecure the Sea-Coaſts, and prevail with the *Cinque-Ports* either by Fear or Perſwaſions, to ſend their Ships to block up the River *Thames*, and thereby hinder Proviſions and other Commodities, from being carried up to *London* by Water; but this Advice, tho' it ſeem'd plauſible,

[1] *T. W.* The K. goes towards *London*: But upon the Citizens marching out, he retreats back into *Kent*.

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He takes *Tonbridge*, and ſecures the *Cinque-Ports*, yet is much put to it in the Wild of *Kent*.

ſible, almoſt ruin'd the King's Affairs; for tho' he took the Caſtle of *Tonbridge* (and in it the Counteſs of *Glouceſter*) and then went as far as *Peveuſey* and *Winchelſea*, thereby ſecuring the *Cinque-Ports* to his Intereſt; yet in his March thither, through the wild and hilly Parts of *Kent*, by reaſon of the ſtreightneſs of thoſe Paſſages, the King's Army were ſcarce able to get through them; the light-armed *Welſhmen*, that belong'd to the Barons, taking this Advantage, did much damage to the King's Forces, tho' they were at laſt cut off by the Royal Party, who were better Arm'd, and againſt whom the *Welſhmen*'s Darts and Arrows ſignified little.

[2] *Id. ib.* The K. comes to *Lewes* in *Suſſex*.

* *M. W.*

The Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Barons, with the *Londoners*, march toward *Lewes*.

The Earl and his Party being doubtful of the Succeſs, write the King a reſpectful Letter.

[2] The King met with no Oppoſition in his return back, but came with his whole Army to *Lewes* in *Suſſex*, and he took up his Quarters in the Priory, and his Son Prince *Edward* his in the Caſtle: * In the mean time, the Earl of *Leiceſter* having Aſſembled all the Barons of his Party, with a ſtrong Body of *Londoners*, march'd down towards *Lewes*, and encamp'd at a Place call'd *Flexninge*, within Seven or Eight Miles of that Place; from whence the Earl, and thoſe of his Party, either ſeemingly or elſe really deſiring Peace, wrote to the King a very reſpectful Letter, profeſſing ſtill to obſerve their Oaths and Fidelity to Him, and deſiring that He would not believe the Lies that thoſe about him made of them, affirming, that they put themſelves into Arms, not only againſt their own but his Enemies, and thoſe of the whole Kingdom: this was Seal'd by the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glouceſter*, at the requeſt of the reſt of their Faction.

[3] *Id. ib.* To which the King returns a very rough Anſwer, and defies them.

To which the King return'd Anſwer, 'That not Himſelf, but they 'were indeed the cauſe of all the War, Deſtruction, Rapine, and 'Miſery which had befallen the Nation; that their Intentions were 'not according to their Profeſſions, nor their Actions agreeable to 'their Pretences, and therefore *defied* them. This Letter bears date at *Lewes* the 12*th* of *May*, 1264. In like manner, *Richard* King of the *Romans*, Prince *Edward*, and all the Barons and Knights that adhered to the King, charged them with Falſhood, and defied them; and withal challenged them to ſtand to the Judgment of the King's Court, to which they themſelves were ready to ſubmit, and make their Innocence appear. The Letters bear date the ſame with the former.

[4] *Id. ib.* They ſend certain Biſhops to mediate for Peace, upon very reaſonable Offers, which the K. refuſes, and ſends them a defiance, which is alſo return'd him by the Barons.

[4] Upon this the Barons being much weaker in Men, were afraid of the Succeſs, and ſent *Henry*, Biſhop of *London*, and *Walter*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, as their Mediators for Peace, to the King, and offer'd, in conſideration of the Damages done by them through the Kingdom, no leſs than Thirty Thouſand Pounds, yet ſo that the Statutes of *Oxford* might ſtand good: nevertheleſs, the King truſting in his Numbers, ſent a freſh defiance to *S. Montfort* and his Accomplices, with which they being provok'd, at length *defy'd* him, and renounc'd the Fealty they ow'd him; ſo upon the 14 of *May* the Earl and his Army (having with great ſhew of Piety Confeſs'd themſelves, and put white Croſſes on their Shoulders or Breaſts) march'd before Day towards *Lewes*, with Banners diſplay'd, [5] and came ſo near it, before the King's Forces were aware of them, that they had very near ſurpriz'd them in their Beds; but receiving the Alarm, they arm'd themſelves, and march'd out into the open Field, with the King's chief Standard, which was then a Dragon. His Army being divided into three Bodies or Squadrons, the Firſt of them was commanded by Prince *Edward*, together with *William*

[5] *T. W.* The Barons had like to have ſurpriz'd the K.'s Forces in their Beds.

de Valence Earl of *Pembroke* (his Uncle,) *John* Earl of *Warren* and *Surrey*; the Second was led by *Richard* King of the *Romans* and his Son *Henry*; and the Third the King himſelf commanded in Perſon.

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The K's Army divided into three Bodies.

[1] In the mean while *Simon Montfort*, with the Barons of his Party, perceiving the King's Forces drawing out of the Town, made a Halt upon the Hill above it, where they placed their Baggage, and beyond that the Chariot of Earl *Simon*, with his Banner diſplay'd upon it, as if he had been ſick, and ſo was forced to repoſe himſelf in it; but in ſtead of himſelf, the crafty Earl had therein cunningly ſhut up Four of the chief Citizens of *London*, whom, being againſt him, he durſt not truſt elſewhere in his abſence, as refuſing to bear Arms againſt the King; or, as *R. Wendover* relates, thoſe who had been the Authors of having ſhut the City Gates againſt him, whom he now treated as Enemies; ſo that if this Chariot ſhould be aſſaulted, or ſhot through with Arrows, they might be thereby deſtroyed [2]: then the Barons put their Army in Battel-array, dividing it into Four main Bodies, the Firſt of which was commanded by the Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, with *Henry de Montfort*, Son to Earl *Simon*; the Second by *Gilbert de Clare* Earl of *Glouceſter*, *John Fitz-John*, and *William de Montcamis*; the Third, in which were the *Londoners*, was commanded by a Baron called *Nicholas de Seygrave*; whilſt Earl *Simon* himſelf, and *Thomas de Pulyſton*, led the Fourth and Laſt Diviſion. So ſoon as the Two Armies approached each other, the Battel began with great fury, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with the Body that was under him, as alſo that next to him, fell upon the Forces commanded by the King himſelf, and *Richard* King of the *Romans*; for the Earl judged very rightly, that if they were either routed or taken Priſoners, it was moſt likely the Victory would fall to the Barons. As [3] for the Noble Prince *Edward*, he with the Flower of his Army, ſet upon the *Londoners*, who tho' many in Number, yet being raw and undiſciplin'd, ran away with *Henry de Haſtings* at the Head of them; whom Prince *Edward*, out of Revenge for the Affront they had done to the Queen his Mother at *London*-Bridge, fiercely perſued, killing all he overtook, and making a miſerable Slaughter of them for near Four Miles together; likewiſe the main Body of the Barons was broken, and *John Gifford*, one of their valiant Knights, was led Priſoner into the Caſtle of *Lewes*: But whilſt Prince *Edward* thus perſued the *Londoners*, his Anger carried him too far; for in the mean time, the Bodies commanded by the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glouceſter*, having furiouſly aſſaulted thoſe commanded by King *Henry* and his Brother King *Richard*, (which were only ſome Troops conſiſting of their Retinue and Domeſtick Guards) and they making but a ſlight Defence, were utterly routed, ſo that the Two Brothers being left almoſt alone in the Field, were forced, after a long and brave Reſiſtance, to ſurrender themſelves, the King to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and King *Richard* to the Earl of *Glouceſter*, who were preſently ſecured in the Priory of *Lewes*; whereupon all the reſt of their Men that had fled into the Town, laid down their Arms, and yielded themſelves, as thinking it no ſhame to undergo the ſame Fortune with the King himſelf, and his Brother. Then the Earls and Barons entring the Town, took all Priſoners whom they found without the Caſtle and Priory, which ſtill held

[1] *M. W. T. W.*

Simon Montfort and the Barons of his Party make a Halt near the Town, and his Policy.

[2] *Id. ib.*

They put their Army in Battel-array, in Four Bodies.

The Battel is begun, in which that Body led by King *Henry* and his Brother, is ſet upon by thoſe commanded by *Simon Montfort*.

[3] *M.W.T.W.*

Prince *Edward* puts the *Londoners* to flight, and perſues them too far.

The main Body of the Barons is alſo routed.

The Forces commanded by the King and his Brother being routed, they are both taken Priſoners.

As are alſo the reſt of their Men, who had fled into the Town.

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The Prince and his Couſin *Henry* being return'd from the Perſuit of the *Londoners*, are forced to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners.

The Number of the Slain on both Sides.

out againſt them: But when Prince *Edward* and his Couſin *Henry* return'd from their Perſuit, and found the Day thus loſt, they were forc'd likewiſe to ſubmit to the ſame Terms; beſides whom, there were alſo taken Priſoners, *Humphery de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *John Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, beſides ſeveral other Earls and Barons, for whoſe Names I refer you to our Authors. There were ſlain on the King's Side of Men of Note, *William de Wilton* and *Fulk Fitz-Warren*; the former one of the King's Juſtices, and the other a Baron of Note; and on the Baron's Part, *Ralph Hernigande*, a Baron, and *William Bland*, Earl *Simon*'s Standard-bearer, beſides above Five thouſand Common Souldiers kill'd on both Sides; but *William de Valence*, with *Guy de Luſignan* his Brother, the Earl of *Warren*, and *Hugh Bigot*, all fled out of the Battel as far as *Pevenſey*, and thence paſſed over into *France*, where they remain'd with Queen *Eleanor*.

[4] *G. R.*

A more particular Relation of this Battel, from *William Riſhanger*.

[5] *M. W. G. R.*

With the Terms of the Prince's Surrender of himſelf to the Barons.

[4] But the Continuator of *Matt. Paris* is more particular in this Relation, and ſays, that the Prince, upon his Return from the Perſuit, finding his Father's Army routed and diſperſed, but that the Caſtle of *Lewes* ſtill made a vigorous Defence againſt the Barons, he took Courage, and rallied his Forces, with a Deſign to try the Fortune of another Battel; which *Montfort* and his Confederates perceiving, [5] the next day ſent two *Friers Minors* as Meſſengers for Peace, promiſing by them reaſonable Terms: So that the Night following a Peace between the Prince and the Barons was made up, tho' upon very hard Conditions, *viz.* That he and his Couſin *Henry* ſhould yield themſelves as Hoſtages for the obſerving of it, and for its farther Settlement, both Parties ſhould refer themſelves to the King of *France*, and procure him to chuſe Three Prelates, and Three Noblemen of *France*, who ſhould nominate Two *Frenchmen*, and they coming into *England*, ſhould chuſe a Third Perſon, an *Engliſhman*; which Three ſhould determine all Controverſies between the King and the Barons, and order all Things concerning the State of the Kingdom: And for the Performance of this Agreement, they were to take their Corporal Oaths on both Sides.

A more probable Account of the Articles of this Agreement, from the City Annals.

Yet the Annals of *London* give a different, and more probable Account of the Articles of this Peace: As Firſt, That the Proviſions of *Oxford* ſhould be again obſerved; yet ſo, that if there were any thing in them that needed Amendment, it ſhould be corrected by Four of the Great Men of *England*, either Biſhops or Barons, to be choſen by the *Community* thereof: And if any Difference ſhould ariſe between them, concerning thoſe Amendments, they were to ſtand to the Arbitration of *Charles* Count of *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *France*, with four other Noblemen of that Kingdom, there named; and that in the mean while the Two young Princes abovemention'd ſhould remain as Hoſtages in the Cuſtody of the Barons, till all theſe Things ſhould be ſettled; and for this end a Parliament was to be ſummoned at *Whitſontide* following. Theſe Articles being put into an Inſtrument or Charter, was ſealed with the King's Seal, and the Seals of all the reſt of the Earls, and Chief Barons. This Agreement was called the * *Miſe* of *Lewes*, tho' it was never put in Execution.

* Being an old *French* Word, ſignifying *Agreement*.

‡ *Id. ib.*

† The King being thus fallen into the Hands of the Earl of *Leiceſter* and the Barons, they carried him to *Canterbury*, uſing him with

all outward Honour and Reſpect, but ſent King *Richard* with his Son *Henry* Priſoners to the *Tower*; but all the reſt who were taken in the Battel, were ordered to be impriſon'd in ſeveral Caſtles; and then they plundered and ſpoiled the Eſtates of all thoſe that had adhered to the King, or at any time had ſerved him, as well Clerks as Laicks.

[1] The King and the Prince his Son being thus in the Power of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, one of the firſt things he made him do, was, on the Day after the Battel, to iſſue a Proclamation, giving Licence to all thoſe that had taken his Part, and were not made Priſoners, to go home; and at the ſame time he alſo wrote to thoſe in the Caſtle of *Tonbridge* (which ſtill held out for him) not to fall upon thoſe Barons who were returning to their own Homes: But for all this, thoſe in that Gariſon hearing that the *Londoners*, who had fled from the late Battel, had ſheltered themſelves in *Croyden*, they immediately marched thither, and falling upon them, killed a great many of them, and carried off a great deal of Plunder; from whence they marched away to *Briſtol*, which Place they kept for the King till the Prince's Delivery, who for the preſent was ſent to *Wallingford*-Caſtle, to be there kept ſafe; [2] but as for the King, the Earl carried him along with him, as it were on Progreſs (but rather in Triumph) about the Countrey, that he might by the Authority of his Preſence take in all the Places that ſtill held out in thoſe Parts; and then coming to *Battle*-Abbey in *Suſſex*, the King directed his Writ or Letter, bearing Date the Seventeenth of *May*, to *Drogo de Barentin*, Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Windſor*, to releaſe *Simon Montfort* the Younger, who had been taken Priſoner at *Northampton*, and committed to his Cuſtody by Prince *Edward*: In like manner he wrote to *William de la Zouche*, to deliver *Peter Montfort* the Younger; and to *James Audley*, to deliver *Robert Montfort* his Brother, (Sons of *Peter Montfort*.) Then, on the Twenty eighth of the ſame Month, *Henry de Montfort*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, was made by the King's Commiſſion Conſtable of *Dover*-Caſtle, and Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, and had the Chamberlainſhip of *Sandwich* committed to him during Pleaſure, as appears by the Original * Writ upon Record in the *Tower*.

[1] *G. R.* What the Earl of *Leiceſter* made the King do after he had him in his Power.

[2] *M. W.* The King being carried by the E. of *Leiceſter* round the Countrey, thereby takes in thoſe Places that held out, and alſo by his Authority ſets free thoſe of his Party who were in Priſon.

He makes his Son *Simon* Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle, and Warden of the *Cinque-Ports.*

* *Vid. Pat.* 48 *H.* 3. *M.* 13. *Dr.* Brady's *Append n.* 209.

Thus the Earl of *Leiceſter* having now the whole Kingdom at his diſpoſal, not only ſet free all thoſe who had taken his Part, but likewiſe beſtowed all the Great Offices and Commands upon his own Creatures and Relations; in the mean time keeping every one of thoſe cloſe Priſoners that had oppos'd him, and uſing Prince *Edward* and his Couſin *Henry* not like Hoſtages, but rather like ordinary Priſoners, being kept in ſtrict Cuſtody for a time in *Wallingford*, then in *Dover*-Caſtle, and ſometimes in other Places: The like he did by the King of the *Romans*, and his Second Son *Edmund*, tho' he was then but a Youth, who were afterwards kept Priſoners in *Kenelworth*-Caſtle till the Death of *Simon Montfort*.

How the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſets free thoſe that had took his Part, and keeps all others Priſoners.

[3] This Earl having reduced thoſe Parts of *England* to his Subjection, return'd to *London* about the beginning of *June*, with the King in his Company; where he was no ſooner return'd, but they made him direct his Writs to the Lord *Adam* of *Newmarket* and others, (that were now appointed Conſervators of the Peace in almoſt

[3] *M. W.* The King by *Simon Montfort*'s procurement ſends out Writs for new Conſervators of the Peace.

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moſt all the Counties of *England*) reciting, 'That whereas by Divine Grace there had been a firm Peace agreed on between Him and his Barons, to be inviolably obſerved through the whole Kingdom, He did therefore, by the Advice and Aſſent of his ſaid Barons, conſtitute and appoint him, and thoſe others to whom theſe Writs were directed, to be Keepers and Conſervators of that ſaid Peace, in all thoſe Counties of *England*, during Pleaſure, ſtrictly commanding and enjoining them, by their Faith and Allegiance, to ſee the Peace kept in their ſeveral Counties; and farther prohibiting in his Name all Perſons, under pain of Diſheriſon and danger of Life and Members, to Aſſault any Man, or Plunder him, or to commit Homicide, Burnings, Robberies, Tolts, (*i. e.* Thefts and Rapines) or perpetrate any the like Enormities, or to do Damage to any Man contrary to his Peace; alſo that for the future, no Man ſhould bear Arms in the Kingdom without his ſpecial Licence and Command; and if they found ſuch Malefactors and Diſturbers of the Peace, they were to arreſt and keep them ſafe until further Order.

A farther Clauſe in the Commiſſion, commanding theſe Conſervators to return up Four Knights for each County.

There is likewiſe farther expreſs'd, at the end of each of theſe Commiſſions, a particular Precept to theſe Conſervators, reciting, That 'whereas at the enſuing Parliament the King intended to treat with the Prelates, Great Men, and Others his faithful Subject, concerning his own and the Kingdom's Affairs, he therefore Commanded the ſaid Conſervators to ſend up to him, Four of the moſt Legal and Diſcreet Knights of each County, *to be choſen by the Aſſent of that County*, for the whole County to appear at *London*, on the *Octaves* (*i. e.* Eight Days after the Feaſt) of Holy Trinity at fartheſt, there to treat with him concerning the ſaid Affairs. This Commiſſion bears date the 4*th* of *June*, and is upon * Record in the *Tower*.

* *Pat.* 48. *Hen.* 3. *M.*12. *Dorſ.* *Vid.* Dr. B.'s *Append.*N.210.

The King alſo iſſues out another Writ for the bringing up of ſuch Priſoners as had been taken in the Battle of *Northampton*.

At the ſame time alſo the King directed his Writs to *James Audley*, *Roger Mortimer*, and *Roger de Clifford*, together with *John de Grey*, *Drogo de Barentin*, and *John de Vaus*, (the Three laſt of whom were Conſtables of the Caſtles of *Nottingham*, *Windſor*, and *Norwich*) commanding them, by their Faith and Homage, to bring up with them all ſuch Priſoners as were taken at the Battel of *Northampton*; as likewiſe all other Priſoners then in their Cuſtody, many of whoſe Names (there particularly mention'd) I omit, as not neceſſary to our purpoſe: the Writs are alſo upon * Record in the ſame place.

* *Pat.* 48. *Hen.* 3. *M.* 13. *Vid. Dr.* B.'s *Append. N.* 211. 212.

[4] *M. W.* The Earl of *Leiceſter* and the Barons ſet aſide the *Miſe* at *Lewes*, and reſolve to ſettle the Government by Parliament, which is ſummon'd.

[4] Then the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and thoſe Barons of his Party, without any regard to the late *Miſe* or Agreement lately made at *Lewes*, being grown Inſolent with their Succeſs, reſolv'd to ſettle the Government by Parliament, as they themſelves ſhould think fit; and to this end caus'd the King to ſummon one to meet eight Days after *Trinity-Sunday* (which was that Year on the 22*d* of *June*) in the 48*th* of *Henry* the Third, and to which (beſides the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons, particularly ſummon'd) there were alſo four Knights to be return'd by the Conſervators of each County, according to the Writs or Commiſſions abovemention'd.

When this Parliament was thus Aſſembled, they agreed upon an Inſtrument, which is on * Record, and enter'd under this Title.

* *Pat.* 48. *H.* 3. *M.* 6. *Dorſ.* Dr.B.'s Appen- *N.*213.

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This is the Form of the Peace unanimouſly approv'd of by our Lord the and the Lord Edward *his Son, and all the Prelates and Barons, together with the whole Community of the Kingdom of* England, *and is thus :* 'That a certain Ordinance made in the Parliament held at *London*, about the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt* laſt paſt, for preſerving the Peace of the Kingdom, until ſuch time as the Peace between the ſaid Lord the King, and the Barons at *Lewes*, according to the Form of a certain *Miſe* or Agreement, ſhould be fully concluded; which Peace was to endure firm and unalterable all the Days of the ſaid King, and alſo during the time of Prince *Edward*, after he ſhould become King, * unto the Term which it ſhould then be judged fitting to be moderated. This is the Preface, then follows the Statute or Ordinance it ſelf, which is to this effect:

The Parliam. being met, agree upon a new Form of Government, to laſt till a Peace, according to the *Miſe* at *Lewes*, were concluded.

* *Uſque ad terminum quem extunc duxerit moderandum.*

'That for the Reformation of the State of the Kingdom, there ſhould be choſen out of it Three diſcreet and faithful Men, who ſhould have Power and Authority from the King, of naming and chooſing Nine Counſellors, out of whom Three at the leaſt, by turns, ſhould always be preſent at the Court; and the King by the Advice of thoſe Nine, ſhould order and diſpoſe of the Cuſtody of his Caſtles, and all other Affairs of the Kingdom, and ſhould make his Juſtitiary, Chancellor, Treaſurer, and all other Great and Small Officers that belonged to the Government of the Court and Kingdom: and the firſt Electors of them, were to ſwear that according to their Conſciences they ſhould chooſe and nominate ſuch Counſellors for the Honour of God and the Church, as ſhould be faithful and profitable to the Kingdom; the Counſellors alſo and all Officers both great and ſmall, were to ſwear at their Creation, that they would, to the utmoſt of their Power, execute their Offices to the Honour of God and the Church, and to the Profit of the King and Kingdom, without any other * Preſent or Reward than things to Eat and Drink; and if theſe Counſellors, or any of them, ſo miſdemeaned themſelves as to be thought no longer fit to hold thoſe Employments; then the King, by the Advice of the Three firſt Electors, might change and remove as many of them as he judged neceſſary; and in the place of them ſo removed, to ſubſtitute other fit and faithful Perſon or Perſons; and if any other Officers, whither Great or Small, behav'd themſelves amiſs, they were likewiſe to be remov'd by the Council of the Nine, and others ſhould be by them appointed in their Places; and if the ſaid Three Electors could not agree in the choice of Counſellors, or that they agreed not in the Creation of Officers, or in diſpoſing of, or diſpatching the other Affairs of the King and Kingdom, that then what ſhould be ordain'd by Two Parts of the Three, ſhould firmly be obſerved, ſo as of thoſe Two Parts, one ſhould be a Prelate, if it were in Matters concerning the Church; and if it ſhould happen that Two Parts of the Nine ſhould not agree in any buſineſs, then it was to be determined by the Three firſt Electors, or the major part of them; and if it ſhould be thought expedient by the *Community* of the Prelates and Barons, that all, or any of the Three firſt Electors ſhould be removed, and others ſubſtituted in their rooms, the King ſhould ſubſtitute them by the Advice of the *Community* of the Earls and Barons.

The Contents of this Ordinance.

* *i. e.* They might receive any Preſents that were only *Eſculenta & Poculenta.*

‘ All theſe things the King was to do by the Council of the Nine, in ſuch Form as was to be ſubſcribed by Him, or by them in his ſtead, by his Authority. This Ordinance was to endure until the *Miſe* or Agreement made at *Lewes* ſhould be compleated, or another Form provided and appointed by the Agreement of all Parties. In Witneſs whereof, *Richard*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; and *Hugh*, Biſhop of *Ely*; *Roger*, Earl of *Norfolk*, and Mareſchal of *England*; *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*; *Humphry de Bohun*; *William de Montchenſey*, and the Mayor of *London*, put their Seals to this Charter, dated at the Parliament at *London* in *June* 1264.

Note, But tho' the Day of the Month be wanting in the Record, yet in an antient Tranſcript of this Agreement in Manuſcript, in the *Bodleian* Library, it is recited in the Concluſion to have been made by the Conſent of the Prelates, Barons, and Communalty of *England*, on the Vigil of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, (i. e. *June* 29.) &c.

It appears by a Record, that this Ordinance was drawn up before the Parliament ſate.

This is the ſubſtance of that Form of Government which *Simon Montfort*, and thoſe of his Party then thought fit to impoſe upon the King; and having the Power in their own Hands, it was an eaſie Matter for them to make thoſe whom they had appointed Conſervators of the Peace in each County, to return none but ſuch Knights who they were very well ſatisfied would perform whatever they deſir'd; and that this Inſtrument was ready drawn, and ſo there could be little or no debate about ſo great and weighty an Affair, appears by the next * Record (which Dr. *Brady* has alſo given us) wherein the King declares, that he hath given Power to *Stephen*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; *Simon Montfort*, Earl of *Leiceſter*; and *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Glouceſter* and *Hereford*, to name Nine of the moſt skilful, faithful, and uſeful Men of the Kingdom, as well Prelates as others, by whoſe Advice he would Govern, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the ſame, until the *Miſe* lately made at *Lewes*, or any other Form (if any better could be provided) ſhould be fulfill'd; and at the end of this Declaration it is farther ſpecified, that the ſaid Biſhops and Earls were authoriz'd to nominate theſe Electors. This bears date the 23*d* Day of *June*, the Day after the Parliament ſate; and could not therefore be drawn up in ſo ſhort a Time, by their Deliberation or Advice.

Matt. of Weſtminſter's Account of theſe Tranſactions agrees in moſt things with the Records.

And the ſhort Account * *Matt.* of *Weſtminſter* gives of this Matter, in moſt things agrees with theſe Records; for (ſaith he) the Prelates, Earls, and Barons of that Party who now Seditiouſly held their King Priſoner, met at *London*, and unmindful of the Compromiſe made at *Lewes*, or the Oath they had taken, contrived certain new Ordinances for the Government of the Kingdom, and ordained among other new things, *viz.* That Two Earls, and one Biſhop, Elected by the Community, ſhould chooſe Nine Barons, Three whereof ſhould conſtantly aſſiſt the King; and by the Counſel of thoſe Three, and theſe Nine, all the Affairs as well of the King's Houſhold, as of the Kingdom ſhould be tranſacted; and that what the King ſhould do without the Advice of at leaſt Three of them, ſhould be void, and of none effect; and then the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glouceſter*, and Biſhop of *Chicheſter* (who had promiſed to all that fought ſtoutly againſt the King, and were killed in the Battel of *Lewes*, immediate entrance into Heaven) were conſtituted Three of theſe Chief Counſellors.

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* *Pat.* 48. *H.* 3. *M.*10. *n.*37. *Append.N.*204.

* *Sub Anno* 1265.

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Then they and the reſt of the Barons threat'ning the King, that they would Depoſe him and chooſe another, and alſo keep the Prince perpetually in Priſon, if they refuſ'd to conſent to this Ordinance, they thereby compell'd them both to agree to it. Having thus contriv'd and perfected theſe Ordinances, they preſently ſent Letters to Cardinal *Guido*, Biſhop of *Sabine*, then the Pope's Legate for *England*, (at that time in *France*) and to the *French* King himſelf, to excuſe what they had done, as that it was but in regard of their preſent Circumſtances, that they ſet aſide the Compromiſe or Agreement made at *Lewes*, and eſtabliſh'd this new Form of Peace, made, as they pretended, by the amicable Conſent of all Parties: and then the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, and *Worceſter*, and ſome others of the Province of *Canterbury*, alſo wrote to, and earneſtly beſeeched the aforeſaid Legate, that he would uſe his endeavours to promote this Peace on the Terms agreed upon in *England*. Yet it ſeems by a * Record in the *Tower*, that to pacifie the King of *France*, and to put the better Colour upon their Proceedings, *Simon Montfort*, and thoſe of his Faction, made the King (being now at *Canterbury*) ſeal a Charter, whereby He himſelf, as alſo the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and all the Barons of *England*, who had refuſ'd the late Sentence of King *Lewis*, oblig'd themſelves to refer the late Sentence of that King, to the further Judgment and Examination of *Henry*, Biſhop of *London*; *Hugh le Diſpenſer*, Juſtitiary of *England*; *Charles*, Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *France*; and to the Abbot of *Bocon*, who had thereby full Power given them, of adding, or taking away from it what they ſhould think fit; as alſo of ordaining what they ſuppos'd would tend to the amendment, or better obſervation thereof; and for the true performance of this, the King, and all the reſt of the Parties therein mention'd, ſubmit themſelves to the Juriſdiction of the Pope's Legate, to be proceeded againſt by Sentence of *Excommunication*, againſt thoſe that ſhould preſume to contradict it. There are alſo divers other Clauſes in this Charter, which are needleſs to be recited, only I ſhall take notice of ſome of the moſt remarkable; One of which is, That it ſhall not be lawful for the ſaid Arbitrators to Ordain, that the Kingdom ſhall be govern'd by any other than the *Native Subjects* thereof. There is alſo another Clauſe whereby it is provided, That all Perſonal Quarrels, Contentions, and Demands, which the King and the Earl of *Leiceſter* have now againſt each other, and for which they have refer'd themſelves to the King of *France*, ſhall be ended and concluded in the firſt place, before the Sentence or Ordinance of theſe Arbitrators ſhall be made and finiſhed. In Teſtimony whereof, the ſaid King *Henry*, with the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glouceſter*, and ſome other Barons there named, do, for themſelves, and the reſt of the Barons of *England*, put their Seals. This bears Date at *Canterbury* on the *Thurſday* after the Feaſt of our Lady's Nativity (being the 18*th* of *September*) * *A. D.* 1263. This Record is omitted by Dr. *Brady* in his Hiſtory, tho' he hath given us † another which immediately preceeds the former in the ſame Roll (and to which I ſuppoſe that Charter refers) And by this, the King conſtitutes the Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, and *Wincheſter*, with *Hugh le d' Eſpenſer*, *Peter Montfort*, and *Richard de Mepham*, Arch-Deacon of *Oxford*, Procurators and Commiſſioners

The Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Barons, by threatning to depoſe the King and to keep the Prince in Priſon, make them conſent to this Ordinance.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* and the Barons wrote Letters to the Pope's Legate, and to the King of *France*, giving them an account of this new Form of Peace.

* *Pat.* 48. *H.* 3. *m.* 4. and it is Printed in *Pryn*'s Second Vol. of the Papal Uſurpations, *p.*1001.

* This is a Miſtake either in the Record or in the Tranſcript, for it ſhould be 1264.

† *Vid. Dr.B.*'s *Append.p.* 215.

The Commiſſioners now appointed to treat with the K. of *France*.

Anno Dom. MCCLXIV.

to treat in the Preſence of the illuſtrious Prince the King of *France*, and the Venerable Father, *Guido*, Biſhop of *Sabine*, and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, or either of them, about the Reformation of the Kingdom of *England*, with Power to do whatever they thought fit in this Matter, and to give ſuch Security for it as the buſineſs requir'd, with a ſpecial Clauſe to *Peter Montfort* to take an Oath on the King's behalf to perform what they ſhould agree to in his Name.

[5] P. 64. *Thomas Wikes*'s Account of what theſe Commiſſioners acted in *France*, and what was the occaſion of their Journey.

The Biſhops of *London* and *Winchester* are ſummon'd to appear before the Pope's Legate at *Boloign*, but are hinder'd by the Barons from going over.

Yet at laſt they go over with ſome Lay-Noblemen.

What theſe Commiſſioners did, Dr. *Brady* ſays he cannot tell, but had he conſulted [5] *Thomas Wikes*'s Chronicle, then in Manuſcript, in the *Cottonian* Library, that would have inform'd him, not only of what theſe Biſhops then acted in *France*, but alſo what was the occaſion of their Journey thither, *viz.* That Pope *Urban* the Eighth, pittying the ſad and deplorable State of the *Engliſh* Nation, had the Year before ſent an Order to his Legate, Cardinal *Guido*, Biſhop of *Sabine*, a wiſe and eloquent Prelate, to come over into *England* to arbitrate and compoſe the Quarrels and Differences between the King and the Barons; but the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and thoſe of his Party, would not permit the Legate to come hither, or at all to intermeddle with the Affairs of *England*: when the Cardinal found this, he with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who had then in diſcontent retir'd into *France*,) ſummon'd all the Biſhops of *England*, eſpecially thoſe of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Salisbury*, (as the chief Favourers of the Barons Cauſe) to appear before them at *Bologne*; but they either really, or otherwiſe pretended to be hinder'd by the Barons from going over thither, but the Legate look'd upon it as only a feign'd Excuſe, and thereupon *Excommunicated* them for Contumacy; but they, to fence off this Blow, appeal'd from the Legate to the Pope: Yet at laſt the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, and *Worceſter* being better adviſ'd, went over into *France* about the Nativity of the Bleſſed Virgin; the Juſtitiary, and ſome other Noblemen of *England*, accompanying them, who all appear'd before the Legate, to juſtifie themſelves as well as they could; and upon this Account it was, that *Matt. Weſtminſter* ſays, the Biſhops abovemention'd went over into *France*, with a Power from the King to treat with the Pope's Legate, concerning the ſettling the State of *England*, as is expreſs'd in the laſt mention'd Record.

[1] *Id. ib.* The Legate by the Pope's Authority commands theſe Biſhops to return into *England*, and Excommunicate the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Accomplices.

But being ſeiz'd by ſome of the *Cinque-Ports* the Pope's Bull to Excomunicate them is taken and torn to pieces.

[1] The ſame Author tells us alſo what was farther done thereupon in this Affair, *viz.* That the Legate being ſupported by Apoſtolical Authority, enjoyn'd theſe Biſhops forthwith to return into *England*, and there to *Excommunicate* the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Sons, with all their Favourers and Accomplices by Name; and likewiſe to put the City of *London*, with all the Lands of the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and the *Cinque-Ports* under an *Interdict*; the Biſhops having thus receiv'd the Pope's Brief or Commiſſion, preſently ſet Sail for *England*, but being ſeiz'd in their Paſſage over, by ſome Seamen that belong'd to the *Cinque-Ports*, they were ſtraightway ſearched, and the Pope's Bull to *Excommunicate* the ſaid Lords being found about them, it was, without any farther Ceremony, torn to pieces and flung into the Sea; and the Biſhops themſelves were alſo threaten'd with the loſs of their Heads, if they ſhould preſume to publiſh this Sentence: Thus (ſays our Author) the rudeneſs of theſe Mariners ſtruck thoſe lukewarm Prelates quite Dumb, as having now a good pretence not to execute what they before did not approve of.

[2] Now this *Guido*, the Pope's Legate, ſeeing his Deſigns thus diſappointed, took his Journey towards *Rome*, but before he got thither, he receiv'd the news of the Death of Pope *Urban* the Fourth about *Michaelmaſs*, and that the Cardinals had choſen him Pope in his ſtead; and he being Conſecrated in the beginning of *February* following, was called *Clement* the Fourth; and ſo ſoon as he was ſettled in his Seat, he ſeverely revenged that Affront, which the *Engliſh* had put upon the *Roman* See, as you will find anon.

Anno Dom. MCCLXIV.

[2] *Id. ib.* Whereupon the Pope'sLegate goes for *Rome*, and by the way receives News of the Pope's Death, and of his being choſen in his ſtead.

With this Relation [3] *Mat. Weſtminſter* alſo agrees concerning the *Excommunication* iſſued forth by the Legate, and its being taken and deſtroyed by the Men of *Dover*; but he ſays it was done after the Biſhops had Landed, yet mentions nothing of their going over to the Legate, (which I much wonder at) only that they were ſummon'd to appear, and that the Legate iſſued out his Sentence of *Excommunication* and *Interdict* againſt the City of *London* and the *Cinque-Ports*; and that to prevent this Sentence, they appeal'd to the Pope, or the General Council; but to return to Civil Affairs,

[3] *Sub hoc Anno.* *Matt.* of *Weſtminſter*'s Account of this Tranſaction of the Biſhops ſomewhat different from the former.

[4] About the beginning of *July* the Earl of *Leiceſter*, being Allarm'd at the report that a great multitude of Foreigners were preparing to make an Invaſion here, cauſed the King to iſſue out a Writ or Proclamation, directed to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Knights, Freemen, and to the whole Commonalty of moſt of the Counties of *England*, wherein was ſet forth, ‘That he had receiv'd certain Information of a horrid Conſpiracy intended by a numerous Company of Foreigners that were preparing Shipping and other Warlike Ammunition, in order to Invade the Kingdom, to the diſinheriting of himſelf, and every Perſon thereof, unleſs due care were taken by a ſufficient Force to prevent it. He therefore Commands all Knights and Free Tenants to make ready themſelves with Horſe and Arms, ſo as to be at *London* on *Sunday* after the firſt of *Auguſt*, to march with him from thence for the defence of his Royal Perſon, themſelves and the whole Nation, againſt theſe Foreigners; and alſo requires all Sheriffs to take with them the Keeper of the Peace of the County, to ſummon and firmly enjoin, in the King's Name, the aforeſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Barons, and all others, who ow'd the King Military Service, by the Faith and Homage in which they were bound to him, and as they loved themſelves, their Lands and Tenements, to come to him, not only with the Service they ow'd him, and were bound by their Tenure to perform, but with what other Horſes and Arms they could ſpare, or ſend them with as many choice Foot as they could raiſe, that ſo by their help he might effectually reſiſt the impendent Danger. The reſt of this Proclamation being very long, I ſhall contract it as much as I can: And Firſt of all it ſets forth, ‘That no Man was to be excuſed for non-appearance, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of the Time, nor yet of the approaching Harveſt, ſince it was better for them to ſuffer ſome loſs of Goods, than the deſtruction of the King and Kingdom; and beſides the Forces abovemention'd, the Sheriffs were to cauſe to come at the ſame Day, Four, Six, or Eight of the beſt and ſtouteſt Foot Souldiers from every Town, according to the extent of it, with their Arms then in uſe, who were to have their Expences born for Forty Days; and that the Cities and Boroughs

[4] *Id. ib.* Upon the Report of an Invaſion by Foreigners, *Simon Montfort* makes the K. iſſue out Writs commanding all Perſons to be ready with Horſe and Arms.

'ſhould alſo ſend in both Horſe and Foot according to their Largeneſs and Abilities. This Command of the King's, the Sheriffs were forthwith to publiſh, and thereby give notice to all Men, that they might prepare themſelves to be ready at the time appointed; letting them know withall, that if the King ſhould find any Contemners of his Command, or that ſhould be remiſs in the performance of it, he would ſeize their Perſons and Goods, as of thoſe that neither valued his, nor their own Preſervation. This Declaration was dated at * St. *Paul's*, *London*, on the 6th of *July*. Which is tranſlated and inſerted at large in [5] Dr. *Brady*'s Hiſtory; and the *Latin* Original is alſo in his † *Appendix*, taken from the * Record in the *Tower*; And this does indeed deſerve the Reader's Notice, it being the firſt Commiſſion of this kind that is extant, and ſhews not only the manner of raiſing the Militia in thoſe Times, but that all Men, even the meaneſt Houſholders, were then by Law to be furniſh'd with Arms, ſuitable to their degree. And then alſo for the ſecuring of the Sea-Coaſts, the King, on the 9th of *July*, iſſued forth his * Writs to the Good Men of *Len*, *Yarmouth*, *Donwich*, *Oxford*, *Ipſwich*, and all other Cities, Burghs, and Towns upon the Coaſts of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, to be obedient to the Directions of *Hugh le D' Eſpenſer*, his Juſtitiary, in ſecuring the Coaſts of thoſe Counties, and whom he had ſent to them for that purpoſe.

* *i. e.* at the Bp. of *London*'s Palace near St. *Paul's* Church.
[5] *P. 646.*
† N. 217.
* *Rot. Pat.* 48. *H.* 3. *M.* 9. *Dorſ.*
* *R. Pat.* 48. *H.* 3. *M.* 21. *Dorſ.* Other Writs are alſo iſſued for ſecuring the Sea-Coaſts.

At this time likewiſe, foraſmuch as the Earl of *Leiceſter* would be thought a ſtrict Obſerver of the King's Commands, he received his Licence to ride armed, tho' by the Council of his Barons he had before ſtreightly forbad all Men, on the peril of their Lives, to ride about with Horſes and Arms: But this was allow'd the Earl, becauſe of the many Hoſtages and Priſoners he was to carry about with him; which Writ of Licence is dated at St. *Paul's*, *London*, the Sixth of *July*, and is upon * Record, as is alſo this that follows in the ſame Roll.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* takes a Licenſe to ride Armed, and for what reaſon.

* *Rot. Pat.* 48. *H.* 3. *M.* 7. *Vid. Dr.* B.'s *Append. N.* 218.

The Forces to be raiſed againſt the Invaſion of the Foreigners, not coming in ſo faſt as was expected, the King on the Ninth of *Auguſt* wrote to the Sheriffs of *Cambridge* and *Huntington*-ſhires, to make Proclamation, that all that were commanded to be at *London* on the *Sunday* next after the Firſt of *Auguſt*, with their Horſes and Arms, &c. ſhould march thither in all haſte, under pain of loſing all their Lands, Tenements, and Goods, and be in danger of Life and Limbs; and he there alſo orders, that after Proclamation made, if they did not then march, the Sheriff ſhould take and detain in Priſon all Defaulters until farther order, and out of the Profits of their Eſtates to ſend as many armed Men as they ought to maintain.

The Forces not coming in, the King cauſes a Proclamation to be made to enforce them under great Penalties.

But when the People, tired out with watching and guarding the Sea-coaſts in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Eſſex*, againſt Foreigners, were about to go to their own Homes, they alledg'd, they had been there Forty Days, and would ſtay no longer; and the King having notice of their Intentions, on the Seventeenth of *September* wrote * Letters to all that were aſſembled for that purpoſe in thoſe Counties, importing, 'That whereas he was apprehenſive of ſeveral Things that 'might happen, by reaſon of ſome News he had lately heard, it was 'neceſſary for them to ſtay a while longer upon the Coaſt; therefore commanded them, by the Faith in which they were bound to 'him,

The People weary of watching and guarding the Sea-Coaſts being about to go home, are reſolving to keep to their Duty.

* *Rot. Pat.* 48. *H.* 3. *M.* 3. *Dorſ.*

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‘ him, and under pain of loſing all they had in the Kingdom, that ‘ for His, and the common Defence of the Nation againſt Strangers, they ſhould ſtay there, and not depart until they received ‘ his Licence; and further commanded the Sheriffs to provide Money ‘ from the Counties, for ſuch as were not able to bear their own ‘ Charges, for the ſpace of Eight Days enſuing, or longer, if there ‘ were need; and directed them, under the like Penalties (as before) ‘ to ſeize the Lands and Goods of all Defaulters.

And there is alſo on * Record another Writ or Letter from the King to the Sheriffs of *Oxford* and *Buckingham*-ſhire, to command and enjoin all Knights and Free-holders in their Bailiwicks, that were able to bear Arms, and had Lands to the Value of an Hundred Shil‘lings, or Ten Pounds a Year, under the Penalty of loſing all their ‘ ſaid Lands and Tenements, to come to him in their proper Perſons ‘ with Horſe and Arms, where-ever he was in *England*, with all poſ‘ſible ſpeed, to oppoſe the Strangers that were now ſuddenly expect‘ed from beyond Sea; and to furniſh themſelves with Money for ‘ their Expences in the Army, until three Weeks after *Michaelmaſs*; ‘ and the Sheriffs were to provide for the Expences of ſuch Foot Soul‘diers as were not able to do it for themſelves, by Taxing the Coun‘trey for that purpoſe.

* *Rot.Pat.* 48. *H.*3.*M.*3.*Dorſ.*

Another Writ to the Sheriff of *Oxon* and *Bucks*, to warn all the Free-holders of thoſe Counties to attend the K. in Perſon.

I have been the more exact in ſetting down the ſubſtance of theſe Records, becauſe they ſerve to prove the King's Power over the Militia of the Kingdom in thoſe Times, and that independent from Authority of Parliament.

The King's antient Power over the Militia in thoſe Times.

But tho' I muſt here own Dr. *Brady*'s diligence is much to be commended, in collecting and printing theſe Records at the end of his Hiſtory, yet I can by no means aſſent to his [5] Opinion, that notwithſtanding all theſe reiterated Writs or Letters for the raiſing and arraying the Militia of the ſeveral Counties in *England*, and for the ſetting out of Ships for the guard of the Sea-Coaſts, yet that all this was only a Politick fetch of *Simon Montfort*'s to cheat the People, and make them afraid of a Foreign Invaſion; and that theſe Rumours were only ſpread abroad on purpoſe to keep the Peoples Heads warm with Jealouſies and Fears, that an Army might always be ready to baffle all attempts of reſcuing the King out of the Power of the Barons, who was all this while forc'd to own them to be true and faithful Subjects to him, by ſending out the above-mentioned Declaration and Letters; but the Doctor gives us no other authority for this Opinion, than a * Record already cited in the beginning of this Year, and which he has Printed in his † *Appendix* to this effect, That whereas divers Perſons had raiſed Reports, that the King intended to bring an Army of Strangers into the Kingdom to deſtroy the Nation, &c. therefore to undeceive the People, he then wrote to all the Sheriffs of *England* to make Proclamation in their County-Courts, that he intended no ſuch thing, with other Matters, for which I refer you to the Record it ſelf already cited. But here I muſt obſerve, that the Doctor is guilty of a double Miſtake, firſt in poſitively aſſerting from this Record, that *Montfort* and his Confederates were the raiſers of this Report, when it names no body in particular, but only ſays, that they were *Quidam*, *ſome Perſons*, who had ſpread it abroad; nor is his Conſequence any better grounded, that granting *Simon Montfort*

[5] *P.* 646. Dr. *Brady*'s great Miſtake, in ſuppoſing their Invaſion not to have been really intended.

**Ro.Pat.*48.*H.* 3. *M.*20. *Dorſ.* The Authority the Doctor brings to prove this is not to the Purpoſe.

† *N.* 216.

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fort and his Party had been formerly the raiſers of this Report, and that it had been then altogether falſe and groundleſs, therefore they muſt likewiſe be ſo at this time, when all the Kingdom was actually in Arms; for when the King iſſued out the firſt Writ or Letter, mention'd by the Doctor, which bears Date *September* the 20th in the 47th Year of his Reign, concerning the above-mention'd Report, he was then wholly at his own diſpoſal, it being ſeveral Months before the Battel of *Lewes*, which happen'd in *May* following; and tho' there might be no juſt Ground for any ſuch Report then, yet there might very well be ſo now, when (the King being kept againſt his Will under *Montfort*'s Cuſtody, and Prince *Edward* alſo a Priſoner) Queen *Eleanor*, who was then in *France*, together with the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren*, and ſeveral other Great Men that had lately been driven out of *England*; when, I ſay, She and they endeavour'd all they could to ſet them free, and *Simon Montfort* had then very good Intelligence, that the Queen had really borrow'd Forces of the King of *France*, and other Foreign Princes, to free the King her Huſband, and the Prince her Son, from that force they then lay under; and ſo much the [1] Doctor himſelf owns, when he cites this Paſſage out of *Matt. Weſtminſter*, who ſays, That almoſt all *France*, as far as the *Alps*, by the Inſtigation of that King; *Peter*, Earl of *Savoy*; *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and the Biſhop Elect of *Lyons*, and other of the Queen's Relations, were greatly incenſed againſt the *Engliſh*, that thus traiterouſly oppoſed their King, which might (ſays the [2] Doctor) raiſe a Suſpicion in them, of the Inclinations and willingneſs of thoſe People to aſſiſt the King, but ſpeaks not of any Shipping provided, or Forces raiſed there to reduce them to Obedience. And I very much admire at this Author's careleſneſs; for had he but conſider'd the precedent Page in the ſame Author, he would have found that he ſays the direct contrary; therefore I ſhall here give you the whole Relation at large, ſince it falls in very opportunely in point of Time, and ſerves to clear ſo conſiderable a Matter of Fact, which the Doctor has either negligently or wilfully omitted. And *M. Weſtm.* relates it thus; [3] That the Lords Marchers of *Wales*, to wit, *Roger de Mortimer*, *James de Audley*, *Roger de Clifford*, *Roger de Leyburn*, *Haimo L'Eſtrange*, with divers others that had made their eſcape from the Battel of *Lewes*, now muſter'd up freſh Forces in the Marches, and did all they could to oppoſe the Barons; wherefore *Simon Montfort* being in Confederacy with *Llewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, march'd into thoſe Parts with a great Army, and taking the Caſtles of *Hereford* and the *Haye*, waſted the Lands of *Roger de Mortimer* with Fire and Sword; whereupon *Hugh* his Brother was compell'd to ſurrender himſelf to the Barons, with his Caſtle of *Richar*, which was committed to the Cuſtody of *John Fitz-John*; and *Ludlow* was alſo deliver'd at the ſame time: from whence the *Welſh* and *Engliſh* Army went forward to *Montgomery*, where the ſaid *Roger* and *James* made a feign'd Peace with the Barons, as it afterwards prov'd. But now the Earl of *Leiceſter* was forc'd to quit this Expedition, and to march toward the Sea, againſt the Foreigners, whoſe coming over in great Numbers, under the Conduct of the Queen, and *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, was very much fear'd; to reſiſt whom, all the ſtrength of the Kingdom being ſummon'd by the King's Edict, was then aſſembled

Matt. of *Weſtminſter*'s Relation plainly proves this Invaſion to have been really deſign'd.

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[1] *Comp. Hiſt. p.* 648.

[2]. *Ib.*

[3] *M.W. ib.*

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bled upon *Barham-Down*, and towards which Expedition the Biſhops likewiſe had receiv'd a Tenth of their Livings from the Rectors of Churches, as alſo from Religious Houſes; and one might have then ſeen on that Heath ſo great an Army both of Horſe and Foot, as you would not have believ'd could be then rais'd in *Edgland*.

[4] In the mean time Queen *Eleanor*, with an Army that ſhe had gather'd from divers Nations, and which was commanded by ſo many Dukes and Earls as ſeem incredible, remain'd at *Bruges* in *Flanders*; a great Fleet lying alſo in the Port of *Dam*, in *Flanders*, to tranſport them hither, which they were mighty deſirous of; yet the *Engliſh*, and eſpecially the Seamen belonging to the *Cinque-Ports* ſeem'd not in the leaſt to be afraid of them; but at laſt all this vaſt Army of Noblemen and mercenary Souldiers were forc'd to return home, for (God otherwiſe ordering it) their Expedition was quite fruſtrated by contrary Winds. But there were thoſe who knowing the ſtrength and number of that Army, affirm'd, that if they had once Landed here, they would certainly have ſubdu'd the whole Kingdom; yet God the Father of Mercies having then compaſſion on the People of *England*, caus'd the Hearts of ſo great a Multitude to fail, ſo that, I ſay, they return'd home without doing any thing, after they had ſpent ſo much Treaſure in vain. However thus much muſt be own'd for the Honour of Queen *Eleanor*, that ſhe then acted like a courageous *Virago*, to the utmoſt of her Power, for the delivery of the King her Husband, and her Son Prince *Edward*.

[4] *Id. ib.*

A full Account of the manner of it from the ſame Author.

Thus far *Matt.* of *Weſtminſter* (whom the Doctor himſelf has but now cited) and tho' this Author appears highly concern'd for this King's Intereſt, and lived and wrote in his Grandſon's Time, about Fourſcore Years after theſe Tranſactions, yet he was ſo true an *Engliſh-man*, that he did not think it at all ſafe or beneficial for the Nation to have had the King reſtor'd by an Army of Foreigners, which I could wiſh ſome Men in our Time would take notice of. ☜ And now I ſhall leave it to the Doctor to conſider, whither *Matt. Weſtminſter* mentions nothing of any Shipping provided, or Forces raiſed beyond Sea to reduce the Barons to their Obedience.

And to put this quite out of doubt, *Thomas Wikes*, under this Year relates, that the Queen, with her Son *Edmund*, ſtaying in *France*, and hearing what had happen'd to her Husband, ſhe ſtraight borrow'd great Summs of Money, and therewith raiſing an Army of all thoſe Nations he there names, they marched down to *Dam* aforeſaid, in order to reſcue the King out of the hands of the Barons, and reſtore him to his former Authority. With whom alſo agrees the Continuator of the Chronicle of *Mailroſe*, who wrote ſhortly after, (and which the Doctor muſt needs have ſeen when he was writing his Hiſtory;) but this Author does not only agree with the two former, in his Account of the vaſt Army which the Queen had then raiſed, and brought down to the Sea-ſide, but alſo gives us the reaſon of their diſappointment, *viz.* That all the while they lay on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, which was for Two Months together, they were ſo kept in by contrary Winds, that they could not paſs over into *England*, inſomuch that at laſt being neceſſitated to ſell their Horſes and all their Baggage, to their very Cloaths, for want of Money to ſubſiſt, they were forced to return into their own Countries.

Thomas Wikes's Relation of what the Qu. now did in *France*, to carry on this Invaſion.

The true reaſon of the failing of this intended Invaſion, was the contrary Winds, ſo that this Army which lay ready to come over was forc'd to disband.

I write not this to vindicate the Actions of *Simon Montfort*, for whoſe Memory I have as little kindneſs perhaps as the Doctor himſelf, but to let the Reader ſee how far prejudice againſt either a Perſon or Cauſe may carry an Hiſtorian to paſs by, or conceal, ſo conſiderable a piece of Hiſtory. But to return to our Own.

[5] *M. W.*

Whilſt the E. of *Leiceſter*, is taken up in preventing the Invaſion, the Lords Marchers make Incurſions upon the *Engliſh* Counties.

And poſſeſs themſelves of all the Marches between *Cheſter* enn *Briſtol* in the King's Name.

[5] Whilſt the Earl of *Leiceſter* was thus imployed in preventing the Invaſion of theſe Foreigners, and had drawn off great part of his Forces, the above mentioned Lords Marchers of the King's Party breaking the Peace they had lately made, again renewed the War, and invading the Counties on this, as well as on the other ſide the *Severn*. ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the Inhabitants thereabouts, that they took Sanctuary, by making Huts in the Church-yards for the preſervation of their Perſons and Goods againſt theſe Invaders. The principal Author of this miſchief was *Haimo L'Eſtrange* a noted Plunderer, who altho' he had often fought ſtoutly, yet had by his Cruelty caſt a great Blot upon his Reputation: But theſe Barons being fixed in their Caſtles, had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Marches between *Briſtol* and *Cheſter* in the Name of King *Henry* and his Son the Prince: then *Robert de Walleran* and *Warren de Baſſenborne*, Governors of *Briſtol*, marched thence one Morning by break of day with a Party of Horſe to the Caſtle of *Wallingford*, in which *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, and Prince *Edward* were then kept Priſoners, tho' under the ſpecious name of Hoſtages, thinking to have ſurprized it, and thereby to have ſet theſe Princes free, yet it proved to no purpoſe; for the Gariſon being awakened, gave them a brisk repulſe; however they were in hopes by the Succour and Reinforcement of the Lords Marchers, (who were making all the haſte they could up to their aſſiſtance) that they ſhould have carried the Place.

[1] *Id. ib.*

The Earl of *Leiceſter* being provok'd by this Inſurrection calls a Council of the Barons at *Oxford*, where it is reſolv'd that the King, with the Earl, ſhould go into thoſe Parts, which is done accordingly.

Whereupon the Lords Marchers retreat over *Severne*.

The Lords Marchers being hard put to it by *Simon Montfort*, are forced to make Peace upon very hard Conditions.

[1] The Earl of *Leiceſter* being now provoked with this late Inſurrection and Breach of the Peace, held a Council of the Nobility at *Oxford* concerning this matter; and therein they reſolved, That he with a potent Army ſhould go immediately into thoſe Parts; whereupon (carrying with him the outwardly complying King) he marched to *Worceſter* in order to reduce the Lords Marchers to obedience; towards whom nevertheleſs the King was thought too much inclinable, tho' he durſt not then ſhew it, ſince they fought not only for his Deliverance, but alſo for the Liberty of the Prince his Son; therefore theſe Lords, who were much inferiour in number to *Leiceſter's* Forces, drew back their own beyond the *Severn*, and there ſtopt; and the better to reſiſt the Earl and his Forces, they broke down the Bridge at *Worceſter*, and ſunk the Ferry-boats, that ſo they might by that means hinder their Enemies from paſſing over; yet for all this they found it in vain to fight againſt ſo many brave and valiant Men, eſpecially when they had *Simon Montfort*, an experienced Warriour, to command them; and having alſo Prince *Llewellyn* (who was now marched out of *Wales*) upon the back of them, they were ſo put to it, that they were forced to make peace with that Earl on theſe hard Conditions, *viz.* That they ſhould leave the Nation for a Year, and deliver up all their Caſtles to the Earl; and to theſe Terms they the more readily conſented, becauſe they were in hopes that Prince *Edward* by that time might be freed of his Impriſonment,

priſonment, when there were none in Arms to take either his or his Father's Part, ſo that by this means the Earl of *Leiceſter* became poſſeſſed of almoſt all the Caſtles upon the *Marches* from *Briſtol* to *Cheſter*; which City and Caſtle, with the Earldom and all its Appurtenances, Prince *Edward* was ſome time after forced to grant him in exchange of other Manours and Lands, before his Liberty could be ſo much as treated of; This Grant was confirmed by the King on the 20th of *March* following: and alſo the Caſtles and Honours of *Pec*, the Caſtle and Town of *Newcaſtle underline* in *Staffordſhire* were then granted with them, to him and his Heirs. But tho' this was propoſed, and perhaps agreed to between them, yet was it not confirm'd by the King till the year following, as appears by his Patent upon Record in the Tower: yet that this Exchange was real, † and not meerly pretended, as Dr. *Brady* aſſerts, ſee a Record of 49 of *Henry* the 3d. (*Rot. Pat.* 49. *H.* 3. *m.* 16.) which is printed in the Appendix at the end of this Volume, *N.* 12.

† *Rot. Pat.* 49. *H.* 3. *M.* 46.
* *Compl. Hiſt.* *p.* 648.

But to come to ſomewhat more conſiderable; the *London* Annals inform us, that about the Feaſt of St. *Simon* and *Jude*, it was provided by the Council of the Great Men, who had then the Adminiſtration of the Government in their hands, that three Biſhops ſhould be choſen who ſhould have full power to aſſeſs the Damages, and make ſatiſfaction for all Loſſes received by Clergy-men during the late Troubles, and that if any refuſed to ſtand to their Judgment, they were to be ***Excommunicated***: theſe Biſhops were alſo to keep in their hands and receive the Profits of all Benefices of ſuch Foreigners as had been baniſhed the Kingdom, and they were to keep them till the Settlement of a more firm Peace could be made.

But that the King continued in the Marches of *Wales* till towards *Chriſtmaſs*, appears by his Writ to the Sheriff of *Middleſex* dated at *Worceſter* the 13th of *December*, whereby he commands certain Statutes ſent down along with it, to be proclaimed and obſerved under great Penalties. But ſince I have ſpoken farther of this Body of Laws, at the end of this Reign, I refer the Reader thither, if he deſires farther ſatisfaction about them; only he may take notice, that a Copy of the Writ ſent down with them, is Printed in the * *Appendix* to this Volume.

* N. 12.

[1] *T. W. ib.* The King and the Earl of *Leicceſter* return into *England* to keep *Chriſtm.*

Thus all things being for the preſent quiet in the Marches of *Wales*, the King went directly to his Palace of *Woodſtock*, there to keep his *Chriſtmaſs*, whilſt the Earl did the like at his Caſtle of *Kenelworth* in *Warwick-ſhire*, and is reported to have had no leſs than Two Hundred Knights in his Family, who received his Stipend or Wages, beſides many others that follow'd him when he took the Field; inſomuch that all *England* was now in ſubjection to him, except the moſt *Northern* Parts of it, which by the means of the King of *Scots*, and *John Balliol*, ſtill held out againſt him. All Affairs being thus under his Government, the King that had now reign'd Fifty Years, ſignified no more than a Cypher, ſo that he could not go any where on Progreſs without a Keeper, and under the diſpoſal of others, who were commonly one or more of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Sons; *Hugh d' Eſpenſer*, the Juſtitiary; the Earl of *Glouceſter* being excluded, whom they chiefly ſuſpected and feared, as One that was moſt able to break this Confederacy; and all the King's Caſtles and ſtrong

The K. being under the government of *Sim. Montfort* is no more than a Cypher.

Anno Dom. MCCLXIV.

Forts of the Kingdom they divided among themſelves, making the King's Capital Enemies the Chief Officers of his Houſe.

[2] *In hoc Anno.* The ſad Condition of the Kingdom under the management of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and thoſe of his Party.

I ſhall now give you from [2] *Thomas Wikes* a farther Account of the deplorable State of *England*, during this Oligarchy of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Lords of his Party, under whom the Inhabitants of the *Cinque-Ports* were grown to that height of Inſolence, that ſetting out a great number of Privateers, they cruized about the *Engliſh* Seas, and taking all Veſſels they met with, as well *Engliſh* as Foreign, they ſeized their Goods, killed their Men, and flung their Bodies into the Sea; by which means *England*, that uſed to excel all other Nations in plenty of Foreign Commodities, was now become ſo indigent, that Wines, Salt, Iron, and all other Wares that came from beyond Sea, roſe to that exceſſive Rate, that they were ſold at above Four times their former Price; ſo that no Commodities being able to be carried in or out, the Merchants were reduced to great Extremities: The Earl perceiving this, and being willing to pacifie the People, gave out, that *England* could very well ſubſiſt without Foreign Commodities (which was very hard to ſuppoſe, ſince all Kingdoms ſubſiſt by a mutual exchange of Wares or Manufactures with their Neighbours;) yet ſome Perſons who were deſirous to curry Favour with the Earl, leſt they ſhould ſeem to be any ways beholding to Foreign Countries, left off coloured Cloaths, and wore them white.

From whence we may obſerve, that we were not then able to Dye a Piece of Cloath in *England* in thoſe Days; as alſo how miſerable a State this Nation was then in, and would be again, when ever a free Trade ſhall be obſtructed, either through the too great Naval Force of our Neighbours, or of thoſe of our own Countrey, when employ'd to its prejudice.

[3] *Id. ib.* The ſordid Covetouſneſs of *Henry de Montfort.*

[3] Beſides theſe Depredations, *Henry de Montfort*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, very much ſullied his Military Honour, by ſeizing and applying to his own uſe all the Wooll of the Kingdom in the very Ports, and which the Merchants of *England* and *Flanders* had lately bought to tranſport into Foreign Parts; and thus of a Warriour he became a Wooll-Merchant: With theſe and other Grievances *England*, of a Flouriſhing Kingdom, was now ſo poor and deſpicable, that it became a by-word and ſcorn to its Neighbours; yet during this Winter things continued pretty quiet, but the War broke out afreſh the Summer following with greater violence, as you will find anon.

The Death of *Godfrey*, Archbiſhop of *York.*

* *M. W.*

Nothing happen'd further conſiderable in the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, except * the Death of *Godfrey*, Archbiſhop of *York*; a Prelate remarkable for no great Learning, or other good Qualities: *Walter Gifford*, Biſhop of *Bathe* and *Wells* ſucceeded him by the Pope's immediate nomination.

Anno Dom. MCCLXV.

The K. under the Guardianſhip of one of *Sim. Montfort*'s Sons.

The E. of *Glouceſter* excluded from the Government.

We have already told you, that the King this Year kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Woodſtock*, being then under the Guardianſhip of one of *Simon Montfort*'s Sons; the Earl of *Glouceſter* being, upon ſome late Jealouſies and Quarrels that had ariſen between the Earl of *Leiceſter* and him, wholly excluded from having any thing to do in the Government, except in ſome publick Affairs, from which he could not well be exempt: But I will give the Reader a further light into this Quarrel, ſince it was the cauſe of that great Revolution which not long after followed.

[4] *Id. ib. T.W.* The original of the Quarrel between the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glouceſter*.

[4] *Leiceſter* was now become ſo very great, that the Earl of *Glouceſter* envied him, and thought himſelf ſlighted and ill uſed by him; ſince it was not ſufficient for him thus to carry about the poor Captive King, but he alone muſt order all the great Affairs of the Kingdom as he pleas'd; yet that which moſt offended *Glouceſter* was, that he took to his own uſe the Profits and Revenues of the Kingdom, and all the Money that was paid for the Ranſom of Priſoners, which by Agreement was to have been divided between them, and which indeed muſt have amounted to a vaſt Summ; for the Earl of *Glouceſter* claim'd the King of the *Romans* and his Son *Henry* for his ſhare, who had ſurrend'red themſelves to him at the Battel of *Lewes*, but they being detain'd by *Simon Montfort*, and kept as his Priſoners ever ſince, it ſo highly provok'd the Earl of *Glouceſter*, that he only waited for an opportunity to be revenged of him.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* being ſenſible enough of the ill Conſequences of this Quarrel, engaged the King to interpoſe his Intereſt to reconcile it; and alſo made uſe of the Mediation of ſome of the Biſhops, (as appears upon * Record) altho' to no purpoſe; for the Earl of *Glouceſter* knew very well, that what the King did, was only in compliance to *Simon Montfort* who had him then in his Power.

* *Rot. Pat.* 49. *H.* 3. *M.* 13. *N.* 54.

And that all Diſcourſe of this Difference between theſe Earls might (if poſſible) be ſtifled, it appears farther on * Record, that he cauſed the King to write to all the keepers of the Peace, and Sheriffs in *England*, to apprehend ſuch as ſhould offer to ſay, there was any Diſcord between thoſe Two Earls; but That had the common Fate of all ſuch Methods, to make what they deſired to conceal, to be the more talk'd on. But to return to the Hiſtory.

* *Rot. Pat.* 49. *H.* 3. *N.* 54.

[5] *T.W. A.W. Sub A.D.* 1264. A great Parliament in which the Lords Marchers are baniſh'd into *Ireland*.

[5] On the Morrow after the Feaſt of St. *Hilary* (being the 14th of *January*) there was a great Aſſembly of the Nobility held at *London*, wherein it was decreed, That all the Lords of the Marches of *Wales*, who had been concern'd in the late Inſurrection againſt *Simon Montfort* and the Barons, ſhould by *Eaſter* following paſs into *Ireland*, there to remain as it were in Baniſhment for Three Years, and not to return without the conſent of the Governours of the Kingdom; but they being forewarn'd, that if they went over, there were deſigns laid againſt their Lives, they thought it better to put it off; and thereupon they took ſhelter in the Lands of the Earl of *Glouceſter*, who then connived at it, beginning now to incline to the Party of the Lords Marchers.

[1] *Id. ib.* The Earl of *Derby* is accuſed of great Miſdemeanors.

[1] In this Meeting there was alſo a grievous Accuſation brought in the King's Name againſt *Robert de Ferrars*, Earl of *Derby*, (whom [2] *Simon Montfort* had cauſed to be committed to Priſon in the *Tower* of *London*) for divers Miſchiefs, and burnings of Towns, which this Earl had committed both before and after the Battel of *Lewes*; but the truth of it was, that this Earl was looked upon as too powerful, by reaſon of his great Eſtate; and having ſtood in a manner Neuter during the late War, it was thought convenient by the Earl, that he ſhould be hinder'd from joining with the Earl of *Glouceſter*'s Party, whom [3] *Simon Montfort* intended likewiſe to have ſurprized and

[2] *A. W.*

[3] *T. W.*

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The Earl of *Glouceſter*, fearing to be clapp'd in Priſon, withdraws from the Parliament.

clapp'd up in Priſon, laying to his Charge the late harbouring of the Lords Marchers in his Territories, being the declar'd Enemies of the ſaid Earl and his Faction; but the Earl of *Glouceſter* not being willing to truſt himſelf in his hands, thought it his ſafeſt Courſe to withdraw from this Aſſembly; and therefore taking with him a ſmall Guard of Men, he retir'd to his ſtrong Holds in the Borders of *Wales*.

[4] *A. W.*

John Gifford being likewiſe impeach'd, fearing *Simon Montfort*'s Power withdraws into the Marches of *Wales*.

[4] Then likewiſe *John Gifford*, a Baron of great Courage and Reputation, being impeach'd by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, that contrary to the late *Miſe* or Agreement at *Lewes*, he had enter'd upon divers Lands, which belong'd to other Lords in right of their Priſoners; wherefore he fearing the Earl's great Power, tho' he gave Security to appear and Anſwer his Accuſations, yet at laſt not being willing to truſt him, he follow'd his Patron the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and retir'd to him into the ſaid Marches, where we ſhall leave them for a time.

* *Rot. Clauſ.* 49. *H.*3.*M.*11. Printed in Dr. *Brady*'s Anſw. to Mr. *Petyt*, *p.* 137.

* *Ib. In Scedula.* Printed *in eod. p.* 140.

But notwithſtanding this great Council of the Nobility that had now met at *London*, *Simon Montfort* and his Faction did not think it ſafe to rely upon their Authority; and therefore he had alſo iſſued out the King's Writs for a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, on the *Octaves* of St. *Hilary* (or 22d of *January*) next enſuing, to which were ſummon'd not only the Archbiſhops, * Biſhops, Earls and Barons, but alſo all the Abbots and Priors of *England*; and beſides theſe, Writs of Summons were alſo ſent to the Sheriffs of the Counties to *elect* and *return* Two Knights for each Shire, and Two Citizens, and as many Burgeſſes for each City and Borough of *England*, and for each of the *Cinque-Ports* as many Barons, as appears ſtill upon * Record in the *Tower*, which is alſo taken notice of by the Writer of the City-Annals, only he miſtakes in the number of the Knights of Shires, making them to have been Four inſtead of Two, and the like he does in the number of the Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Barons of the *Cinque-Ports* that were ſummon'd to this Parliament. But this Author is the only one that (as I can find) makes any mention of their appearing at this Parliament, tho' without any Remark of its being a new Inſtitution; which I obſerve, becauſe theſe being the firſt Writs of Summons to the *Commons* that are now extant on the Rolls,[5], therefore Dr. *Brady* will needs infer from hence (tho' without any juſt grounds) that theſe were the firſt Writs of this kind that were ever iſſued, and that neither Knights of Shires, nor Citizens, nor Burgeſſes, &c. were ever ſummon'd to Parliament before this Critical and Rebellious Year; but of this I ſhall ſay more in another place, therefore ſhall here only inquire into the Cauſe of this great and ſo general Aſſembly, which was on Two Accounts; the One to ſet the Prince at liberty, with the ſafety of *Simon Montfort*, and thoſe of his Party; the Other to obtain the King's Charter of Pardon and Indemnity for all that had been paſt.

[5] Anſwer to Mr. *Petyt*, *p.* 144. *Com. Hiſt.* *p.* 649.

But the great end of ſummoning this Parliament was the delivery of the Prince out of Priſon, where he had now continued above half a Year, which was not well reſented, even by ſome of the Barons themſelves; who, tho' they were of the oppoſite Faction, yet thought it reaſonable that he ſhould be ſet free, ſince he had only deliver'd himſelf up at the Battel of *Lewes*, as a Hoſtage for the performace of the Articles then agreed to by the King his Father; wherefore, in order to this, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Lords *Hugh d' Eſpenſer*, and *John*

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Fitz-John, with the Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*, and others their Adherents (who manag'd all things in this Parliament at their pleaſure) thought fit to contrive a certain Form of Articles or Conditions for delivering the Prince out of Priſon, which, tho' not agreeable either to Law or Juſtice, yet being reduc'd into Writing, and by him agreed to, as alſo by the King his Father, the Earls, and all the other Great Men of his Party corroborated with their Seals; which Agreement, tho' ſeemingly made with his own conſent, rendred his Condition almoſt as bad when he was ſet free, as whilſt he continued a Priſoner.

The Prince is reſtor'd to a ſeeming Liberty, but upon very hard Terms.

But tho' Dr. *Brady* has not thought fit here to give us the Articles or Conditions upon which the Prince was then deliver'd (or rather from a cloſe Priſoner to be kept in a more free Cuſtody) I ſhall here recite the Subſtance of them from the Original * Record in the *Tower*, which I find alſo enter'd in an antient Manuſcript Book of the Laws and Statutes of *England*, in *Bennet*-College Library; and is likewiſe printed in the Annals of *Waverly*, to which I refer the Reader; as alſo to the * *Appendix* to this Volume, where you will find it at large.

* *Rot. Cart.* 49. *H.* 3. *M.* 4.

* *N.* 13.

This Agreement is by way of Charter or Conceſſion from the King himſelf, beginning thus.

'I *Henry*, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, Duke of *Acquitain*, 'to the *Community* of *England*, Greeting, &c.

The Form and Subſtance of the Agreement, or Conditions for the Prince's Liberty.

Communitatis.

Then in the Preface he recites the Agreement that had been made after the late hoſtile Diſturbance in the Kingdom, by his own aſſent, 'and by the free Will of *Edward* his eldeſt Son, as alſo of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and *Commonalty* of the Kingdom; and that 'then for the Peace and Security thereof, the ſaid Lord *Edward*, and '*Henry* his Nephew, Son to the King of the *Romans*, had been given as Pledges; and farther, that an Ordinance lately made by the 'King's own aſſent, and the free Will of his ſaid Son *Edward*, as alſo 'of the ſaid Prelates, Earls, &c. in the Month of *June* laſt paſt, being the 48th Year of his Reign, ſhould be for ever inviolably obſerved; wherefore he now lets the whole * *Body* of the Kingdom 'underſtand, that he had ſworn upon the Holy Evangeliſts, that he 'would faithfully obſerve the ſaid Ordinance, and not in any thing 'contradict it; and there was to that end expreſly added in the 'ſame Oath, that he would not, by reaſon of what had been done 'during the time of the late War and Diſturbance, accuſe or puniſh 'any of thoſe who had fought againſt him, or whom he had defied 'as Enemies, to wit, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glouceſter*, and their 'Adherents, as alſo the Barons and Citizens of *London*, and thoſe of 'the *Cinque-Ports*; neither would he do them any damage, or permit it to be done by his Officers: and that he had further ſwore to 'obſerve all thoſe things which had been agreed upon or provided 'for the delivery of his ſaid Son and Nephew; expreſly willing and 'conſenting, that if He himſelf, or his Son *Edward* ſhould do any 'thing againſt the ſaid Ordinance, Promiſe, or Oath, or diſturb the 'Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom, or by reaſon of former 'Actions done in the time of the War, ſhould do, or cauſe to be done, 'any damage to any of thoſe Perſons above-mentioned, whom he 'had formerly defied, it ſhould then be lawful for all thoſe of his

* *Univerſitatem Veſtram.*

'King-

* Ad Gravamen.

'Kingdom to riſe up againſt him, and do their utmoſt endeavour to '* diſtreſs him, ſo that he would have all and ſingular Perſons obliged 'to do it by this preſent Precept or Command, notwithſtanding any 'Fealty or Homage formerly done to him, to pay him their Obedi'ence; but ſhould do all things to diſtreſs him, as if they were no 'ways obliged to him, until ſuch time, as what had been done a'miſs ſhould be reform'd and reſtor'd with due ſatisfaction, accor'ding to his ſaid Ordinance and Promiſe; and this being perform'd, 'they were then to obey him, as they had done before: but if any 'Perſon of the Kingdom ſhould preſume to act againſt the Premiſes, 'or ſhould diſturb the Peace and Tranquility thereof, or aſſiſt either 'him, his Son *Edward*, or any other, by Aid, Advice, or Counſel, to 'act againſt any of the Premiſes, and that he be thereof Convicted 'by the * Judgment of this Counſel, and of the Great Men of the 'Kingdom; it was thereupon agreed, by the unanimous conſent of 'himſelf and his Son *Edward*, with the Earls, Barons, and Commonalty 'of the Kingdom, that the Body of ſuch Perſon might be taken, if it 'could be found, and if it could not be found, that then he ſhou'd be 'Outlawed, but whither he were found or not, he and his Heirs ſhould 'be for ever diſinherited, as if they had committed Felony or Treaſon: 'and it was further agreed, by the unanimous Will and Conſent of 'Himſelf and his Son, and all the reſt above-mention'd, that the an'tient Charters of common Liberties and Foreſts, which had been 'formerly granted to the *Community* of the Kingdom, and againſt the 'Violaters of which, Sentence of *Excommunication* had been de'nounced by the Pope, at the Requeſt of the King, and the Great 'Men of the Kingdom, lately aſſembled at *Worceſter*; wherefore the 'King Wills, that the Charters before unanimouſly agreed on ſhould 'be inviolably obſerved for ever; to the obſervance of all which, 'the King here ſolemnly obliged himſelf by Oath upon the Holy E'vangeliſts; as alſo commanded all Juſtices, Sheriffs, and Bayliffs of the 'Kingdom, to be bound by the like Oath, ſo that no Man ſhould 'obey any Bayliff until he had taken it; and farther, if any ſhould 'preſume to break the ſaid Charters, or Articles, he or they were to 'be grievouſly puniſhed by the Judgment of his Court, both for his 'Perjury, as alſo for the Sentence of *Excommunication* by him in'curr'd (all Clerical Privileges being only preſerved as it ought): and 'that all theſe things ſhould be firmly obſerved, he farther enjoins 'the whole Body of the Kingdom, that all and every Perſon of them 'ſhould perform and keep all and ſingular the Premiſes, and alſo 'oblige each other by Oath ſo to do. In witneſs of which he tranſ'mits the ſaid Ordinances, together with theſe Letters Patents under 'his Seal, to be kept for their perpetual Memory in each County, 'under the Cuſtody of Faithful Men to be choſen for that purpoſe; 'and that no Man might pretend Ignorance of them for the future, 'they were to be proclaim'd in a full County-Court Twice in the 'Year, once after *Eaſter*, and again after *Michaelmaſs*. Alſo that the Premiſes might remain firm and unſhaken, the Biſhops had then thundered out their Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt all thoſe who ſhould wittingly endeavour to break them, to whoſe Juriſdiction the King alſo here willingly ſubmits himſelf as to the Premiſes, renouncing all Privileges and Diſpenſations already obtain'd, or that might be

* Conſiderationem.

be obtain'd from the Pope to the contrary: In teſtimony of which he now tranſmits to them the ſaid Letters Patents, dated at *London*, 14 *Martii*, in the 49th Year of his Reign,

There is alſo in the above-cited Manuſcript Volume of Laws, a like Charter of Prince *Edward*, to the ſame effect with this of the Kings, and which being alſo almoſt in the very ſame words, need not to be repeated. I find likewiſe in the ſame Book a Writ that was ſent down into the Counties with *Magna Charta*, and that of the *Foreſts*, which were now alſo confirm'd in the ſame manner and Form as they were in the Ninth Year of this King's Reign.

There is alſo a larger Form of this Agreement in the next * Roll, which Dr. *Brady* hath printed in his † Introduction to his *Engliſh* Hiſtory, and is in the *French* of that time; it alſo recites *verbatim* the Ordinance above mentioned, made the year before for the Government of the Kingdom, and for the better keeping and performance of which, it is alſo recited, that the enſuing Form of Articles for the deliverance of the Prince, was made and provided, which Articles being to the ſame effect as thoſe in the above mentioned Charter, and alſo very long, I ſhall not take further notice of them, but refer the curious Reader to the Copy of it, which is printed in the Appendix at the end of this Volume, and where are divers remarkable Clauſes in it which are not in the *Latin* Charter; in which I ſuppoſe there was no more inſerted, than what was abſolutely neceſſary for all the Subjects of the Kingdom to take cognizance of at their peril; only I ſhall obſerve, that therein is further contain'd theſe following Articles.

A larger Form of this Agreement for the Prince's delivery.

With the particular Articles therein contain'd.

Firſt Prince *Edward* was to take care that the Knights or the Military Tenants in the Marches of *Wales* ſhould perform what they had promiſed; and if they did not, that he would become their Capital Enemy, and compell them to it by force of Arms.

2. He promiſed that for three years next enſuing, he would not leave the Kingdom without the conſent of the King's Council of Barons:

3. That he would neither bring over himſelf, nor procure to be brought over, any Foreigners into *England*; and that if any came, he, being thereto required by the ſaid Council, would do his utmoſt to ſubdue them.

4. That whereas the King had before the Battel of *Lewes* openly * defied the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glouceſter*, with their Adherents, therefore all the Freemen of the Kingdom ſhould renew their Oath of Fealty to the King; ſtill ſaving all the Articles above-mention'd: Beſides which, there were alſo theſe private ones relating more particularly to the Prince; *viz.* That he ſhould immediately make over to the Earl of *Leiceſter* the Caſtle and Town of *Cheſter*, together with the County in Fee, as alſo the Caſtle of *Pec* and *Newcaſtle under Line*, together with their Appurtenances, in lieu of other Lands in *England*, which the ſaid Earl had made over to him in Fee, near the value of the Lands he had parted with; alſo the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, with the Town and its Appurtenances, were to remain in the Hands of the Earl, until all theſe Things were perform'd, who was yet to be anſwerable to the Prince for the Iſſues and Profits thereof, (the Charges in keeping the ſaid Caſtle being deducted;) and this was to be

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* *Rot. Cart.* 49 *H.* 3. *M.* 5.

† *P.* 32.

* *Defidaverunt*, *i. e.* given up their Fealties.

** Prodes homes.*

be done within Two Years enſuing, after which the ſaid Caſtle and Town, &c. were to be delivered as a Pledge, by the Appointment of the King's Council and of the Good Men of the Kingdom, in the ſame manner as Five other Caſtles of the King's were alſo to be held by thoſe appointed by the * Diſcreet or Wiſe Men of the Kingdom: To this Agreement the King and Prince *Edward* his Son, with the Lord *Henry* Son to the King of *Almaine*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, and *Wincheſter*, and divers other Biſhops, together with the Priors of the Orders of the *Knights-Templars* and *Hoſpitallers*, as likewiſe the Mayor of *London*, did put their Seals; This bears date at *Weſtminſter*, in the Parliament at *London*, on the Eighth of *March*, 1264.

Notwithſtanding the Agreement the Prince is not releaſed till Two Days after its Date.

Notwithſtanding which Agreement, thus made and perfected, Prince *Edward* could not be immediately releaſed; for it ſeems there was another Treaty about it with the Great Men of that Party, upon *Thurſday* (being the Morrow after *Aſhwedneſday*) when the Diſcharge from the King to *Henry de Montfort*, the Prince his Keeper for the Receipt of his Body, bears date the Tenth of *March*, as appears by Two ſeveral * Records, the former unprinted, but the latter Dr. *Brady* has given us in his † Appendix.

* *Rot. Pat.* 49. *H.* 3. *n.* 100.
† *Rot. Pat.* 49. *H.* 3. *M.* 19. *N.* 219.
[1] *Comp. Hiſt.* p. 649.

Yet that the Prince was releaſed during this very Parliament (notwithſtanding [1] Dr. *Brady*'s aſſerting the contrary) appears from the Date of this very Writ for his Diſcharge, which is but Two Days after the Charter laſt mention'd, and was certainly ſeal'd during the Seſſion of this Parliament, which ſtill continued.

A more particular Account of Prince *Edward*'s delivery from the *London* Annals.

But to put this out of all doubt, the *London* Annals give us a more particular Account of the manner of the Prince's Deliverance out of Priſon, relating it to be now done in the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, where the Prince was deliver'd to the King in the Preſence of a great Aſſembly; after he had ſeal'd the above-mention'd Agreement, and which being then publickly read, the Biſhops, in their *Pontificalibus*, ſolemnly *Excommunicated* all thoſe that ſhould preſume to Act any thing againſt the Charters of Liberties and Foreſts; and then for the better ſecuring of the ſaid Agreement, the Lord *Henry*, Son to the King of *Almain*, did, of his own Accord, proffer himſelf to remain in the Cuſtody of *Henry de Montfort*, as a Hoſtage, to the Feaſt of St. *Peter ad Vincula* (being the firſt of *Auguſt*) till it were ſeen how the Prince would carry himſelf in reſpect of the Foreigners who were ſtill expected to invade the Kingdom.

[2] *Id. ib.*

[2] But on the 7th of *March* before this, the Mayor and Aldermen renewed their Oath of Fealty to the King in Perſon; and on the *Sunday* following, all the Males within the City, of Twelve Years old, took the ſame Oath before the Aldermen of their ſeveral Wards. But to return to our Hiſtory.

Tho' the Prince was now releaſed out of *Dover*-Caſtle, he was ſtill but a Priſoner at large, under a Guard, and carried about together with his Father whitherſoever the Earl of *Leiceſter* pleaſed; and farther, the Caſtles of *Dover*, *Scarburgh*, *Nottingham*, and *Corſe*, were to remain in the hands of the Barons for Five Years, as a Security for themſelves, but, as they pretended, for the publick Peace of the Kingdom, as appears by another unprinted * Record, the Contents of which [3] Dr. *Brady* hath alſo given us.

**Rot. Pat.* 49. *H.* 3. *n.* 87.
[3] *Id. p.* 649.

Anno Dom. MCCLXV.

But notwithſtanding, theſe ſolemn Acts of Agreements and Treaties above-mention'd were but of very ſhort continuance, and indeed laſted no longer than till a fit opportunity was offer'd the King and Prince to break them, which they quickly found by this means; the Earl of *Leiceſter* was ſo puffed up, that he and his Sons carried themſelves very inſolently towards the Earl of *Glouceſter*, as you have already heard; but tho' there had been divers Diſputes between them, yet they did not break out into any publick Act of Hoſtility, until upon this Occaſion.

The Two Eldeſt Sons of *Leiceſter* had now proclaimed a Tourneament for all the young Nobility of *England* to meet at *Northampton*, Fifteen Days after *Eaſter*, to ſhew their Proweſs; where, tho' moſt of the Noblemen of the Kingdom were alſo to Aſſemble, yet the Earl of *Glouceſter* (who was invited thither) fearing a ſurpriſe from *Simon Montfort*'s Wiles, excuſed his non-appearance there, and inſtead of coming up, as was then expected, he fortified his Caſtles, and privately confederated with the Barons of the Marches, who were now got again in Arms; which as ſoon as the Earl of *Leiceſter* heard, he immediately diſmiſſed the Torneament to make War in earneſt: and therefore preſently raiſing all the Forces he could, and [4] taking the King and the Prince along with him, about the end of *April* he marched towards the Borders of *Wales*, againſt the Earl of *Glouceſter* and Lords Marchers, whom he then declared publick Enemies to the Kingdom.

The firſt Declaration of Hoſtility between the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glouceſter*, and on what occaſion.

Glouceſter Confederates with the Lords Marchers, againſt the E. of *Leiceſter*,

[4] *A.W.* p. 218.

[5] So ſoon as he came to *Glouceſter*, (with the King and Prince in his Company) he ſtrongly fortified the City and Caſtle, becauſe he heard that the Earl thereof, with the Lord *John Giſford*, was then in the Foreſt of *Dean*, being reſolv'd to defend themſelves againſt him and his Accomplices. But whilſt the King and *Leiceſter* continued there, which was Fifteen Days, divers Meſſengers of Peace paſs'd between the Earl of *Glouceſter* and *Simon Montfort*; ſo that at laſt they agreed to refer their Differences to Four Arbitrators, to wit, *Walter de Cantelupe*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; the Lord *Hugh d' Eſpenſer*; *John Fitz-John*; and *William de Munchanſie*, by whoſe Mediation there was an Agreement patched up for the preſent between them; and I could wiſh our Author had told us upon what Conditions; but it ſeems it was not ſo fixed, that the Earl of *Glouceſter* would thereupon truſt himſelf in the other's Power; for all we can find is, that notwithſtanding this ſeeming Reconciliation, the ſaid Earl deſign'd to have ſurpriz'd the Earl of *Leiceſter* by an Ambuſh (together with the King and Prince) in their March between *Glouceſter* and *Hereford*, But the Earl being warned by his Spies of this Stratagem, he eaſily avoided it, and ſo they arriv'd ſafe at *Hereford*; but not long after their coming thither, the Earl of *Glouceſter* having now again declar'd himſelf an open Enemy, and rais'd conſiderable Forces, poſſeſs'd himſelf of the adjacent Countrey, ſo that *Simon Montfort* could not depart from *Hereford* with any ſafety, becauſe the Army he had there with him, was not ſtrong enough to encounter that of his Adverſaries in the Field; in this condition

[5] *Id. ib.*

The Earl fortifies *Glouceſter* for fear of the Earl of that Place.

The two Earls agree to refer all their Differences to two Arbitrators, by whom an Agreement is made up for the preſent.

Which yet does not continue.

The Earl of *Glouceſter* endeavours notwithſtanding to have ſurpriz'd the E. of *Leiceſter*, in his march to *Hereford*.

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The Prince eſcapes and joins the E. of *Glouceſter.*

tion things continued till Prince *Edward*'s eſcape from thence, and his joining himſelf with the Earl of *Glouceſter* and the Barons of his Party.

[1] *Script. Ang. Vol.* II. *Oxon. p.* 585.

A further account of the manner of it.

Of the manner of which, as alſo of the Earl of *Glouceſter*'s joining with him, I ſhall give you this ſhort Account from [1] *Walter Hemingford*'s Chronicle, which relates, that the Earl of *Glouceſter* being much diſpleaſed at the inſolent and arbitrary Carriage of the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Sons, and having refuſed to come to the Torneament at *Northampton*, (as you have already heard) preſently retired to his Caſtles in *Wales*; and reſolving abſolutely to break with him, he ſent again to demand thoſe Priſoners of Quality who had fallen to his ſhare at the Battel of *Lewes*, (of whom the King of the *Romans* was the chief;) but the Earl utterly refuſed to ſend them, anſwering haughtily, *That it was ſufficient that he had ſaved his Life and Eſtate for him in that Battel:* which rude Return ſo highly incenſed the Earl of *Glouceſter*, that he was reſolved to be revenged of him; wherefore ſending forthwith to the Lord *Roger Mortimer* (who had been always on the King's ſide) he deſired a Conference with him for the benefit of the King and Kingdom; but he doubting ſome Treachery from him, deſired a Hoſtage, which was preſently granted; thereupon meeting together, the Earl made great Complaints againſt *Simon Montfort*, proteſting, *That he repented he ever had offended the King, and was now reſolved to wipe off that Reproach:* Wherefore they ſent privately to *Robert de Clare*, *Glouceſter*'s Brother, (who was then ſeemingly of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Party) to let him know that they Two were now agreed, and reſolved to ſet the Prince free as ſoon as ever they were able to effect it; alſo the Lord *Mortimer* ſent privately to Prince *Edward* a very ſwift Horſe, the better to facilitate his eſcape.

The Earl of *Glouceſter* is reconciled to the Lord *Mortimer*, and the manner how it was brought about.

They reſolve to ſet the Prince at liberty.

[2] *Id. ib.*

Who not long after makes his eſcape from *Hereford.*

All things being thus laid, [2] the Prince deſired leave from the Earl of *Leiceſter* to ride abroad and Air himſelf, which being granted, and that he had pretty well breathed Two or Three Horſes, he mounted that which had been lately ſent him by the Lord *Mortimer*, and when he had got a pretty way from thoſe that were appointed to guard him, he turn'd about to *Robert de Roſs*, and thoſe that accompanied him, and plainly told them, that he had been long enough in their Cuſtody, and therefore now took his leave of them; ſo laying the Reins on his Horſe's Neck, he galloped away from them as hard as he could drive; they followed him with all the ſpeed they could, but without overtaking him; at laſt ſeeing ſome Men that were ſent by the Lord *Mortimer* meet him, to conduct him to the Caſtle of *Wigmore*, his Perſuers were forced to deſiſt, and return to *Hereford*, where the Earl of *Leiceſter* being highly concerned at his eſcape, gave them a very bad Reception.

[3] *Rot.Cl.*49. *H.* 3. *M.* 4. *Dorſ. Vid. Dr.* B.'s *Append.N.*221.

To prevent the ill Conſequences of which Accident, on the 30th of *May* he made the King write [3] Letters to all his Tenants *in Capite*, as well Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, as Earls, Barons, Knights, and all others (except thoſe that were of the Party of the Earl of *Glouceſter*) letting them know, that whereas he and certain of his Great Men and Feudataries, ſometime ſince came to *Hereford* to take care of the Peace of thoſe Parts, hoping to have found his Son *Edward* a great and chearful aſſiſtant in that buſineſs; he, to the contrary, on the *Thurſday* in *Whitſon-Week*, about the Evening, had made his eſcape from the Perſons that accompanied him, and were his Guard; and this by the contrivance of certain Knights and Eſquires that were privy to the Deſign, and that he went off, (as he certainly believed) to *John de Warren*, and *William de Valence*, and the Barons Marchers, his Rebels and Diſturbers of his Peace; he therefore commanded them, by the faithful Homage and Love in which they were bound to him, to come with what haſt they could with Horſe and Arms, and all their force to *Worceſter*, in order to go with him againſt his Enemies and Rebels. Dated at *Hereford* the 30th of *May*.

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The E. makes the King give notice of it to the Biſhops and Nobility, commanding their ſpeedy attendance.

[4] But not thinking this ſufficient, on the Seventh of *June* following, the King alſo wrote to the Guardians of the Peace, and Sheriffs of every County, to prohibit, by Proclamation, all People of their reſpective Counties from giving any Aid or Aſſiſtance to his Son *Edward*, the Earl of *Glouceſter*, or any Rebels of their Confederacy; and that ſince he had commanded, that all Men ſhould take an Oath to preſerve the late Ordinances made at *London*, therefore they ſhould all riſe againſt the ſaid Rebels, as diſturbers of the Peace, and tranſgreſſors of that Ordinance, and arreſt their Bodies, and keep them in ſafe Cuſtody: theſe Letters or Writs were directed into the ſeveral Counties, by the King, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the then Juſtitiary, and others.

[4] *Rot. Pat.* 49. *H.* 3. *M.* 14. *Dorſ. Dr.B.'s Append.* N. 222.

He alſo writes to all Guardians of the Peace, and Sheriffs, commanding them not to give any Aſſiſtance to the Prince and Earl of *Glouceſter*.

[5] Then the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to engage the Clergy as much as he could in this Quarrel, cauſed * another Letter to be written in the King's Name to the Biſhop of *London*, and the other Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury*, in which they were required to *Excommunicate* by Name in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, his Contumatious and Rebellious Son, and the other Rebels, as they were then termed, who aſſiſted the Prince. But I do not find that the Biſhops obey'd this Command.

[5] *Rot.* **Pat.* 49. *H.* 3. *M.* 13. *n.* 54.

Another Letter is written to the Biſhops, commanding them to Excommunicate the Prince and his Adherents.

And then to ſecure the City of *London* to the Barons Intereſt, another Letter was written in the King's Name, directed to the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the whole * Community of *London*, wherein he thanks them for their Fidelity and Conſtancy to him and his Friends, and deſires them to continue therein, and to contribute their utmoſt aſſiſtance to ſuppreſs and deſtroy his Rebels, where-ever, or of what Quality ſoever they were, and their Adherents, by all ways and means they ſhould think expedient. This was Sign'd by the King, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, &c. and Dated at *Monmouth*, as were alſo the former.

Other Letters written to the City to continue firm to the E. of *Leiceſter*'s Party.

* *Communitati.*

Theſe Letters are not to be found in our printed Hiſtorians, but being upon Record, we muſt own our ſelves obliged to Dr. *Brady*'s Induſtry in finding out and collecting them, as alſo in noting the Rolls where they are to be found: and tho' ſome of them are of no great conſequence, as to the main of the Hiſtory, yet ſince they ſhew us how much the King was then over-aw'd by *Simon Montfort*, and thoſe of his Party, and the great concern they were in for Prince *Edward*'s eſcape, and joining with their Enemies, I have thought fit likewiſe to take notice of them. But now to return to our Hiſtory.

[1] *W. H.* The Prince is joyfully received by the Lord *Mortimer* at *Wigmore*; and thence goes to *Ludlow*.

[2] *T. W.* Where the Prince ſwears before the E. of *Glouceſter* and others to cauſe the antient Laws of the Kingdom to beobſerv'd, and ro do his beſt to baniſh all Foreigners from his Father's Councils

[1] So ſoon as Prince *Edward* had thus given *Simon Montfort* the ſlip, and was got to the Caſtle of *Wigmore*, he was there joyfully received by the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, its Owner; and the Day following the Prince went to *Ludlow*, where he met the Earls of *Glouceſter* and *Surrey*, and being fully reconciled to them, [2] he ſolemnly promiſed and ſwore, that when by their Aſſiſtance he ſhould obtain the Victory over his Enemies, he would cauſe the antient and approved Laws of the Kingdom to be obſerved, and would abrogate all the evil Cuſtoms which had prevail'd in the Kingdom; and that he would perſwade the King his Father to baniſh all Foreigners from his Councils, and not ſuffer them to have the Cuſtody of his Caſtles, nor any ſhare in the Government; whereupon the Earl of *Glouceſter* ſupplied the Prince (being now wholly deſtitute) with all things neceſſary for his high Quality, as well as for their preſent undertaking.

[3] *Id. ib.* A great number of Warriours flock into the prince, who is alſo join'd by *William de Valence* and *Hugh Bigot*.

[3] Then there flocked in to Prince *Edward* not only the Lords Marchers, but alſo a great multitude of Warriours from all Parts of the Kingdom; and *William de Valence* and *Hugh Bigot*, who a little before had Landed in *Pembroke*-ſhire with a ſtong Party, now came in to him, whereby his Army was very much augmented: Alſo *John Gifford*, the Second Man to the Earl of *Glouceſter* in Military Affairs, brought in ſo great a Force both of Horſe and Foot, as ſtruck Wonder in their Friends, and a Terror in their Enemies; with which powerful Aſſiſtance the Prince and the Barons of his Party preſently march'd to *Worceſter*, which the Citizens, upon his Arrival, as preſently ſurrender'd to him, without making any Oppoſition.

The Prince having got *Worceſter* hinders the E. of *Leiceſter* from paſſing the *Severne*.

They being thus poſſeſſed of this Important Place, that ſo they might hinder the Paſſage of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and his Army, over the River *Severne*, they not only took away all the Ferry-Boats, but alſo dug deep Holes in the Fords.

[4] *Id. p.* 68.

The Prince takes *Glouceſter*.

[4] In the mean time, the Lords *Robert de Roſs*, and *William de Veſcy*, had put themſelves with ſome Forces into *Glouceſter*, hoping thereby to hold it out againſt the Prince's Army, but they found themſelves miſerably miſtaken, for the Prince marching thither with all ſpeed, took the Town in Two Days time; the Lords above-mention'd, with all the Gariſon, betaking themſelves to the Caſtle; which, after Three Weeks Siege, was likewiſe, for

want of Proviſion ſurrend'red, on the 30*th* of *June*, upon theſe honourable Articles, *viz.* That the Beſieged might march out with their Horſes and Arms, engaging by Oath, not to take up Arms againſt the Prince for Forty Days.

He having thus made himſelf Maſter of the Town and Caſtle, [5] put a ſtrong Gariſon into both; and then he, together with the Earl of *Glouceſter*, led their Army toward *Hereford*, with hopes to ſurprize there the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and ſo to reſcue the King out of his Power; but [1] the Earl having had Intelligence of it, would not venture to ſtay there any longer, but taking the King along with him, retreated to *Monmouth*, where ſoon after *John Gifford* with part of the Army coming before the Town, offered him Battel, but he finding the Place ſcarce tenable durſt not engage him, and ſo was forc'd to quit that alſo: Therefore marching from thence he took the Caſtle of *Hulks*, belonging to the Earl of *Glouceſter*, but he being very quickly at the Heels of him, retook it within Three Days after. In the mean time the Earl of *Leiceſter* marching farther into *South-Wales*, took the Town of *Newport*, lying near the Sea, and thence ſending away to *Briſtol*, order'd all the Ships of Burthen that lay there to be brought to *Newport*, to carry the King and himſelf, with all the Army to *Briſtol*; but the Earl of *Glouceſter* having notice of it, ſent ſome light Galleys, very well mann'd to lie at the Mouth of that River; and they meeting with thoſe Veſſels that were coming down from *Briſtol* to tranſport them, took and ſunk eleven of them, which utterly broke the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Deſigns, tho' well enough laid; but the reſt of the Ships got ſafe back to *Briſtol*.

[5] *A.W.* p. 219.

[1] *T.W.* p. 68.

Montfort receiving Intelligence of *Glouceſter*'s approach quits *Hereford*, together with the King, and goes to *Monmouth*, which he is alſo forc'd to quit.

Leiceſter takes *Newport*, and ſends to *Briſtol* for Ships to tranſport himſelf and his Army, but the Ships are either taken or ſunk.

[2] Upon this Succeſs Prince *Edward*, and the Earl of *Glouceſter*, marched againſt the Town of *Newport*, and engaging with *Simon Montfort*'s Forces upon the Bridge leading to the Town, they drove them back into it, and had certainly taken it, had not the Enemies ſet fire on that end of the Bridge which was in their Power, and thereby prevented it; whereupon the Prince's Men returning to their Camp, and the Earl of *Leiceſter* not daring to ſtay there any longer, [3] he ſtole away by Night, into the Territories of *Llewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance, which he promiſed him, upon condition that the King would reſtore him the Inheritance of his Anceſtors, which the Earl of *Leiceſter* was forced to grant in the King's Name, and ſent him a Charter for it under the Great Seal, the Cuſtody whereof was then committed to *Peter de Montfort*, and *R. de Sandwich*, Knights, which (ſays my Author) had been unknown for a long time before; but whither he makes the ſtrangeneſs of it to lie in its being committed to Lay-men, or elſe to Commiſſioners, I will not take upon me to determine: but under pretence of thus reſtoring Prince *Llewellyn*'s Rights, there were Five ſtrong Caſtles belonging to the King preſently given up, which that Prince cauſed to be levell'd to the Ground; but the *Engliſh* not being uſed to the *Welſh* way of living only upon Fleſh and Milk, without

any

[2] *Id. ib.*

Prince *Edw.* and the E. of *Glouceſter* march to *Newport*, and there engaging *Simon Montfort*'s Forces, make him retire with the King into *Wales*.

[3] *A.W.* 219.

Where they deſire that Prince's Aſſiſtance which he promiſes, and on what Condition.

Whereupon no leſs than Five ſtrong Caſtles are deliver'd up to Prince *Llewellyn*.

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* *Rot.Pat.* 49. *H.*3 *N.*45. Dr. *B.*'s *Hiſt.p* 651

Whilſt the K. was at *Monmouth* he writ Letters to *S. Montfort* the Younger, and other Guardians of the Peace, commanding them to deſtroy all the Adherents of Prince *Edw.*

any Bread, were ſoon forc'd to quit the Countrey, and retreat to *Hereford*, which being not as yet taken was the King's Head Quarters: But to look a little back. Not long before this, about the end of *June*, it appears on * Record, that whilſt the King, and the Earl of *Leiceſter* were at *Monmouth*, he caus'd Letters to be written to *Simon*, his Second Son, then Guardian of the Peace in *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, in the King's Name, declaring, that whereas his Son *Edward*, and *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Glouceſter*, together with *John de Warren*, *William de Valence*, *Roger Mortimer*, *James Audley*, and other Rebels adhering to them, had ſeized ſeveral Towns and Caſtles, and raiſed new War in the Kingdom; he therefore comanded and enjoined him to give him his utmoſt Aſſiſtance, to deſtroy and ſuppreſs thoſe Rebels, and all others their Abettors and Favourers; Dated *June* 28*th* at *Monmouth*. The ſame Letters were directed to *Brian Goniz*, Guardian of the Peace for *Somerſet* and *Dorſet*-ſhires; to *Hugh Peveril*, Guardian of the Peace for *Devon*-ſhire; to *Ralph Arundel*, and *Adam de Gurdun*, by the King, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the others, as before.

[4] *T.W. A.W. p.* 619.

Simon Montfort the younger quits the Siege of *Pevenſie*, and then takes and Plunders *Wincheſter*.

And thence coming to *Northampton*, is reſolved to march towards *Hereford* to relieve his Father.

But being ſurprized and routed by Prince *Edw.* is forc'd to take refuge in the Caſtle of *Kennelworth.*

[4] Whilſt the King continued in *Wales*, *Simon Montfort* the Son, in obedience to the King's (or rather to his Father's) Commands, left the Siege of *Pevenſie* (in which he had no Succeſs) and return'd to *London*, and there having muſter'd up what Forces he could, he came on the 12*th* of *July* to *Wincheſter*; But the Citizens denying him entrance he took it by Storm, and then plundering the Town, and killing many of the *Jews* he found therein, went from thence to *Oxford*, but the Towns-men there being more wary, received him peaceably: And from thence marched triumphantly to *Northampton*, where, being very confident of his own Strength, he reſolved to go on towards *Hereford* to relieve his Father; or elſe if he could meet the Prince by the way, to give him Battel; in order to which, on the laſt Day of *July*, *Simon Montfort* arrived at the Town of *Kennelworth*, where he and his Army quarter'd that Night; but Prince *Edward*, who had now paſs'd through *Worceſter*-ſhire with his Forces, having Intelligence of it, was reſolv'd to try if he could ſurprize them, before they could have any notice of his coming: wherefore making a ſpeedy March all Night, he came by break of Day to *Kennelworth*, and ſetting upon *Simon* and his Men (who were then in their Beds, and, as it ſeems, had no Scouts abroad) he either kill'd or took Priſoners the greateſt part of them, the chiefeſt of whom were the Lord *Robert de Ver*, *William*, Lord *Munchanſey*, and *Adam* of *Newmarket*, with many others; but *Simon Montfort* eſcap'd into the Caſtle and there ſtaid. This great Defeat happen'd the Firſt of *Auguſt*, and prov'd the Ruine of the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Party: For,

[5] *T.W.*

The E. of *Leiceſter* having no notice of his Son's miſfortune quits *Hereford*-ſhire, and marches towards *Warwick* in hopes to meet him.

His [5] Army not being able to ſtay any longer in *Hereford*-ſhire, for want of Forage and Proviſions, the Earl reſolved to lay hold on this opportunity of the Prince's Abſence to paſs the *Severne*, which he did, and ſo march'd towards *Warwick*-ſhire,

to

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to meet and join his Forces to thoſe of his Son *Simon*'s, who (as he heard) was then marching that way towards him, hoping by that means ſo to ſhut up the Prince and his Men between his own and his Son's Army, that they ſhould certainly fall into his hands: but that Miſchief which he deſign'd to others fell upon himſelf; for having no Intelligence of his Son's Miſfortune, he [1] came to *Kemſey*, a Mannor of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s, and there lay all Night, and the next Morning marched by break of Day to *Eveſham*, where, when they came, the King (who was now with him, and whoſe Name and Authority he made uſe of) would needs ſtop there and breakfaſt, and ſo make a ſmall halt.

[1] *A. W.*

The Earl with the K. comes to *Eveſham*, and there make a halt.

In the mean while Prince *Edward*, who was marched back with his Army from *Kennelworth* to *Worceſter* where (having left his Priſoners in ſafe Cuſtody) he advanced forwards towards *Eveſham*, intending (if he could) to meet with and ſurprize the Earl of *Leiceſter*, for he heard he was not then far from that place: wherefore to hinder all Intelligence by the Earl's Spies, he at firſt made as if he would go towards *Shrewsbnry* or *Stafford*, but went not above two or three Miles that way before he changed his courſe, and ſo marching all Night, arrived next Morning not far from *Eveſham*: [2] And the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Barber happening to go up into the Tower of the Abbey (where the King and his Lord then were) from thence diſcover'd the Prince's Army marching in Three Bodies, the Firſt led by himſelf, the Second by the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and the Third by the Lord *Roger Mortimer*; this being told the Earl, he was in hopes at firſt, that it might be his Son coming to his Aſſiſtance; but not long after being aſſured by their Enſigns that they were the Enemy, the Earl then began to deſpair, and ſaid, *Lord have Mercy upon our Souls, for our Bodies are theirs*; and ſince it was now too late to Retreat, he was reſolved to fight it out, and either Conquer or Die. Then (as [3] the ſame Author relates) his eldeſt Son *Henry* deſired him *not to deſpair, ſeeing that the chance of War was doubtful*; he anſwered, *Son, I do not deſpair, but I fear your own and your Brother's Pride and Preſumption have ruined us. Nevertheleſs, I hope I ſhall die for the cauſe of God and Juſtice.* Upon this all of them arming themſelves as faſt as they could, marched out of the Town to give them Battel, the King being likewiſe (tho' unwillingly) made to put on his Armour, and march out againſt his own Son, at the Head of thoſe that were his Enemies: but when they came out into the open Field, above the Town, the Two Armies met and joined Battel, when at the very firſt Onſet, the *Welſh-men* that were with the Earl of *Leiceſter* ran all away, many of whom were drown'd in the River *Avon*; nevertheleſs the Battel was very fierce, and laſted a long time, from about One of the Clock till Night; wherein the Earl (his Forces being overcome) was there Slain, together with many Lords and Noblemen, (to wit) *Henry Montfort*, his Son; *Hugh d' Eſpenſer*, the Juſtitiary; *Peter de Montfort*; *William de Mandeville*, *Ralph Baſſet*, *Roger de St. John*, and many other Knights and Eſquires of Note: there

In the mean while Prince *Edw.* marches towards the ſame Place, in hopes to ſurprize the Earl.

[2] *W. H. p.* 586.

Near which the Prince arrives, without being diſcovered.

Upon the diſcovery of the Prince's approach, the Earl begins to deſpair.

[3] *Id. ib.*

The Earls Anſwer to his Son *Henry*.

The E. Arms, and marches out of *Eveſham*, againſt the Prince, and carries the King along with him.

The Battel is begun, in which *Simon Montfort*, with his Son *Henry*, and many other Barons are ſlain, and their Army totally routed.

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there were alſo taken Priſoners *Guy de Montfort*, the Earl's Third Son, *John Fitz-John*, *Henry de Haſtings*, and divers others whoſe Names 'twere needleſs here to recite; whilſt on the Prince's ſide there fell no more of Note than One Knight and Two Eſquires.

[4] *T. W.*
[5] *P.* 587.
King *Henry* is wounded in the Shoulder, but is reſcued by *Adam de Montalt*.

[4] This Battel was fought near the Town of *Eveſham*, on the 4*th* Day of *Auguſt*: And [5] *Walter Hemingford* relates, that King *Henry* being there Wounded in the Shoulder, was like to have been kill'd, had he not cried out, *I am* Henry *of* Wincheſter, *your King*, *kill me not*; at which *Adam de Montalt* running in, ſaved him; and the Prince his Son, not being far off, ran to him, and having only begged his Bleſſing, as being then in great haſte, left him to be guarded by ſeveral of his Knights, till the Fight was over and the Victory compleated.

[1] *M. W.*
The Bodies of *Simon Montfort* and his Son are buried in the Choir of *Eveſham*-Abbey.

[2] *W. H.*

Simon Montfort is counted a Saint by the Monkiſh Writers of that Age.

[1] After which the King and the Prince his Son marching back into the Town, left the Bodies of *Simon Montfort* and *Henry* his Son, with *Hugh le Deſpenſer*, to be buried by the Monks of *Eveſham*, before the High Altar of that Church; but the Earl's Body was firſt diſmembred, the Head, Arms, Legs, and Privy Parts being cut off: [2] But his Head was ſent to the Wife of *Roger Mortimer*, as a Token of the Victory, at which the Monkiſh Writers of that Time make great Exclamations; for ſince he paid ſo great a Deference to the Clergy, no wonder if they looked upon him as a mighty Champion for the Liberties of the Church and Kingdom; and I have ſeen at the end of an antient Manuſcript in the Publick Library at *Cambridge*, after a great many rhyming Verſes in his Praiſe, certain Prayers directed to him as a Saint, for no leſs did moſt of the Clergy and Common People of that Age eſteem him; inſomuch that ſeveral Miracles being ſaid to be done at his Tomb, the Pope's Legate by his order forbad that Superſtition.

The Annals of *Waverly*, as well as other Writers, alſo take notice, that about the time of his Death there was a very great Storm of Thunder and Lightning and Rain, attended with a wonderful Darkneſs, of which there may be made a bad as well as a good Interpretation; but he was certainly a great Pretender to Godlineſs, and outwardly very ſtrict in Religious Duties, never beginning any Battel without Publick Prayers and Confeſſion, which gained him a great Reputation for Sanctity among the Clergy of that Age: yet notwithſtanding all his good Qualities, he was certainly a very ambitious Man, and very ungrateful to his Prince, who had raiſed him ſo high from a *French* younger Brother of a ſmall Fortune, that he not only permitted him to marry his Siſter, but made him one of the greateſt Men of *England*; yet nothing leſs would ſatisfie his Ambition, than the Sole Government of the Kingdom. He was alſo perfidious, as appears by his not ſtanding to the Arbitrement of the King of *France*, which he himſelf had agreed to; but as a juſt Reward of his Demerits, he and all his Family periſhed and came to nought, and that in a few Years. But to return to the Matter from whence we have digreſſed.

[3] Not long after this Battel a great many of the Barons of *Ireland* came over to the King's Aſſiſtance, (to wit) *Maurice Fitz-Gerard*, *Maurice Fitz-Maurice*, *Walter de Burgh*, *Theobald Botiller*, and many others, whoſe Names need not be here ſet down.

[3] *A. W. p.* 226.

[4] When *Simon Montfort* the Younger heard of the Death of his Father and Brother, and the total Rout of their Army, he was extreamly diſmayed; and tho' he would not then ſurrender the Caſtle of *Kenellworth*, in which he had remain'd ever ſince his late Defeat, [5] yet did he not think it convenient to detain his Uncle the King of the *Romans*, and divers other Noblemen, who had been there kept Priſoners, any longer in Cuſtody, but ſet them free without any Conditions; hoping (I ſuppoſe) by their Mediation to gain better Terms from the King, if ever he ſhould be forced to implore his Mercy: Alſo the Wife of *Hugh le D'eſpenſer*, who then held the Tower of *London* for her Husband, upon the News of his Death diſcharg'd all the Priſoners whom ſhe had there in her Cuſtody (except the Earl of *Ferrars*) and ſhe her ſelf retired to her Father the Lord *Philip Baſſet*, there to bewail her Misfortune.

[4] *Id. ib.*

[5] *Id. ib. T. W. p.* 71.

The Wife of *Hu. le D'eſpenſer* diſcharges the Priſoners in the *Tower.*

[1] Then the King left *Eveſham*, and went back to *Worceſter*, where he ſtaid a few Days; and having now regain'd his Liberty, whileſt he continued there revoked moſt of the Patents he had been obliged to paſs whileſt he was in the Power of *Simon Montfort*, as being made without his Conſent. Thus (for inſtance) we find among the Rolls in the *Tower*, that the Earl of *Leiceſter* having paſs'd a Grant of the Treaſurerſhip of the Church of *York* upon *Almeric de Montfort*, a Kinſman of his own, the King having now got his Seal into his own Hands, revoked that Grant, and beſtowed the Place upon *Edmund Mortimer*, Brother to the Lord *Roger Mortimer*: This *Patent bears Date the Seventh of *Auguſt*, at *Worceſter*; and may ſerve as a Reaſon, why ſo many Writs and Commiſſions were this Year iſſued out in the King's Name againſt his own Son, and all his Adherents, after his Eſcape from *Hereford*.

[1] *W. H.* The King comes to *Worceſter*, and there revokes the Grants he had been made to paſs whil'ſt he was in the Cuſto-dy of *Simon Montfort.*

* *Rot. Pat.* 49 *Hen.* 3. *m.* 11. *intus in ſedula conſuta.*

And it farther appears upon the ſame Roll, that the next Day the King (being willing to ſhew Mercy upon Offenders) by the Mediation of ſome Biſhops and others, offered to receive the Burgeſſes of *Hereford* into his Protection, provided they would pay a ſufficient Fine for all their Offences againſt him and his Son *Edward*: Wherefore on the Twenty fourth of the ſame Month (as appears by the * Record) they were fined at Five hundred and ſixty Marks, which was a great Sum in thoſe Days to be paid by ſo ſmall a City.

The King receives the Burgeſſes of *Hereford* into his Protection, upon payment of a Fine.

* *Rot. Pat.* 49 *H.* 3. *m.* 38.

Theſe Affairs being thus diſpatch'd, [2] the King left *Worceſter*, and marched to *Wincheſter*, and there held a Parliament, to which all the Biſhops and Abbots and Great Men of *England* were ſummon'd, who had not been engaged in the War againſt him, only Four Biſhops were excepted, (that is) the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *London*, *Worceſter*, and *Litchfield*, they having been entirely of the Baron's Faction.

[2] *A.W. G.R.* The K comes to *Wincheſter*, and there holds a Parliament.

[3] *M. W.* The King and the Nobility decree, that the City of *London* ſhould forfeit its Liberties.

[3] In this Parliament the King and the Great Men decreed, that the City of *London* ſhould for her Rebellion forfeit all her Liberties, and that the Poſts and Chains therein ſhould be taken away, and the Richer ſort of Citizens committed to Priſon, which was ſoon after ſeverely put in execution: But *Will. Riſhanger* is certainly miſtaken, for he makes theſe Things to have been actually done now, which were not perform'd till the King's coming to *Windſor*.

* *Rot. Pat.* 49 *H.* 3. *m.* 8. *Dorſ.*

It alſo appears upon * Record in the *Tower*, that this Parliament gave the King the preſent Seiſin or Poſſeſſion of all the Rebel's Lands; and he now appointed Two Commiſſioners in each County, who with the Sheriff were to extend them, and return the Extent, with the Names of the Lands, and their late Owners, to himſelf at *Weſtminſter*, by the Feaſt of St. *Edward*, (that is, the Thirteenth of *October*) next enſuing; and they were to appoint Two Collectors in every Hundred, to gather the *Michaelmaſs*-Rents, and to deliver to the Commiſſioners a Note what they were, as appears by the Commiſſion it ſelf, bearing Date at *Wincheſter* the Twenty firſt of *September*; by which *William Bagot* and *Robert du Grendon* were appointed for the Counties of *Warwick* and *Leiceſter*: and Commiſſioners were ordered after the ſame manner for the reſt of the Counties of *England*, whoſe Names you may find immediately after the Commiſſion it ſelf, in Dr. *Brady*'s * Appendix, to which I refer the Reader. [4] But the Doctor is certainly under a Miſtake, when he makes theſe Lands to have been then abſolutely beſtowed upon the King in this very Parliament; for this Record now cited does not ſay ſo much, only that they were to be ſeized into the King's Hands; but they were not veſted in him till the next Seſſion of this Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, as you will ſee anon.

* *N.* 223.
[4] *Comp. Hiſt.* *p.* 653.

[5] *A. W.* Prince *Llewellyn* had newly invaded *Cheſhire*.

The K. ſends Forces againſt him, but with ill Succeſs.

[5] Yet Matters could not be then throughly ſettled, becauſe Prince *Llewellyn* had newly invaded *Cheſhire* with a great Army, and had taken and raſed the Caſtle of *Hameclin*; wherefore there being a neceſſity to ſend ſome Forces thither, to ſtop his further Progreſs, the Parliament was adjourned to the Feaſt of St. *Edward* at *Weſtminſter*: then the King ſent the Lord *Maurice Fitz-Gerard*, and *Hamond L' Eſtrange*, againſt *Llewellyn*, who marching into thoſe Parts, and fighting with him, had but very ill Succeſs, being ſhamefully put to flight, and many of their Knights and Souldiers ſlain.

But to return to the Affairs of *England*, from which this Account of the *Welſh* is but a Digreſſion.

[1] *Annal. de Civit. Lond.* The K. comes to *Windſor*, and the Citizens of *London* get ſome Monks to intercede for them, but in vain.

[1] So ſoon as this Seſſion of Parliament was over, about *Michaelmaſs*, the King removed from *Wincheſter*, and came to *Windſor* with a great Force, intending (as the Report went) to have deſtroyed the City of *London*, for her obſtinate Rebellion againſt him; which when the Mayor and Aldermen heard, they were terribly afraid, tho' many of the mad-headed Commoners were for defending the City againſt the King; yet after ſeveral Conſultations and Debates, it was at laſt agreed by the major Part of the Better Sort of

Citizens, to get ſome Religious Perſons or Monks (for whom the King had a great Reſpect) to intercede for them: But all their Interceſſions ſignified nothing, ſo much was the King at that time incenſed againſt the City, thro' the inſtigation of ſome of his Chief Counſellors.

[2] So that this Courſe not prevailing, they were at laſt adviſed by ſome of their Friends at Court to paſs an Inſtrument under their Common Seal, whereby they ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelves and all they had to the King's Mercy; which being done accordingly, it was forthwith ſent to him by Eight Citizens, who had the beſt Intereſt at Court; but in their Way thither, they were met by Sir *Roger Leyburn*, who told them, it was the King's Pleaſure they ſhould return home, ſince he was entruſted to deliver them his Majeſtie's Commands; ſo going with them till they came pretty near the City, he then left them, and went the neareſt Way to the Tower, where he took up his Quarters; but at his departure ordered the Mayor, and all the Principal Citizens, to meet him the next Morning at *Barking*-Church; which Order they punctually obey'd, and then Sir *Roger* in a long Speech laid before them the Heinouſneſs of their Crime, and the great Interceſſion that had been made for their Pardon; therefore their only Way to obtain it, was, to ſend the King their above-mentioned Submiſſion by him, under their Common Seal, which they preſently delivered up to him.

[2] *Id. ib.* The City is forced to ſeal a Charter to the King under their Seal, whereby they wholly ſubmit themſelves to his Mercy.

[3.] Then about Six Days after he returned, and meeting them at the ſame Place, let them know, that the King at the Interceſſion of their Friends had received their Submiſſion, and as a Tryal of their future Obedience, commanded all their Poſts to be pulled up, and the Chains taken away, with which the Ends of their Streets were barricado'd; and that his Majeſty's farther Pleaſure was, that the Mayor, and about Forty of the Principal Citizens, ſhould come the next day to *Windſor*, and further confirm the ſaid Inſtrument, and that they ſhould have the King's Safe-Conduct for Four Days, both to go and return, which he then alſo delivered them under his Seal; upon Confidence of which, the Mayor and Forty of the Chief Citizens went to *Windſor*, but finding the King gone abroad for his Recreation, they ſtaid for his Return: When he came home, tho' he ſaw them waiting for him, yet he took no notice at all of them, only they were bid to attend: But tho' the King preſently commanded, that no Man of what Degree ſoever ſhould do them any Injury in Word or Deed, yet he ſent them word, that he would not ſpeak with them that Night; whereupon they were delivered to the Cuſtody of the Conſtable of the Caſtle, who locked them up in a large Tower, where they had hard Fare, and worſe Lodging.

[3] *Id. ib.* The Mayor and Citizens are required to pull up their Poſts and Chains.

The Mayor and Forty of the Principal Citizens attend the King at *Windſor*, and are put in Priſon, notwithſtanding his Safe-Conduct.

[4] Then the next Day they were diſcharged out of the Caſtle, and kept by the Conſtable in ſeveral Lodgings in the Town, as he thought fit, except *Thomas Fitz-Thomas* (then Mayor,) *Michael Thony*, *Stephen Buckerell*, *Thomas Pynelſdon*, and *John de Fleet*, whom, as being Principal Ringleaders of their late Rebellion, he had granted to his Son Prince *Edward*, by whoſe Order they were

[4] *Id. ib.* But are all ſet free, yet kept in Cuſtody in the Town, except the Mayor and Four more.

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kept cloſe Priſoners a long time, (notwithſtanding their Safe-Conduct,) till they had paid him ſufficient Ranſoms for their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates: But when the reſt of the Citizens heard of this ſevere Uſage, many of the moſt guilty privately conveyed away their Goods and Perſons, and never return'd back any more, which tended much to the City's Impoveriſhment.

And indeed *Thomas Wikes* here very well obſerves, that tho' theſe Citizens had juſtly deſerved the King's Diſpleaſure, yet that it was mean, and unworthy his Character, thus to break the Safe-Conduct and Protection he had ſo ſolemnly given them, and without which they would never have appear'd before him: Nor can I ſee any Excuſe could be made for theſe Proceedings, unleſs that they were only in perſuance of the late Ordinance of Parliament at *Wincheſter*, with which the King might ſay, he had no Power to diſpenſe.

The King having ſeized the Liberties of the City, makes ſeveral Noblemen Keepers of it.

* *Rot. Pat.* 49 *H.*3.*n.*22. *Vid.* Dr.*B's Append.* n.224.

And I ſuppoſe it was during this Interval, that the King whileſt he was at *Windſor*, ſeized all the City-Liberties, and in ſtead of a Mayor, appointed *Humphrey de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *John de Baliol*, *Roger de Leyburn*, and *Roger Walerand*, Guardians of the City, by his Writ (ſtill upon * Record) directed to them, farther reciting, That whereas the Mayor, Citizens, and whole Community of the City aforeſaid, had ſubmitted themſelves both as to their Lives and Limbs, as well as their Lands, Tenements, and Eſtates, to the King's Mercy, therefore they were to cauſe Proclamation to be made, that his Peace ſhould be firmly kept in the City and Parts adjoining: Dated at *Windſor* the Sixth of *October*.

* *Rot. Pat.* 49 *H.* 3. *n.* 8. *id. Append. n.*225.

And appoints *Phil. de Covel* to keep the Sheriff's Court.

The King then iſſued forth another * Writ of the ſame Date, whereby he commands thoſe who were to appear at the County-Court for *Middleſex*, to appear before and obey *Philip de Covel*, whom he then appointed Sheriff, and who was to hold the Court that Day in the Record above-mentioned.

[5] *Annales de Hide Ms. in Bibl. Bod. NE. A.* 3. 19.

[1] *T. W.*

The K. comes to *Weſtminſter*, keeps the Feaſt of St. *Edward*, and then the Parliament meets again.

[2] *M. W.*

The Eſtates of the Rebellious Barons being given to the King, he beſtows them on thoſe that had ſerved him. Yet ſome are admitted to compound.

[5] When the King had thus humbled the City, he went to his Palace of *Weſtminſter*, [1] and there celebrated the Feaſt of St. *Edward*, at which he appearing among his Nobility in Majeſtick State, with his Crown on his Head, ſeemed to have recovered that Royal Splendour which had been ſo long eclipſed: So ſoon as the Feſtival Solemnity was over, the Parliament, which was adjourned hither from *Wincheſter*, was again aſſembled, and laſted Eight Days, where the King and the Great Men treated of the Affairs of the Kingdom; and one of the Chief Things they then did was, [2] to paſs Sentence of Diſheriſon and Forfeiture of Eſtate upon all the King's Enemies in the late Rebellion; whoſe Lands being now given to Him, he preſently beſtowed them on thoſe who had ſerved him faithfully in this War, tho' this was, not long after, the Cauſe of a new Rebellion, as you will find anon: yet however, ſome of theſe diſinherited Noblemen were now admitted to redeem their Eſtates for Money; among whom was *Robert Ferrars* Earl of *Derby* and *Leiceſter*, who was then

reſtored upon certain Conditions, which he never perform'd; whereof it ſeems this was one, That if ever he again fell off from his Allegiance to the King, he ſhould be depriv'd of his Earldoms; which was afterwards put in Execution againſt him for another Rebellion, as you will ſee hereafter.

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Theſe Affairs being thus diſpatch'd, the King, by Commiſſion (ſtill upon * Record) committed the Cuſtody of the City, and Tower of *London*, to Sir *Hugh Fitz-Otto* during pleaſure, he anſwering the Profits of them to the Exchequer, and Sir *Roger Leyburn* (one of her former Guardians) was ordered to deliver them to him; and the Citizens and *Community* of *London* were commanded to be anſwerable, and ſubmit to this *Fitz-Otto*, in all things relating to his Office. This new Guardian (according to the City [3] Annals) appointed Two Citizens in whom he could confide to act as Bailiffs under him.

* *Rot. Pat.* 49 *H.* 3. *m.* 4. The K. commits the Cuſtody of the City & Tower to Sir *Hugh Fitz-Otto*, &c.

[3] *Annal. de London. ib.*

[4] After which the King began to act more ſeverely, and beſtowed upon his Favourites the Houſes and Goods of about Sixty principal Citizens, who were fain to compound for them with thoſe to whom they were granted; then the King took pledges of the beſt Men's Sons in the City, for their Father's peaceable behaviour; and theſe being put into the Tower, were there kept at their Parent's Charge; but after great Suit made to the King, he diſcharged all the reſt of the Citizens, who were under the Cuſtody of the Conſtable of *Windſor*-Caſtle, except Four of the Richeſt and moſt notorious Offenders, who ſtill remain'd in Priſon.

[4] *Id. ib.* The King beſtows the Eſtates of 60 of the principal Citizens upon his Favourites.

[5] Then after freſh Interceſſions on the City's behalf, to know His Majeſty's pleaſure, what Fine he expected for their Offences; he demanded no leſs than Forty Thouſand Pounds, and then fell to Fifty Thouſand Marks; but upon the Citie's humble Remonſtrance, that it was the poorer ſort of Citizens who had been the chiefeſt Offenders, and had ſpoil'd and plunder'd the richer; and that they had alſo received great Loſſes from the Pyrates of the *Cinque-Ports*, during theſe Troubles, they obtained his gracious Favour and Pity.

[5] *Id. ib.* The King demands a Fine of 50000 Marks of the Citizens for their Offences.

[1] But whileſt this Affair was depending, on the *6th* of *December*, the King at his going from *Weſtminſter* to *Northampton* (upon an occaſion of which you will hear more by and by) committed the Government of the City to Sir *John de Linde*, Knight, and Maſter *John Walden*, Clerk, who were to be Guardians or Seneſchals both of the City and Tower; and the Day following the King's Council ſent for Four and Twenty of the moſt notable Men of the City, who when they appear'd before them at *Weſtminſter*, they were inform'd, that it was the King's Pleaſure, that they, under the ſaid Seneſchals, ſhould ſee Peace and good Order kept in the City; and for this they took an Oath before the Council. But to return to more publick Affairs.

[1] *Id. ib.* The K. commits the Government of the City to Sir *John Linde* and Mr. *John Walden*, and under them to 24 of the principal Citizens.

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[2] *T.W.p.*72. The main Tower of *Dover*-Caſtle being ſurprized by the Priſoners, P. *Edward* goes to their Relief, whereupon the Caſtle is ſurrender'd.

[2] Some time after the Parliament broke up, the King had Intelligence that Fourteen Gentlemen, who were Priſoners in the Caſtle of *Dover*, by the means of Two of their Keepers of Confederacy with them, having ſurpriz'd the main Tower of that Caſtle, reſolutely defended it againſt the Gariſon; whereupon Prince *Edward* preſently marched down to the Relief of thoſe Gentlemen who adhered to him in the ſaid Caſtle; and then the Beſieged finding themſelves Attack'd by thoſe within, as well as the Prince's Forces without, thought beſt to ſurrender it upon theſe Conditions; That they might march out with Horſe and Arms, their Lives and Liberties being ſaved. In this Caſtle was alſo taken the Counteſs Dowager of *Leiceſter*, the King's Siſter, and Widow of *Simon Montfort*, who being extreamly Mortified by the late fatal Loſſes of both her Husband and Son, had leave to paſs over into *France*, where ſhe ſpent the reſt of her Days in a Monaſtery.

The Counteſs of *Leiceſter* has leave to go over into *France*.

[3] *Id. ib.* The Queen returns into *England*, and is met by the King at *Canterbury*.

[3] Not long after this, about *All-holland-tide*, Queen *Eleanor*, and her Son Earl *Edmund*, who had been Two Years beyond Sea, Landed at *Dover* with *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate, and were met by the King at *Canterbury*, the King of the *Romans*, and many Earls and Barons attending them thither, to Welcome them; and preſently after they all return'd to *London*, where they paſs'd ſome Weeks with as much Satisfaction as the unquietneſs of the Time would permit: But they were ſoon diſturbed on this occaſion.

[4] *Id.ib.A.W.* *Simon Montfort* leaves *Kenellworth* Caſtle, and retires to the Iſle of *Axholme*, where many of the Diſinherited Barons reſort to him. Againſt whom the Prince marches with a ſtrong Force, and beſieges them in the Iſle, till they were forced to ſurrender it.

[4] About the end of *November*, young *Simon Montfort*, who ſtill kept the Caſtle of *Kenellworth*, fearing a ſpeedy and hazardous Siege, thought it the ſafeſt courſe to quit that Place; wherefore leaving a ſtrong Gariſon in it, and taking along with him Two Barons, *John d' Ayvil*, and *Baldwin Wake*, with a ſtrong Body of Horſe and Foot, he marched from thence (reſolved to make ſome freſh Diſturbance) into the Iſle of *Axholme* in *Lincoln*-ſhire, which being almoſt ſurrounded with Water, he eaſily fortify'd all the Avenues to it, and no ſooner was he there, but many of the diſinherited Barons reſorted to him: So ſoon as the King heard of it, he left *London*, (as you have already heard) and went to *Northampton*, where he muſter'd up a ſufficient Army, which he preſently ſent into thoſe Parts, under the Command of his Son Prince *Edward*, who cloſely beſieged his Couſin *Simon* in that Iſle till after *Chriſtmaſs*, and then he was forced to ſurrender himſelf, as you will find hereafter.

[5] *A. W.* The Inhabitants of the *Cinque-Ports* again renew the War.

[5] I have nothing more to add concerning Civil Matters, but that the Inhabitants of the *Cinque-Ports* were provoked at the late ill Treatment of the *Londoners*, as alſo becauſe Prince *Edward* had taken and hanged ſome of the Townſmen of *Winchelſea*; whereupon the reſt, together with thoſe of the other Ports, again renew'd the War, and ſetting forth a Fleet, ſail'd to *Portſmouth* about the end of *November*, and not only took that Town, but burnt it to the Ground, and beſides this, did a great many other Miſchiefs both by Sea and Land.

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[1] *M. W.* The Pope's Legate holds a Synod, where he excommunicates the late Earl of *Leiceſter*, and all his Adherents.

[1] As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, this Year affords not many; only *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate, immediately after his Arrival, ſummoned a Synod of all the Clergy at *Weſtminſter*, where he ſolemnly declared *Simon Montfort*, late Earl of *Leiceſter*, and all his Adherents *excommunicated*, as well thoſe that were alive, as thoſe that were dead: Notwithſtanding which, the Monkiſh Writers of theſe Times look'd upon this Man as a Saint, and ſuppoſe many Miracles to have been wrought at his Tomb: So credulous is Superſtition, join'd with a high Opinion of thoſe whoſe Actions their Party admire and cry up for meritorious.

This Year affords very little of Foreign Matters worth our noting, only that Pope *Clement* the Fourth finding the Affairs of *England* in great Confuſion, and that King *Henry* was never like to aſſiſt him in the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, he iſſued out his Bull, whereby he annull'd the Grant made of that Kingdom by Pope *Innocent* his Predeceſſor, to *Edmund* the King's Second Son, (as you have already heard) upon pretence that the Conditions thereof were not duely obſerved on the King's Part: But the true Reaſon was, that the Pope had newly conferr'd this Kingdom upon *Charles* Duke of *Anjou*, and Earl of *Provence*.

* See it at large in *D'acherie's Spicilegium, Tom.* 9. *p.* 207.

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[2] *G. R.* A Great Council at *Northampton*, where is made an Ordinance againſt Thieves.

The King and Queen continued ſtill at *Northampton*, where they kept their *Chriſtmaſs*, together with the King of *Almain*, the Legate, and a great number of Noblemen; in which Aſſembly it is moſt likely (as being a Great Council of the Barons) [3] was made this temporary * Ordinance, That in every County of *England* a Captain ſhould be maintained at the King's Charge, who, with the Aſſiſtance of the Sheriff, ſhould command the Forces or Militia of the County, to reſtrain the Violence of Robbers and Thieves, with which the Nation, ever ſince the late Wars, was then very much infeſted.

[3] *M. W.*

* *Note, Matt. Weſtm.* relates this Law to have been made at that Place; but that could not be, for the Reaſon already given.

[4] *T. W. A. W.* *Simon Montfort* and his Accomplices in the Iſle of *Axholme* ſurrender themſelves, and on what Terms.

[4] But to give the remaining Particulars of the Rebels in the Iſle of *Axholme*; where as ſoon as Prince *Edward* arrived, by the means of ſeveral Bridges of Timber laid from the main Land into that Iſle, he ſo ſtraitned *Simon Montfort* and his Accomplices of Proviſions, that they were at laſt forced Three Days after *Chriſtmaſs*, to ſurrender the Place, upon theſe Conditions: That he and his Accomplices then in the Iſle of *Axholme*, [5] ſhould ſubmit themſelves and ſtand to the Judgment of the King of the *Romans*, and his Nephew Prince *Edward*, ſo that whatever they Two ſhould determine concerning them, ſhould be inviolably obſerved: (To whom *William Riſhanger* alſo adds the Pope's Legate, and the Lord *Philip Baſſet*.) Yet ſtill ſaving to himſelf and his Adherents their Lives and Limbs, and alſo excepting Perpetual Impriſonment. Then *Simon Montfort* was brought by Prince *Edward* to *Northampton*, and there preſented to the King, his Uncle King *Richard* interceding for him, and telling his Brother, that

[5] *T. W. p* 73. *Si. Monfort* is brought to the King. K. *Richard* in vain intercedes for his Pardon.

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[1] *A.W.W.R.* He conſents to deliver up the Caſtle of *Kenellworth*, but it is refuſed by thoſe that kept it.

[2] *M.W.*

that upon the News of the Death of *Simon Montfort* his Father, he had been murthered by thoſe who then kept him Priſoner, had he not been ſaved by this *Simon* his Nephew; upon which Conſideration he was civilly treated by the King, and might ſoon have regained his Favour, had it not been for the Hatred of the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and ſome other of the Barons, his Enemies. [1] But at laſt it was agreed, that *Simon* ſhould deliver up the Caſtle of *Kenellworth* to the King, and depart the Kingdom, and receive out of the Exchequer every Year Five hundred Marks, whileſt he remain'd in Baniſhment: but thoſe within the Caſtle not liking theſe Conditions, would neither yield it to the King nor to *Simon*, but ſaid, they received not the Cuſtody of it from him, but from the Counteſs his Mother, and would ſurrender it to none but her ſelf: And on that Pretence they held that Caſtle near a Year longer, againſt all the Forces the King could bring againſt it. [2] But as for the reſt of the Noblemen and Gentlemen who were in the Iſle of *Axholme* with *Simon Montfort*, upon their taking an Oath never more to bear Arms againſt the King, they were ſet at Liberty, tho' many of them did not long obſerve it.

[3] *Annal. de London.*

Annal. de Hide.

The Citizens of *London* are pardon'd by a Charter, and on what Terms.

* *Rot. Pat.* 50 *H.* 3. *M.* 35.

I ſhall now give you an Account of the Concluſion of the King's Diſpleaſure againſt the City of *London:* [3] Whileſt the King continued at *Northampton*, not long before *Chriſtmaſs*, the Citizens, by the Interceſſion of the Queen and the Pope's Legate, compounded with the King, upon their obliging themſelves to pay him the Sum of Twenty thouſand Marks, for a full Remiſſion and Pardon of all their Treaſons and Miſdemeanors; reciting, That whereas they had made a Fine of Twenty thouſand Marks for their ſaid Offences towards him, his Queen, King *Richard* his Brother, and his Son *Edward*, therefore the King gave them leave again to receive the Rents of their Lands and Tenements, within the City and without, due from *Chriſtmaſs* laſt paſt; and alſo granted that they ſhould have the Goods and Chattels of ſuch Malefactors as had been againſt Himſelf, or his Son *Edward*, in the late War, and had been or were to be indicted; except the Goods and Chattels of thoſe Perſons (already mentioned) whom he had given to his Son *Edward*, with divers other Exceptions, needleſs here to be repeated: And then He further granted to the Citizens Liberty to Trade by Land or by Sea, as freely as they had done in former Times, diſcharging them from all Cuſtom, Toll, &c. until the State of the City ſhould fully be ſettled by his Council; and farther ordered, that no Citizens who in the late Troubles had notoriouſly appeared to have been Enemies to himſelf or Son, for the future ſhould abide or be converſant in the City. This Pardon is dated at *Northampton*, the Tenth of *January*, as remains upon * Record in the *Tower*, in a Schedule faſtned to the Roll, the Original of which is in the Cuſtody of the City.

Dr: *Brady*

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The Guardians of the City are order'd to releaſe their Pledges.

Dr. *Brady* hath given us ſomewhat a larger Abſtract of this Pardon and Reſtitution, which the Reader may conſult if he pleaſes; and at the end of it there follows the King's Order to *John Walerand* and *John de la Lind,* his Guardians of the City of *London,* reciting, that whereas he had received into his Peace (or Favour) the Citizens of *London,* according to a Form granted in his ſaid Letters Patents, that they ſhould therefore releaſe the Pledges or Security of the Citizens whom they had in their Cuſtody, and permit them to go whither they would, except thoſe before excepted. The like Letters were directed to the Conſtable of *Rocheſter* Caſtle, with the ſame *Teſte, viz.* the King at *Northampton,* (dated the 11*th* of *January.*)

Theſe Records will ſerve to confute a great Error in *Matt. Weſtminſter,* who will needs perſuade us that the King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* this Year at that Place which bore this Author's name; and that there alſo the King held a Parliament, which is likewiſe a miſtake.

[3] *T.W. A.W.* The K. returns to *London,* and brings *Simon Montfort* with him, who immediately makes his Eſcape.

And joins with the Privateers of the *Cinque-Ports.*

P. *Edward* is ſent down to reduce thoſe Rebels.

[3] The King's Affairs being now pretty well ſettled, he return'd to *London* a little before *Lent,* bringing *Simon Montfort* his Nephew, as a Priſoner at large, along with him, who preſently after, either not liking the Conditions upon which he was to be ſet free (one of which was, that he ſhould take an Oath not to act any thing during his Baniſhment, againſt the King) and fearing leſt he ſhould be perpetually impriſoned, ſtole away with divers of his Party, and going down to *Winchelſea,* there joined himſelf with a great many Privateers, belonging to the *Cinque-Ports,* who expected his coming; and then going to Sea with them, he lived there a long time as a Pirate. But when the King heard of *Simon*'s departure, about the end of *February,* or beginning of *March,* he ſent down Prince *Edward* with a ſtrong Party to reduce the Rebels of the *Cinque-Ports;* who coming to *Winchelſea,* and aſſaulting the Town, they had a ſharp conflict in the Streets, where ſome were killed, and many more driven into the Sea; and *Henry de Pehan* their Captain being taken, the Prince would have hanged him, had not the E. of *Glouceſter* diſſuaded him from it; which Clemency met with ſo good Succeſs, that not long after all the *Cinque-Ports* came in, and made their Peace upon Condition, that they ſhould enjoy all their Liberties and Cuſtoms contained in their Antient Charters, without being diſinherited, or making any reſtitution for the damages they had done: which ſhews what a great Power thoſe Ports had in that Age, in Men and Shipping.

Pat. 50. H. 3. M. 9. Dorſ.

I find nothing elſe conſiderable done by the King this Year, in favour of the late diſinherited Noblemen and Gentlemen, but that he now iſſued out a ſafe Conduct, whereby all the diſinherited (for by that name all the rebellious Barons, and their Confederates, were known and diſtinguiſhed) had time allowed them to come to the King until *Eaſter,* to treat with him, and to return without Injury to the Places from whence they came; this is upon * Record, and bears date at *Weſtminſter* the 11*th* of *February:* but what Effect it had upon theſe Outlaw'd Gentlemen, I do not find, tho I ſuppoſe they did not approve of the Terms upon which they were to be reſtored, or elſe ſo many of them would not have continued in Arms in divers Parts of *England.*

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**Rot. Pat.* 50. *H.* 3. *m.* 24. The K. orders the Tenths formerly given by the Clergy, to be paid in to certain Bps. † Vid. *Clauſ.* 48. *H.* 3. *M.* 3. *Dorſ.*

Not long after this the King wrote to the Biſhops, and all other Prelates, a * Letter (found upon Record) directed to all the Abbots, Priors, *&c.* of *England*, reciting, that when he was in the Cuſtody of *Simon Montfort*, they had collected a Tenth of all the Church Revenues in *England*, for one Year, for the Defence of the Kingdom and Church of *England*, (as was then pretended) and he now being willing it ſhould be expended for the true Defence and Profit of both, commanded them to pay the ſaid Tenths ſo collected, to the Biſhops of † *Bathe* and *Litchfield* appointed Receivers of it by himſelf, and *Ottobon* the Legate, according to the Form of the Mandate of the ſaid Legate to them directed, dated at *Weſtminſter* the 15*th* of *March*.

[4] *T.W. G.R.* The Rebels in *Kenelworth* Caſtle ſally out, and plunder the Country, and cut off the Hand of the K's Meſſenger.

† *Clauſ.* 50. *H.* 3. *M.* 5. *Dorſ.* The K. ſummons all that owed him Service, to meet him at *Oxford*, to march againſt *Kenelworth* Caſtle.

[4] In the mean time the Rebels that were in *Kenelworth* Caſtle, made it their buſineſs to ſally out, and plunder the adjacent Countries, thereby ſtoring it ſo well with all ſorts of Proviſions, that it was thought able to hold out for a long time; and they grew ſo inſolent upon it, that in contempt of the King's Authority, they cut off the Hand of his Herauld or Meſſenger, whom he had ſent into the Caſtle to ſummon them to ſurrender it, and ſo ſent him back in that woful Condition: wherefore the King being highly provoked with this Barbarity, commanded by his Writ (ſtill upon † Record) that all the Sheriffs of *England* ſhould make Proclamation in their ſeveral Counties, and all Market Towns, that all who owed him Service ſhould perſonally appear with Horſe and Arms; and beſides their ſaid Service, they ſhould meet him at *Oxford* with all the Force they could raiſe, within three Weeks after *Eaſter*, to go along with him againſt his Enemies and Rebels in *Kenelworth* Caſtle; and ordered Watches to be ſet in Towns and Burghs of every Country. The reſt being of no great Moment, I omit. This bears date at *Weſtminſter* the 15*th* of *March*.

[5] *A. W.* The K. comes to *Oxford*, and marches from thence to beſiege that Caſtle. [1] *Id.ib.W.H.* The City of *Lincoln* is ſurprized, but retaken by P. *Edward*.

[5] About the middle of *April*, the King came to *Oxford* with a great Army, and lodged in the Caſtle, and after about a Week's ſtay there, marched (with the Forces that then met him) to *Northampton*, in order to beſiege *Kenelworth* Caſtle; [1] yet the King did not go thither preſently, but continuing ſome time at *Northampton*, ſent his Son Prince *Edward* to reduce the City of *Lincoln*, which had been lately ſurprized and plunder'd by ſome of thoſe Rebellious Barons, who had formerly taken the Iſle of *Axholme*; but ſo ſoon as the Prince approached the City, the Rebels quitted it, and for a time diſperſed themſelves into other Places, tho before the end of Autumn they again rallied, and ſeized the Iſle of *Ely*, as you will find anon.

[1] *Id.ib.W.H.* A freſh Rebellion breaks out, which hinders the K. from beſieging *Kenelworth* Caſtle. [5] The E. *Ferrars*, and ſome other Noblemen begin another Rebellion.

But in the mean time a freſh Rebellion broke out in the [2] North Parts of *England*, which for a while diverted the King from marching againſt *Kenelworth* Caſtle. For about the end of *April*, or beginning of *May*, *Robert* Earl of *Ferrars*, who had been lately ſet at Liberty by the King, and was to have compounded for his Eſtate, upon the payment of a great ſum of Money (hoping it ſeems to better his Condition) began a freſh Rebellion, and joining with two other Noblemen, *Baldwin Wake*, and *John Dayvill*, with a great number of other Barons and Knights, they again took up Arms, and fell to plunder and ſpoil the North-Weſt Counties, and ſettled their Quarters in a great Wood or Foreſt in thoſe parts, called *Suffeld*

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Frith; which the King hearing of, reſolved to put a ſtop to their Inſolence: but his Son, the Prince, being then otherwiſe imploy'd, he ſent the Lord *Henry*, eldeſt Son to the King of the *Romans*, to command in chief over a ſtrong body of Noblemen and Gentlemen, who marching down into thoſe Parts, [4] came on *Whitſon-eve* to the Town of *Cheſterfield* in *Derbyſhire*, where they ſurprized the Earl *Ferrars*, and the other Noblemen abovementioned (who were then in Bed) but they ſtrait getting up, made the beſt Reſiſtance they could, which occaſioned a very ſharp Fight for a time in the Town; but at laſt the King's Forces obtain'd the Victory, and killing divers of them, took moſt of the reſt Priſoners: but the Earl made a ſhift to get away and hide himſelf in a Church; yet being ſoon after diſcovered there by a Woman, he was likewiſe taken Priſoner, and immediately ſent to be kept in *Windſor* Caſtle: But *John Dayvill* and *Baldwin Wake*, who were of his Party, with ſome others, eſcaped, and got into the Iſle of *Ely*, there to do more Miſchief, as you will hear anon.

[4] *Id.ib.W.H.* *Henry*, Son to K. *Richard*, ſurprizes the E. of *Ferrars*, and puts his Forces to flight, and he himſelf is taken Priſoner.

Prince *Edward* marches againſt *Adam de Gurdun*.

Again, another Knight called *Adam de Gurdun*, had about the ſame time taken up Arms in *Hampſhire*, and lay in certain Woods between *Aulton* and *Farnham*, where with a great number of Men that followed him, he ſpoiled and plunder'd the Country; but the Prince arriving there, and with his Forces ſcowring the ſaid Wood, about Sun-ſet found *Adam* with his Party juſt going to take up their Quarters: but here the Prince had like to have been in no ſmall Danger, for leaping over a Ditch or Trench (which encompaſſed the Rebels Camp) to make his way to them, and his Forces not being able preſently to follow him, he was neceſſitated for ſome time to engage hand to hand with this *Adam* their Leader, who was a ſtrong and valiant Warrier: but at length Prince *Edward* got the better of him, and wounded him; and by that time the Prince's Men came in to his Aſſiſtance, quite routed the Rebels, and took *Adam* Priſoner, and ſent him, by the Prince's Order, in Chains to *Windſor*-Caſtle, there to keep Earl *Ferrars* Company.

Fights with him, and takes him Priſoner.

But *Matt. Weſtminſter* and *Nicholas Trivet*, relate it ſomewhat otherwiſe, and ſay, that tho the Prince cauſed all the reſt of the Rebels he then took to be hanged, yet being in love with this *Adam*'s Valour, he order'd his Wounds to be dreſs'd; and preſenting him that Night to the Queen his Mother at *Guilford*, not only obtain'd his Pardon, but got him reſtored to his Inheritance, and then took him into his particular Favour, who ever after ſerved him faithfully; which was certainly a very remarkable Act of Generoſity in this Brave Prince.

But the Prince gets his Pardon, and reſtores him to his Inheritance.

[5] But ſomewhat to abate the Joy of theſe Victories, about the ſame time the *Welſh* gain'd a great Victory over the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, ſo that his Army being almoſt wholly cut off, he himſelf hardly eſcaped.

[5] *A. W.*

[1] Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, Earl *Edmund* the King's younger Son, was ſent with a ſtrong Party to *Warwick*, to reſtrain the Excurſions and plunderings of thoſe that kept the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*; and not long after the King himſelf followed with his Army, and remained at *Warwick* for ſome days, expecting more Recruits, together with his Engines of Battery. But the Annals of

[1] *T. W.* The K's 2d Son is ſent to *Warwick*, to reſtrain the Excurſions of the Gariſon in *Kenelworth* Caſtle.

[2] *Id. ib.*

The Caſtle being beſieged by the King, is defended by the Rebels with great obſtinacy.

The Pope's Legate, ABp of *Canterbury*, &c. go down to try if they can make a Peace, but in vain; whereupon the Caſtle is cloſely blockt up.

Waverly relate (and that with greater probability) that before *Midſummer* the King ſent his Son the Prince before, with a great part of the Army from *Warwick* towards *Kenelworth*, in order to beſiege it, but that the Gariſon ſallying out, fell upon the Prince's Forces with ſuch Violence, that they beat them back as far as *Warwick*; [2] however it is certain, that preſently after, the King, attended by all the great Men of the Kingdom, (who owed him Knight's Service, by reaſon of their Fees) being arrived in Perſon, began to lay cloſe Siege to the Caſtle on *Midſummer-Eve*, and batter'd it with all ſorts of warlike Engines: but it was altogether in vain; for the Rebels being well victualled, truſted to the ſtrength of the Place, and defended it ſo obſtinately, that a great many Men were killed on both ſides. But when the Siege had continued till towards the end of *Auguſt*, *Ottobon*, the Pope's Legate, with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *London*, went down thither to try if they could propoſe any terms of Peace between the King and thoſe beſieged, but it was all to no purpoſe; for they expecting a ſpeedy and powerful Relief under *Simon de Montfort* from beyond Sea, would hearken to no reaſonable Conditions; wherefore the Legate *excommunicated* all thoſe that held the Caſtle, together with their Adherents in other Places. So that all the King's Forces could then do, was to keep it cloſe block'd up, in hopes they might be forced to ſurrender it at laſt for want of Proviſions.

[3] *Id. ib. W.H.*

John Dayville, and divers others, ſeize the Iſle of *Ely*, and ſallying out, ſpoil the adjacent Counties.

[3] In the mean while *Baldwin Wake* and *John Dayville*, with the reſt of thoſe Rebels who had fled from the Battel of *Cheſterfield*, encreaſing their Forces, had about *Michaelmaſs* ſeized upon the Iſle of *Ely*, (the Inhabitants being too weak to reſiſt them) and there raiſed a dangerous Rebellion; then ſallying out from thence, they ſpoiled the adjacent Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgſhire*, of all their Goods and Proviſions, which they carried away with them into the Iſle: and beſides this, they plunder'd divers other Towns, not ſparing the Ornaments of the Churches.

[4] *A.W. M.W.* The K. holds a Parliament at *Kenelworth*.

Whereupon twelve Bps and Noblemen are appointed to make a Decree concerning the diſinherited Barons.

But the King and Prince were at the ſame time taken up with the Siege of the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, tho they could not reduce it till near half a Year after: And the King being now reſolved to ſettle the Kingdom by the moſt healing Methods he could, at the Requeſt of *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate, and others of his own Biſhops and Nobility, [4] He ſummoned a Parliament to meet at *Kenelworth* Town, on the 24*th* of *Auguſt* following, and there it was agreed by the common Conſent of the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, and all others then preſent, that ſix Perſons, *viz.* the Biſhop of *Exeter*, the Biſhop of *Bathe*, the Earl of *Worceſter*, Sir *Alan de la Zouche*, Sir *Roger Sommery*, and Sir *Robert Walerand*, ſhould be appointed on their Oaths to chooſe ſix others, as well Biſhops as great Men, whom they judged the leaſt Partial, and of the greateſt Experience, who together (according to their beſt underſtanding) were to do what they ſhould think moſt proper for the Security and Peace of the Kingdom. To thoſe twelve were to be committed the Caſe and Facts of all the diſinherited Noblemen, with full Power from the King, and great Men of the Kingdom, to determine and conclude concerning them; and if there aroſe any difference between the ſaid twelve, then that Opinion was to ſtand good and firm, which received the Aſſent and Approbation of the Legate and the Lord *Henry*, Son to *Richard* King of *Almain*; and theſe together were to ſettle all matters by the Feaſt of *All-Saints* next enſuing.

The Preface of which Sentence or Decree, called in Latin *Dictum de Kenelworth*, begins thus: "In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, *Amen*, to the Honour of God, *&c.* Then follow "the Names of the compoſers of it, *viz. William* Biſhop of *Exon*, "*William* Biſhop of *Bathe* and *Wells*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, "*Thomas* Biſhop of *St. Davids*, *Gilbert de Clare* Earl of *Glouceſter*, "*Humphrey* Earl of *Hereford*, *Philip Baſſet*, *John Bayloſſe*, *Robert* "*Walop*, *Alein de la Zouche*, *Roger de Somery*, and *Warryn de Baſyngburne*, together with the Pope's Legate, and the aboveſaid "*Henry* of *Almain*, who were appointed to provide for the good "Eſtate of the Realm, and namely for the Redemption of certain "Perſons diſinherited; having thereunto full Power from the King, "and the other Barons, and Counſellors, according to the Form "written and confirmed in the general and ſpecial Letters of the "ſaid King, and as the other aforenamed had ordered and agreed in "manner following, *&c.*

They draw up the Decree, called *Dictum de Kenelworth.*

From whence we may obſerve, that this * Decree or Statute derives its Authority, not only from the King, but alſo from his Barons and Counſellors in Parliament; and is ſaid to be a Statute, being entitled *Dictum de Kenelworth*; that is, the Award or Agreement made at *Kenelworth* by the King, his Noblemen and Commons.

* *Dictum.*

Vide Raſtal's Statutes, *Vol. I. P.* 13.

It being intended to better the Condition of the Diſinherited, and to turn the Forfeitures, and loſs of their Eſtates, into a Compoſition in Money for them; therefore the Offenders were divided into ſeveral Ranks and Articles, according to the greatneſs of their Offences, after the following Order.

The Heads of this Decree.

1. Concerning them that began the War, and perſevered in it.
2. They that were at *Cheſterfield*, againſt that King in Battel.
3. All thoſe that violently and malitiouſly kept *Northampton* againſt the King.
4. All thoſe that had fought againſt the King at the Battel of *Lewes*.
5. All them that were in *Kenelworth* Caſtle, who came from the ſacking of *Wincheſter*, or were in any other place againſt the King, whom he had not pardoned.
6. All them that fought againſt him at *Eveſham*.
7. All that were in the Fight at *Cheſterfield*.
8. All that freely, wilfully, and uncompelled, ſent any Aid or Service, againſt the King, or his Son.
9. The Bailiffs, and Servants of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, that plundered their Neighbours, burnt their Houſes, or killed them, or did other Miſchiefs.

All theſe abovementioned were to pay the value of their Lands for five Years; and if they paid their Redemption Money within that time, they were to have their Lands again: this Compoſition was to be paid at two or three payments, but if they paid the whole Sum at once, then all their Lands were to be delivered them preſently;

ſently; if half, then but half; if a third part, then they were to have no more than a third part of their Lands reſtored.

But if they were not able to raiſe any Money at all, then their Lands were to remain in the Hands of thoſe to whom the King had given them, till the Money was raiſed out of the Profits of their Eſtates: and out of thoſe Compoſitions the King was to gratify ſuch as had done him faithful Service.

10. Then follow certain Clauſes concerning the Heirs of ſuch of the Diſinherited whoſe Fathers were dead, they being as yet under Age; for theſe their Lords were to pay their Fines for them, and to raiſe them out of their Eſtates.

11. Alſo all the King's Grants of Wardſhips of ſuch Heirs were to hold good till they came of Age, and then they were to be reſtored to their Eſtates upon the ſame Terms as others, in the ſame Condition.

12. All thoſe that were then in the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, were to be admitted after the common Form, or Terms of Peace with the reſt, except *Henry Haſtings*, and thoſe who maimed the King's Meſſenger.

He was at this time Governour, or Commander in Chief at *Kenelworth* Caſtle.

13. The Earl *Ferrars* and *Henry Haſtings* were to pay ſeven years Profits of their Eſtates.

14. Thoſe who had committed leſs Offences than theſe abovenamed, might compound ſome for three Years, ſome two Years, others one Year, or half a year's Rent of their Lands, according to the nature of their Crime: thoſe that had no Lands were to be puniſhed in their Goods.

Note, in the Manuſcript Copy in the *Cottonian* Library, there are divers other things which need not be here recited; only this is worthy our Obſervation, that at the beginning of this Edict, are theſe remarkable Clauſes following, *viz.*

All Obligations, Writings, or Inſtruments made by the King or his Son, concerning the late *Oxford* Proviſions, or made or entered into by any of the King's faithful Subjects, by reaſon of the Troubles, were declared Null and Void by this Sentence; and thereby alſo it was declared that the King might and ought to exerciſe his Royal Power and Authority, without the hindrance or contradiction of any one, yet that the Great Charter, and Charter of the Foreſt, were to remain in full force by this Judgment.

Theſe Commiſſioners alſo humbly beſeech the King and Legate, that under the Penalty both of corporal Puniſhments, and eccleſiaſtick Cenſures, they would ſtrictly forbid any to ſpeak of *Simon Montfort* as a Saint, or to ſpread abroad the vain and fooliſh Miracles reported of him.

They alſo farther beſeech the Legate to abſolve the King, and all others of the Kingdom, both great and ſmall, from the Oaths they had taken, to obſerve thoſe Charters (concerning the late *Oxford* Proviſions) to the obſervation whereof they were bound by the Sentence of *Excommunication* pronounced againſt ſuch as did not obſerve them.

Anno Dom. MCCLXVI.

This Decree or Statute called *Dictum de Kenelworth* was publiſhed and proclaim'd in the * Camp at, or before *Kenelworth*, on the 31*ſt* of *October*, in the Year of Grace 1266. and of the Reign of King *Henry* the 51*ſt*.

This Law or Edict is much more prolix in the Original; but being now of no other uſe than to inform the Curious, I have only given you the Heads of it: what is here added, and not in the Latin Copy printed by *Tothil*, nor in *Raſtal's* Engliſh Statutes, is to be found in the † Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library, with which I have compared this Tranſlation.

*It is in *Caſtris* in the Manuſcript Copies, and not *Caſtro*, as in the printed *Raſtal*, and Dr. *Brady's* Tranſlation of it.

† *Claudius*, D. 2.

And therefore in the printed Copies of this Edict, theſe words, *dat. in Caſtro de Kenelworth*, (as if the Caſtle was then, or ſome time before ſurrendered) are Erroneous, for indeed it held out till almoſt *Chriſtmaſs* following, as all our Hiſtorians, both printed and Manuſcript, agree.

A great Error in the printed Copies of this Statute, which hath led Dr. *Brady* into the miſtake of making this Caſtle to have been ſurrender'd in *July*.

[5] And this perhaps might lead Dr. *Brady* into that miſtake, that it was delivered about the twentieth of *July* before; yet the Writ which he cites from the * Record, dated the twenty firſt of that Month, directed to the Sheriffs of *Staffordſhire* and *Shropſhire*, not to diſturb ſeveral therein named, who were then admitted to the King's Peace, having been before in Arms (tho in other Places, and not there) does not prove that the Caſtle was then taken, unleſs the Doctor could likewiſe make it out that the Perſons therein mentioned had been actually in it, which I believe would be very hard for him to do; for tho the Summons for this Parliament to meet at *Kenelworth* bears date the twenty ſecond of *Auguſt*, yet does it not from thence follow, that the Caſtle was at that time in the King's Power; ſince tho they certainly met at the Town of *Kenelworth* before the Caſtle was taken, yet they did not all continue there till ſuch time as this Sentence or Decree could be finiſhed and proclaim'd, but were either Diſſolved or Adjourned to *Northampton* (a Place of better Reception) as you will find by and by.

[5] Compl. Hiſt. *p.* 657.

* *Cl.* 50. *H.* 3. *M.* 2.

But notwithſtanding the great Clemency and Moderation of thoſe Biſhops and Lords, who were authorized to draw up this Statute or Decree of *Kenelworth*; yet it wrought no effect at all upon the Rebels, for thoſe in the Caſtle ſtill continued obſtinate, and refus'd to ſubmit to them; as did alſo *John Dayville*, and his Party in the Iſle of *Ely*, who not only ſlighted it, but ſtill continued to make freſh Excurſions, waſting and plundering the Countries round about.

T. W.

[1] To put ſome ſtop to theſe Violences, the Legate called a Synod of the Clergy at *Northampton*, at the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, and *excommunicated* all thoſe who were then in Arms againſt the King, and all Clergymen that favour'd *Simon Montfort*, and gave him any Aſſiſtance, as particularly *John* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Henry* Biſhop of *London*, and *Stephen* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; who being alſo ſuſpended, were all not long after fain to go to *Rome*, to beg the Pope's Abſolution.

[1] *G. R. W. H.*

The Legate holds a Synod at *Northampton.*

But the Reader may take notice, that tho the Continuator of *Matt. Paris* places this Council under the next Year, yet he is certainly miſtaken; for the Annals of *Waverly* and St. *Auguſtin*, as well as *Walter Hemingford's* Chronicle, all agree, that beſides the

Synod

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A Parliament alſo at *Northampton,* wherein the Statute of *Kenelworth* is confirmed.

Synod abovemention'd, the King held alſo a Parliament at the ſame time at *Northampton,* wherein all thoſe who ſtill maintain'd the Faction of *Simon Montfort* were diſinherited; that is, (as the Annals of *Waverly* well explain it) the late Statute or Decree made at *Kenelworth* was then confirm'd in another Aſſembly, I ſuppoſe either becauſe many of the Biſhops and Clergy were not preſent before, by reaſon of the Army that was then quarter'd about *Kenelworth,* or rather for want of Lodgings and other Accommodations in ſo ſmall a Place.

[2] *T. W.* The Rebels of the Iſle of *Ely* plunder *Norwich* and *Cambridg.*

[2] But it ſeems, notwithſtanding the late Excommunication of the Rebels, thoſe in the Iſle of *Ely* were arrived to that Inſolence, and became likewiſe ſo powerful, as to march out of the Iſle as far as the rich City of *Norwich,* which they ſurprized and plundered, to the value of above twenty thouſand pounds; and in their return did the like to the Town of *Cambridg,* carrying away from thence not only ſeveral *Jews,* but alſo the richeſt of the Townſmen, whom they kept Priſoners till they would ranſom themſelves at exorbitant Rates.

[3] *Id. ib.*

[3] But it is now time to return to the Siege of *Kenelworth* Caſtle, which having been blocked up moſt of the laſt Summer, and all this Winter, the Beſieged were thereby driven to that Extremity, as to eat their Horſes; at length all manner of Proviſions and Fewel failing, (the Cold being very ſevere) they began to make a much more feeble Defence than they had hitherto done; ſo that about the beginning of *November* they were forced to Capitulate, and at laſt agreed for the delivery of the Caſtle within the ſpace of forty days, if it were not relieved by their Lord, *Simon Montfort,* before that time: and for the true performance of this, Sir *Richard* de *Edmundevill,* and ſeven other Knights, were delivered as Hoſtages till that time was accompliſhed; during which it was alſo agreed, that if their Lord *Simon* relieved the Caſtle, then theſe Hoſtages were to be again return'd into it; but if otherwiſe, the Caſtle was to be delivered when the forty days were expired: but no Relief coming to them within that time, they were forced to ſurrender upon St. *Lucy*'s day, or the 13*th* of *Decemb.* but when the Beſieged march'd out, it was a miſerable ſight to ſee how pale and meager they looked, by reaſon of the great want of Victuals they had ſo long been under; and when the King's Men went into it to take Poſſeſſion, they were almoſt choak'd with the horrid ſtench of the dead Carcaſes, and other Naſtineſs they met there; but as for the Beſieged, they had but too good Terms given them (conſidering their great obſtinacy) for they did not only march out with their Arms and ſuch Horſes as they had left, but alſo with all the rich Plunder they had taken from the adjacent Country before the Siege began; all which, together with their Lives and Liberties, were to be ſecured to them.

So that if we conſider the paucity of the Defendants, in compariſon of the great Army that lay before it for near half a Year, in all which time they received no Recruits, either of Men or Proviſions, we muſt grant that this was one of the longeſt Sieges that we can find in Hiſtory of a place remote from the Sea or any Navigable River; and I wonder that ſo conſiderable an Action is ſo ſlightly taken

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taken notice of by moſt of our Hiſtorians, many of whom (tho they mention it as it were by the by) yet all of them, as well in Print as Manuſcript, place the ſurrender of it on the day abovemention'd; tho I ſuppoſe *Roger Wendover* and *Matt. Weſtminſter*, their ſilence as to this particular, has been the occaſion of Dr. *Brady's* great miſtake about it, as hath been already obſerved: but ſo ſoon as the King was poſſeſſed of this ſtrong Caſtle, (being forfeited to him by the Treaſon of the late Earl of *Leiceſter*, his Brother in Law) he beſtowed it upon Earl *Edmund* his ſecond Son, who was alſo ſometime before created Earl of *Derby*, upon the Attainder of *Robert de Ferrars* the late Earl thereof. And as ſoon as the King had ſettled his Affairs in thoſe Parts, he went to *Woodſtock*, and there ſtayed till *Chriſtmaſs*.

[1] *A.W. ib.*

[1] As for the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Year, they are not many more than what hath been already related, only in the late Council or Synod at *Northampton*, there was by the Pope's Legate's Decree granted to the King the Tenths of all the Revenues of all Biſhops, Abbots, and other Clergymen throughout all *England*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*.

[2] *M.W. A.W.*

The death of *Walter* Bp of *Worceſter.*

[2] In *February* this Year, *Walter* de *Cantelupe* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who had been a zealous maintainer of the Baron's Party, and therefore had been *excommunicated* by the Pope's Legate, but lying upon his Death-bed, he was very penitent for his Fault; and therefore ſending to the Legate for Abſolution, he obtained it, and then departed this Life.

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* Note, *Thom. Wikes*, and the Annals of *Waverley*, with ſome others who wrote in the Time of *E.* I. begin the Year about the latter end of the Reign of this King at *Lady-day*.

[3] *T.W. G.R.*

The K. keeps the Feaſt of St. *Edward* with great Solemnity, where he makes the Pope's Legate ſit above him at Dinner.

*This Year (according to the Continuator of *Matt. Paris*, who ſtill begins it at *Chriſtmaſs*) the King kept that Feſtival at *Oxford*, in the Abbey of *Oſney*, together with his Queen and the Pope's Legate, where there were great endeavours uſed to make a Reconciliation between the Earl of *Glouceſter* and the Lord *Mortimer*, but without any Effect; but *Matt. Weſtminſter* ſays he kept this *Chriſtmaſs* at *Coventry*, tho the matter is not much which of them is in the Right; but whereever it was, [3] it is certain that before the Holydays were over, he removed to *Weſtminſter*, there to celebrate the Feaſt of St. *Edward's* Departure, which was always kept on the Vigil of *Epiphany*, at which Solemnity (as *William Riſhanger* relates) many Prelates, Earls, and Barons being preſent, the King cauſed the Pope's Legate to ſit at Dinner in his own Royal Seat, he himſelf ſitting below him, which was a plain owning of the Pope's Superiority even in Temporals. To this Feaſt the Earl of *Glouceſter* was invited, but being again diſcontented at ſome of the King's late proceedings, refuſed to come, yet ſent a Meſſage to the King, admoniſhing him to remove all Strangers from his Councils, and alſo to cauſe the late Proviſions of *Oxford* to be obſerved throughout his Kingdom; which ſhews great fickleneſs in this Lord, ſince he himſelf had been one of thoſe who had contrived the Statute of *Kenelworth*, whereby theſe Proviſions were declared void.

The E. of *Gloceſter*, tho invited to this Feaſt, refuſes to come, and why.

But the true reaſon of his Diſcontent ſeems to have been the King's failure in ſome Promiſes which he had made to him, when he met him at *Eveſham*, the performance of which he now demanded; and the King not anſwering according to his expectations, it produced a freſh Rebellion, as you will find anon.

[4] *A. S. A.*
A Colloquy or Treaty with the Nobility at *London.*

[4] About *Candlemaſs*, the King held a Colloquy, or Treaty with the Nobility at *London*, where I find nothing tranſacted, but that *Matthias de Bezilles*, who had been ſometime before made Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle, was now for ſome Miſdemeanours removed, and the King gave the Cuſtody of it to *Edward Stephens* of *Portcheſter*.

[5] *G. R.*
The K. ſummons a Parliament to meet at St. *Edmundsbury.*

[5] Not long after this leſſer Council was over, the King ſummon'd the Earls, Barons, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and all others that owed him Military Service, to meet him at *St. Edmundsbury*, within eight days after *Candlemaſs*, with Horſe and Arms, to march againſt thoſe that had taken and ſtill held the Iſle of *Ely*: whereupon all but the Earl of *Glouceſter* obeyed the King's Command, and he was then very buſy in the Confines of *Wales*, raiſing a great Army. But *John de Waren* and *William de Valence* were ſent to admoniſh him to come to the Parliament; yet they could not prevail with him any farther, than to obtain certain Letters or Charters, ſealed with his own Seal, by which he engaged never to bear Arms againſt his Lord the King, nor his Son Prince *Edward*, unleſs in his own Defence; nevertheleſs he declared that he would reſiſt *Roger de Mortimer*, and other his Enemies, to the utmoſt of his Power: This he cunningly pretended, becauſe he would not be thought to run again into a downright Rebellion.

The K. ſummons the E. of *Glouceſter* to come to Parliament, who refuſes it, yet ſeals a Charter never to fight againſt the K.

The Bps and Clergy being met, the King and the Legate deſire their Compliance to ſeveral Articles.

When all the Biſhops and Abbots, and Clergy, ſummon'd to this Parliament, were met at the Place abovemention'd, the King and the Legate required their immediate compliance with theſe following Articles, *viz.*

[1] *Id. ib.*

[1] *Firſt*, that the Prelates and Rectors of Churches, ſhould grant them the Tenths of their Churches for three years next to come, as alſo for the Year laſt paſt, in like manner as they gave them the Barons to guard the Sea-Coaſts againſt the Incurſions of Strangers. But to this they anſwered, That the War was begun by evil Deſigns, and by the ſame did ſtill continue, and for that reaſon it was neceſſary to lay aſide thoſe unjuſt Demands, and to treat of the Peace of the Nation, and make uſe of this Parliament for the benefit both of Church and Kingdom; and not go about to extort Money, eſpecially when the Nation was ſo much impoveriſh'd by War, that it muſt be a long time before it could be able to recover it ſelf.

With their Anſwers.

Secondly, They required, that their Churches might be taxed by Lay-men, according to the juſt and true value. To this alſo they anſwered, that That was not reaſonable, but contrary to juſtice, for Lay-men to meddle with collecting of Tenths; nor would they ever conſent to a new way of taxing, but that the old one ſhould ſtand.

Thirdly, That the Biſhops and Abbots would pay the Tenths of their Baronies and Lay-fees fully, according to the true and higheſt Value: to this they anſwered, That being impoveriſhed by Depredations and Plunderings, and by following the King in his Expeditions, they had already ſpent all their Money, and were run ſo much behind-hand, that their Lands were forced to lie untilled.

Fourthly, They required, that all Clerks holding Baronies or Lay-Fees, ſhould go armed in Perſon againſt the King's Enemies, or find ſo much Service as belong to their Lands or Tenements: But to this they anſwered, That they ought not to fight with the Material, but the Spiritual Sword (to wit) with Prayers and Tears; that by their Benefices or Fees, they were bound to maintain Peace, and not War; and that they held their Baronies in *Frank-Almoign*, (*i.e.* in pure Alms) and therefore owed no military Service but what was certain, and would not perform any that was new.

Fifthly, They required on the behalf of the Pope, that with all ſpeed, the Expedition of the Croſs might be preached through the whole Kingdom: to this they anſwered, That a great part of the People had been killed in War already, and that if now they ſhould undertake the *Cruſado*, few or none would be left to defend the Nation.

Laſtly, It was urged, that the Prelates, whether they would or not, were obliged to comply with all theſe demands by the Oath they had taken at *Coventry*, to aſſiſt the King by all the honeſt means they could: but to this too they anſwered, That when they took that Oath, they only meant ſpiritual Help and wholeſom Counſel, and not Money nor Arms.

[2] What was done further in this Parliament I cannot tell, only that being ſummon'd for the repreſſing of the Rebels in the Iſle of *Ely*, it is certain, that ſo ſoon as it was diſſolved, the Lords and Tenants by *Military Service*, then marched with the King from *St. Edmundsbury* towards the ſaid Iſle; yet before the King left that Place, he prevail'd with the Pope's Legate (who had accompanied him thither) to ſend certain Biſhops to thoſe diſinherited Barons in the Iſle, admoniſhing them,

[2] *T.W.* The K. with his Army of Military Tenants marches to the Iſle of *Ely*, accompanied by the Pope's Legate, who ſends certain Bp's to the Rebels, to perſuade them to return to their Allegiance.

Firſt, to return to the Faith and Unity of the Catholick Church; but to this Meſſage they anſwered, that they firmly held the ſame Faith they had learned from the holy Biſhops, *viz.* *St. Robert* (that is, *Groſteſt* or *Grout-head*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln)* and *St. Edmund* and *St. Richard* (both Archbiſhops of *Canterbury)* and other Catholick Men; that they believed the Articles of Faith contained in the Creed; the Goſpels alſo and Sacraments, which the Univerſal Church held and believed, they did believe, and in that Faith they were reſolved to live and die.

Secondly, he admoniſhed them to return to the Obedience of the *Roman* Church: to this they anſwer'd, They did obey the *Roman* Church as the Head of all Chriſtianity, but not the Luſt, Covetouſneſs and Exactions of thoſe that ought otherwiſe to govern it.

Thirdly, He admoniſhed them to return to the King's Peace according to the late Award: to this they anſwered, Firſt, that the Legate was ſent into *England* to make Peace, but he rather kept up the War, becauſe he manifeſtly joined with the King's Party, and encouraged it, and in ſo doing, maintained the War. Secondly, they ſaid, the Award was void, for that the Pope commanded the King and Legate that none ſhould be diſinherited, and they had ſuch high Fines ſet upon them, that they amounted to a diſinheriting.

Fourthly, He admoniſhed them to receive Abſolution from the Sentence of *Excommunication* pronounced againſt them according to the Form of the Church: to this they anſwered, That their firſt

Oath (which was to maintain the *Oxford* Proviſions) was for the Advantage of the Kingdom, and the whole Church, and all the Prelates of the Kingdom thundered out the Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt all thoſe that ſhould act contrary thereto; that they reſolved to ſtand to that Oath, and were ready to die for it, and exhorted the Legate to revoke his Sentence, otherwiſe they would appeal to the Apoſtolick See, or to a General Council, as the Supreme Judg.

Fifthly, He admoniſhed them not to commit any more Robberies, nor to damnify any one: to this they anſwered, That ſince they fought for the benefit of the Kingdom and Church, they ought to live upon the Goods of their Enemies, who detained their Lands.

Then from anſwering, they proceeded further, to deſire the Legate to admoniſh the King to remove Strangers from his Council; and they likewiſe requir'd of the Legate, that their Lands might be reſtored without any Fines or Ranſoms; that the *Oxford* Proviſions might be obſerved, that they might have Pledges or Hoſtages ſent them into the Iſle for their Security; and that they might peaceably enjoy it for five Years, until they ſaw how the King would keep his Promiſes. Then they proceeded to complain of the King's late turning the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *London* and *Chichester* (being prudent Perſons) out of his Council, as alſo of the Legate's taking to his own uſe the Goods and Revenues belonging to Biſhopricks: they alſo declared againſt his great Charges and Exactions from Monaſteries, whereby they were diſabled from giving Alms, and beſtowing Hoſpitality.

That the Churches or Livings of *England*, and the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, were beſtowed upon Strangers who were her Enemies, ſo that they had none but mean Curates, and thoſe too hired for a very ſmall matter.

As for what concerned Eccleſiaſtical Matters, they were real Grievances, and ſuch as the Nation then groan'd under, yet had neither Power nor Courage enough to redreſs them. But as for thoſe relating to Civil matters, they were no other than what *Simon Montfort* and thoſe of his Party had before inſiſted on. [3] But the King and the Legate being highly exaſperated at theſe demands; the Treaty broke off, and the King prepared to beſiege the Iſland, which this * Author (tho erroneouſly) ſuppoſes not to have been undertaken till the Year following, whereas it was indeed beſieged and taken this very Year, as I ſhall ſhew farther by and by.

[3] *G. R.* The K. and Legate being diſpleaſed with the Rebels demands, the Treaty breaks off.

* *Id.* p. 1004.

And I ſuppoſe this miſtake led [4] Dr. *Brady* into a greater, when, contrary to the order of Time, he ſeparates this Treaty with thoſe in the Iſle of *Ely*, from the Parliament at St. *Edmundsbury*, and places it juſt after the Council at *Northampton*, without the Authority of any Author to juſtify his ſo doing; whereas if he had conſulted [5] *Wikes*'s Chronicle, he might there have found, that the Parliament at St. *Edmundsbury*, when this Treaty began, was held at *Candlemaſs* near four Months after the other at *Northampton*.

[4] Hiſt. *p.* 659.

[5] *P.* 78.

But I ſhall now from this Author laſt mentioned (being the moſt exact I can find) proceed to give you an Account of the reſt of the Tranſactions relating to theſe Rebels, as well as other matters.

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[1] The King, finding he could not prevail with the Rebels in the Iſle of *Ely*, removed from St. *Edmundsbury* to *Cambridg*, reſolving to block up all the Avenues which led to it, that ſo he might hinder the Rebels from going out, and plundering the Country as they had done before.

[1] *T.W.* p. 78. The K. not being able to take the Iſle of *Ely*, retires to *Cambridg*.

Here the King paſſed all the *Lent*, keeping his Army with him to little or no purpoſe; and tho he had got together a great many Veſſels from *Ipſwich*, *Dunwich*, *Yarmouth* and *Lyn*, and had put a great many Souldiers on board them, yet ſo ſoon as they landed upon the Iſland, they received a Repulſe, and were forced to return.

[2] But whilſt the King thus waſted both his Time and his Money at *Cambridg* to little purpoſe, Prince *Edward* was better imploy'd; for the Lord *John Veſci* (one of the late diſinherited Barons) had then raiſed ſome Forces in the *North*, and therewith recovered his Caſtle of *Alnwick* and other Lands Adjacent, of which he had been lately diſſeized: whereupon Prince *Edward* marching down with a brave Army into thoſe Parts, he reduced that Lord to ſuch ſtreights, that he was forced to crave pardon for his Crime, and ſurrender himſelf and his Eſtate to the Prince's Mercy; who to ſhow himſelf generous, freely pardoned him, upon which the reſt of his Accomplices being likewiſe forced to yield, that Rebellion was ſoon quell'd.

[2] *Id. ib.* P. *Edward* in the mean while ſubdues *John de Veſci* and other Rebels in the North.

[3] Whilſt the King ſtaid thus at *Cambridg* (as I have ſaid) to little purpoſe, the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and ſeveral other Barons of his Party attended with a great Army, went from the Marches of *Wales* to *London*, pretending it was for the King's Service; by which means the Citizens gave him entrance into the City, which he fortified as well as he could, and then ſent to the Legate forthwith to deliver up the *Tower*, and being refuſed, he forbad all People to ſend in any Proviſions to him: then the Rabble of the City and Counties adjacent, plundered all thoſe who they thought were not of their Faction.

[3] *Id. ib. M.W.* The E. of *Glouceſter* marches up and ſeizes the City of *London*.

But ſince the Annals of the City of *London* (already cited) do very much excuſe the Citizens for ſo eaſily admitting the Earl of *Glouceſter* with his Adherents into the City, and do alſo give us a more particular Account of theſe Tranſactions than any other Author, I ſhall here therefore add what they relate concerning this Affair, *viz.* That the Earl of *Glouceſter* pretending he only came up to aſſiſt the King againſt the Rebels in the Iſle of *Ely*, the Pope's Legate was ſo far deceived therewith, that when the Earl came to *Windſor*, the Mayor and Citizens attended the Legate (who was then left chief Governour in the King's Abſence) to know whither the Earl ſhould be admitted into the City or not; the Legate's Anſwer was, That they ſhould admit him by all means, for he verily believed he was the King's Friend: whereupon about a Week before *Eaſter*, the Citizens ſent ſome of their Body to meet the Earl upon the Road to *London*, and deſire him not to quarter his Army within the City, which he readily granted, only demanded leave to march his Army through it, and ſo he did, and took up his Quarters in *Southwark*; and the day following, when the Legate (who then lay in the

A more full Account of theſe Tranſactions from the City Annals.

The E. of *Glouceſter* is admitted into the City by the Legate's Order.

the *Tower)* would not go over the Bridg to meet the Earl, he thereupon came into the City with many Attendants, and met the Legate in *Trinity* Church, and there had a long Conference with him; but what the iſſue of it was our Author does not tell us, but it is very probable that the Earl required the Legate to deliver up the *Tower* into his Hands (as hath been already ſaid) which being refuſed, the War began between them, as you will ſee by and by.

[4] *Id. ib.* The Earl quarters his Army in the City. And *John Dayville*, with many of his Accomplices come up to *London*.

[4] After this the Earl pulled off the Vizard, and began to act more openly, and quartering his Army in the City, thereby made himſelf maſter of it; but his Intentions more plainly appear'd, when *John Dayville*, the chief Ring-leader of the Rebels in the Iſle of *Ely*, came up with a great many of his Party, and join'd with him: but the City fearing this plundering Crew, drew up their Draw-bridg againſt them, and ſhut their Gates; whereupon *Dayville* and his Company were fain to take up their Quarters in *Southwark:* but preſently after *Eaſter* the Earl took away the Keys of the City from the Mayor, and delivered them to thoſe in whom he could confide; by which means the Rebels in *Southwark* came in and out of it at their Pleaſure, which ſo alarm'd the better ſort of Citizens, that they left the Town for fear of the King's Diſpleaſure, and the Earl thereupon preſently ſeized their Eſtates.

Whereupon many of the beſt Citizens leave the City.

[5] *Id. ib.*
* *Communiam.*
The meaner ſort of People begin again to domineer, and plunder the chief Citizens.

[5] Then the meaner ſort of People began again to domineer, calling themſelves the * *Community* of the City, as they did in *Simon Montfort*'s time; ſo that many of the chief Citizens, who were looked upon to favour the King's Party, were impriſoned, and their Goods plundered; and the Mayor being now diſcharged from his Office, one *Richard de Culworth* was made chief Baily of it under the Earl of *Glouceſter:* then all thoſe who had been *outlaw'd* for breaking the King's Peace during the late War, and had fled for the ſame, return'd into the City without any controul, and thoſe that were Priſoners in *Newgate* for their late Rebellion, were ſet free; which when the Legate heard, and that thoſe whom he had formerly *excommunicated*, did now what they pleaſed, he put the City under a kind of *Interdict*, commanding that the Bells ſhould not be rung for Divine Service, and that it ſhould be read and not ſung, the Church-doors to be kept ſhut, leſt the *excommunicated* Rebels ſhould come in to hear it.

The Legate forbids ſinging of Service in the City Churches.

[1] *T. W. ib.* The fair Pretences of the E. of *Gloceſter* make a ſtrong Party for him.

[1] But to return to our firſt Author; notwithſtanding all the Legate could do, the Earl of *Glouceſter* had a ſtrong Party as well within the City, as without; for his pretences ſeem'd very popular, *viz.* That he only took up Arms for the good of the Commonwealth, and to make the King reſtore the diſinherited Barons in the Iſle of *Ely* to their Eſtates upon reaſonable Conditions; and further, to force Prince *Edward* better to obſerve the Oath which he had formerly took to him at *Hereford:* but as for the particular Articles of that Treaty, our Author for brevity ſake thinks it not fit to give them us.

[2] *Id. M.W.*

[2] Then the Earl fell cloſely to beſiege the Legate in the *Tower*, who, for want of better Defendants, was forced to call in the *Jews* for his Guard, the Earl's Men endeavouring all they could by Engines and other means to take it, whilſt the Defendants on the other hand did their utmoſt to repel them, and hold it out till the King's Arrival; who ſo ſoon as he had heard of the ſurprize of the City,

preſently

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preſently left *Cambridg*, and his unſucceſsful deſign of blocking up the Iſle of *Ely*, and marched up towards *London*. Then Prince *Edward* being now return'd victorious out of the *North* with a powerful Army, joined his Forces with the King his Father's; who then ſent to the Earl of *Glouceſter*, commanding him to leave the City, and if he refuſed it, he would come thither in Perſon, and force him and the diſinherited Barons of his Party, to quit what they had unjuſtly ſeized on.

The K. having join'd his Forces with his Son's, marches up to *London*, and commands the E. of *Glouceſter* to depart.

So the King and Prince about three Weeks after *Eaſter* marched as far as *Windſor*, where their Army daily encreaſed, inſomuch that he finding himſelf now ſtrong enough to march, drew nigh the City, and came by the favour of the Night and encamped very near its Walls; then drawing up his Forces next morning in ſight of the Citizens, he relieved the Legate, who got out of the *Tower* by a Poſtern on that ſide next the River, whom the King received very joyfully; and he preſently after marched with his Army to *Stratford*, a Town within three Miles of *London*, and there incamped without any Oppoſition: but both Parties being mindful of the former chances of War, deferr'd fighting as much as they could; tho *Matt. Weſtminſter* relates, that they challenged the King to a Battel upon *Hundeſlow-heath*; and how the next day the King went thither, but found no Enemy; which does not ſeem likely, that ſo great a Man as the Earl of *Glouceſter*, who had a great Army of his own, beſides moſt part of the ordinary Citizens at his beck, ſhould provoke the King to fight, and then not dare to march into the Field. But this is certain, that the Earl of *Glouceſter* continued in *London*, and the King remained with his Army at *Stratford* for above two Months this Summer.

And relieves the Legate from his Confinement in the *Tower*.

The K. incamps at *Stratford*; where both Armies lie in ſight of each other, without fighting.

[3] But nevertheleſs thoſe of the Earl's Party in *London*, marched down into *Kent* and *Surrey*, and plundering thoſe Counties, they brought great ſtore of Proviſions into the City, which was then almoſt blocked up on the *Eſſex* ſide: and not being contented with this, the miſchievous Rabble ſpoiled the King's Palace at *Weſtminſter*, breaking the very Windows and Doors, and falling upon all thoſe that they thought took the King's part; and they either kill'd, or drown'd in the *Thames*, without any Mercy, all Perſons whomſoever they ſuſpected.

[3] *T. W.* p. 80.

The Earl's Party in *London* plunder *Kent* and *Surrey*, and ſpoil the K's Palace at *Weſtminſter*.

I muſt not here omit, that during theſe Combuſtions, [4] the King being in great want of Money, the Pope's Legate took out the Jewels and golden Images belonging to the Church of *Weſtminſter*, which he pawned to certain Merchants for a great ſum of Money to ſupply the King's preſent Neceſſities, which Jewels were again reſtored to the ſaid Church ſome time after the Concluſion of the Peace. But to return to matters more Material.

[4] *M. W.*

The Legate pawns the Jewels, *&c.* belonging to the Church at *Weſtminſter*, to ſupply the K's Neceſſities.

At laſt, when the Earl of *Glouceſter* perceived that the King's Forces daily encreaſed, and that the Earls of *Boloigne* and St. *Paul* were come to his Aſſiſtance out of *France*, with two hundred Knights and their Retinue; and the *Gaſcoins* likewiſe, with many great Ships well mann'd and provided, were arrived in the *Thames*, and only expected the King's Orders: and likewiſe found that he could not take the *Tower* by Force, but his Army was like to be blockt up and ſtarved in the City, he then applied

The E. of *Glouceſter* being afraid of the King, deſires a Treaty of Peace.

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Which is at laſt concluded, with the Terms on which it was made.

* *Rot. Pat.* 51. *H.* 3. *M.* 16. *N.* 49.

[4] Compleat Hiſt. *p.* 662.

plied himſelf to *Richard* King of *Almain*, and the Ld *Philip Baſſet*; and they after many Meetings and Treaties, about the middle of *June*, made his Peace with the King, in which he and all his Favourers and Adherents, together with the *Londoners*, were included, and by the King's Charter he was pardon'd all Actions done from the beginning of *April*, when he firſt came from *Wales*, either within or without the City. But this Pardon was not to extend to thoſe that were diſinherited by the Decree of *Kenelworth*, and that were not in the King's Peace the day the Earl began to march: and that the King might be farther aſſured he never would make War againſt him any more, he gave his Oath and Charter, under the Penalty of ten thouſands Marks for Security. This Accord bears date at *Stratford* the day after, and is upon * Record in the *Tower*, as is alſo the Charter of Pardon, being both cited by [4] Dr. *Brady*.

To which it is further added in the City Annals, that by this Agreement the aforeſaid Penalty was to continue in force againſt the Earl, till the Pope's Judgment were known, and whatſoever he ſhould determine concerning this matter the Earl ſhould be bound to obſerve; ſo that this Judgment was given before *Candlemaſs* next enſuing.

The K. remits to the City of *London* all ill Will, by reaſon of the late Troubles.

Several Barons are alſo pardon'd at the E. of *Glouceſter's* Interceſſion.

There is alſo in theſe Annals another Charter of the King to the City of *London*, whereby he remitted to the Citizens all Rancor and ill Will, which he might bear againſt them by reaſon of the late Diſturbances: this Charter is in French, and bears date ſome days after the Charter of Pardon to the Earl of *Glouceſter*; by whoſe Interceſſion *John Dayville*, *Nicholas de Segrave*, and other Barons (who came lately out of the Iſle of *Ely*) were alſo pardoned and reſtored to their Eſtates, according to the Articles ordained by the Decree of *Kenelworth*.

And ſome time after there was a great Treaty or Colloquy of the Nobility at *Windſor*, where by the mediation of the King of the *Romans* and the Lord *Henry* his Son, a perfect Reconciliation was made between Prince *Edward* and the Earl of *Glouceſter*.

[5] *M. W.*

[1] *T. W.*

The Prince is ſent down to beſiege the Iſle of *Ely*.

The manner how he carried on his Attaque.

Theſe troubleſom Affairs being thus diſpatched, and the K. having diſcharged and ſent home all thoſe foreign Forces that came over to his Aſſiſtance, very well rewarded for their Pains; he then reaſſumed [5] the Siege of the Iſle of *Ely*, which had been for ſome time intermitted; and where ſince the departure of *John Dayville*, late Governor of *Kenelworth* Caſtle, *Henry de Haſtings* had made himſelf Commander in chief, tho contrary to the Oath he had given at the taking of that Place: for upon the drawing off of the King's Forces towards *London*, thoſe in the Iſle had renewed their wonted Depredations upon the adjacent Counties, [1] of whoſe ſad Condition Prince *Edward* having great Compaſſion, was reſolved to put a ſtop to their Violence as ſoon as poſſible; wherefore taking with him a ſtrong Army, he firſt marched down to the Abbey of *Ramſey*, and there by great Promiſes and Rewards, brought in the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Parts, who knew all the Channels, Fords, and ſecret Paſſages that led to the ſaid Iſle; theſe making Bridges of Reeds, or (as *William Riſhanger* relates) of Hurdles and Timber, the Prince and his Forces got into the Iſle with little or no Reſiſtance, which too was the eaſier compaſſed, becauſe the Summer being very dry, moſt

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of the boggy and marſhy Places were now become firm Ground: and to prevent any ſudden Aſſaults or Reſiſtance from the Beſieged, who he ſaw were drawn up to hinder his landing, he cauſed Proclamation to be made, that whoſoever of the Rebels offer'd to aſſault his Men, or any ways to hinder their Paſſage over, he would not fail to make them pay for it with the loſs of their Heads, if it ſhould pleaſe God to grant him ſucceſs; promiſing alſo pardon to all thoſe who would ſubmit to his Mercy: ſo granting them two days Truce to conſider of theſe Conditions, their courages were then ſo cool'd, that they quietly ſubmitted to the Prince's Pleaſure, and ſurrender'd the Iſle without any other Conditions than only their Lives and Liberties ſaved; into which Place the Prince with all his Forces marched in Triumph.

The Rebels ſurrender the Iſle to the Prince.

This good Succeſs happened about St. *James-tide*, by which this long and dreadful Civil War that had for above five Years tormented this ſinful Nation, was now abſolutely extinguiſh'd; and the *Engliſh* Nobility leaving the troubleſom and dangerous trade of War, had now time again to follow their Country Employments and Recreations.

But before I diſmiſs this Subject, I cannot but take notice that the Continuator of *Matt. Paris*, by placing this reduction of the Iſle of *Ely* under the Year following, has led [2] Dr. *Brady* into the ſame Error, who has alſo placed this Action under the Year 1268. whereas it was indeed undertaken and finiſhed this very Summer 1267. not long after the Earl of *Glouceſter*'s making his Peace with the King, as all the Authors (except he and the Doctor) agree.

The miſtake of *Will. Riſhanger*, about the Time of taking this Iſle, has led Dr. *B.* into the ſame Error.

[2] Compleat Hiſt. *p.* 664.

The Civil Wars being thus happily concluded, the King had now time to correct the inſolence of the *Welſh*, [3] who taking Advantage of the diſſenſions in *England*, had lately, under the Conduct of Prince *Llewellyn*, waſted the *Engliſh* Borders, notwithſtanding the League made with him about two Years ago: wherefore the King, as I ſay, to repreſs his Inſolence, came with a great Army as far as the Caſtle of *Montgomery*, with an intention to march into the Bowels of *Wales* it ſelf; but when *Llewellyn* heard of it, and was now deprived of his uſual Aſſiſtance, the rebellious Barons, his Heart beginning to fail him, he by the Legate's perſwaſion (who came along with the King for that purpoſe) deſired a Treaty of Peace, which was ſoon concluded upon theſe Conditions.

[3] *R.W. M.W.*

P. *Llewellyn* having invaded the *Engliſh* Borders, the K. marches againſt him with a great Army.

Upon which News the *Welſh* Prince deſires a Treaty of Peace.

Firſt, all Lands were to be reſtored on both ſides, and that the Laws or Cuſtoms of the Marches ſhould ſtill hold good; that King *Henry* ſhould grant unto Him and his Heirs, the Principality of *Wales*, and that they ſhould always be ſtiled Princes of *Wales*, and ſhould receive the Homage and Fealty of all the Barons of *Wales*, who were to hold their Lands of them *in Capite*, except the Homage of *Mereduc* the Son of *Rheeſe*, which the King retained to himſelf and his Heirs; and if ever the King ſhould grant it to the Prince of *Wales*, he ſhould pay for it five thouſand pound. The King likewiſe granted him the four *Cantreds* of *Borthwald*, to hold them as fully as ever the King and his Heirs had poſſeſſed them; for which Principality, Lands, *&c.* the ſame Prince and his Succeſſors were to ſwear Fealty and do Homage, and perform the accuſtomed Services due to the King and his Heirs, as they had been done by him and his Predeceſſors to the King and his Anceſtors;

Which is concluded upon certain Conditions to be performed on both ſides.

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* *Cart.* 51. *H.* 3. *M.* 2.
† *P.* 663.

and further, he was to give him twenty five thouſand Marks in Money. This Agreement bears date at *Shrewsbury* the 25*th* of *September* 1267. at which Place the King and Prince then met for their better Accommodation; and this agrees with the * Record in the *Tower*, cited by † Dr. *Brady* in his Hiſtory.

[4] *T. W.*

The Pope granted the King a Tenth of all Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, without the conſent of the Clergy.

|| *Chart.* 51. *H.* 3. *M.* 10. in Schedula.

[5] *Rot. Pat.* 52. *H.* 3. *M.* 32. intus, & *M.* 33.

† *Rot. Pat.* 52. *H.* 3. *M.* 9. & *M.* 2.

[4] As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, this Year affords little conſiderable; but that the Pope now exceeding even the plenitude of his Power, (as my Author words it) burdened the *Engliſh* Church by an unuſual kind of Contribution; granting to the King by his Bull, a tenth part of the Rents and Annual Revenues of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, as alſo of all the Clergy, as well Regular as Secular, for three Years to come, ſome few Religious Orders only excepted; who, inſiſting upon their Privileges, and that they might not ſeem to contribute with the reſt, compounded, by paying down at once a great Sum of ready Money, very near the true value of their Revenues: and that the Laiety might have nothing to do with the levying of it, it likewiſe appears upon || Record, that the Biſhops aſſigned *Walter* the (Archbiſhop) Elect of *York*, *Stephen* of *Canterbury*, and *Rufin Clivel*, Archdeacons in that Church, to receive and pay it to the King; one third part at *Eaſter* following, another third part at *Midſummer*, and the laſt at *Michaelmaſs*, and ſo for every one of the three Years: and the King by aſſignment of the Legate, appointed Collectors of this Tenth in every Dioceſs, as appears by two [5] ſeveral Records to that purpoſe; and divers Deans and Chapters did likewiſe compound with the King for their Tenths, as did all the Clergy of the ſeveral Dioceſſes, as you may further ſee by other † Records alſo cited by Dr. *Brady*, tho he is a little miſtaken in placing the Pope's Grant of theſe Tenths under the following Year; when it appears not only from the Hiſtorians above cited, but alſo from the Record it ſelf by him cited, that it was granted this very Year, tho it is true, the Compoſitions laſt mentioned were not made till the next.

But before I diſmiſs this Subject, I muſt needs take notice of what *Thomas Wikes* alſo informs us, *viz.* that the Pope was ſo cunning that he would not grant the King this Tenth from the Clergy, until he had firſt agreed to pay all the Arrears of the Tribute or Acknowledgment which had been now unpaid for ſeveral Years, during the late Diſturbances; and that he then appointed Maſter *Simon* his Chamberlain to receive the ſame of thoſe that were to pay it.

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A great Parliament is aſſembled at *Northampton.*

[1] *T. W.*

|| *Anglicanæ Militiæ.*

Where P. *Edward* and E. *Edmund*, with ſeveral other Noblemen undertake the *Cruſado.*

Where the King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* this Year is ſomewhat uncertain, but *Matt. Weſtminſter* ſuppoſes it to be held at that place; yet the Annals of *Waverly* (I believe with greater certainty) ſuppoſe him, together with the Pope's Legate, to have celebrated that Feſtival at *Wincheſter*; from which time nothing happen'd conſiderable till *Midſummer*, when the King ſummoned a Parliament at *Northampton*, [1] and (as our Author words it) there aſſembled a great Multitude of the || *Engliſh* Knighthood; where by the ſolemn preaching of *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate, Prince *Edward* and Earl *Edmund* his Brother, the King's Sons, as alſo *Henry* eldeſt Son to the King of the *Romans*, with the Earls of *Glouceſter*, *Warren*, and *Pembroke*, and about a hundred and twenty other Knights, being

ing touched with the great loſſes in the *Holy Land,* they all received the Croſs at the hands of the Legate; and by the like ſuperſtitious Devotion a great multitude of Perſons of inferior Quality likewiſe undertook the *Cruſado,* in the Cities and Boroughs, by the preaching of the *Franciſcan* Friars.

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As do alſo a great Multitude of other Perſons.

[2] Then the Pope's Legate having diſpatched his Buſineſs in *England,* and filled his Bags with Money for his Maſter's Uſe, reſolved now to return to *Rome*; and ſo taking his leave of the King at *Northampton,* paſſed over into *France,* and from thence proſecuted his Journey homeward. About the ſame time alſo *Richard* King of the *Romans* having been by occaſion of the late Civil Wars, and his Captivity, long abſent out of *Germany,* paſſed over thither in the beginning of *Auguſt,* to ſettle his Affairs in thoſe parts; where all that my [3] Author informs me he did, was, that at a great Diet of the Princes and free Cities held at the City of *Wormes,* he cauſed a Law or Decree to paſs by their General Conſent, whereby all new impoſed Cuſtoms or Exactions upon Commodities, that paſſed up and down the River *Rhine,* ſhould be wholly taken off and aboliſhed, and only the antient and received Cuſtoms which were wont to be paid to the Kings of the *Romans,* to be kept up and preſerved; and that if any City ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to this Decree, all the reſt of the Eſtates of the Empire ſhould make War upon it, and waſte their Territories, and pull down their Forts upon the River: by which Action King *Richard,* as he ſatisfied the *Germans,* ſo he highly advanced his own Reputation. This, tho it properly belong'd to the next Year, I have added under this, that I might here lay together whatever this Prince perform'd during his reſidence in *Germany.*

[2] *Id.* p. 86. *A. W.*

The Pope's Legate takes his leave of the King.

Richard K. of the *Romans* takes another Voyage into *Germany.*

[3] *Id.* p.87.

Where he calls a Diet, and takes off many new Impoſts or Cuſtoms.

[4] This Year alſo the King held a Colloquy at *Wincheſter,* about the 17*th* of *November,* and therein he made his Son Pr. *Edward* Lord High Steward of *England*; which I take notice of, becauſe I do not find this Parliament mentioned in any other Author; and it is the more remarkable, becauſe we find that within a Month after, (that is, eight days after *Martynmaſs*) the King [5] held a Parliament at *Marlebridge,* (now *Marlborough* in *Wiltſhire*) where the wiſe or diſcreet Men of the Kingdom, as well of the greater as the leſſer Order, being ſummon'd, many Laws were made [1] by their unanimous Advice and Conſent, for the amendment of the Kingdom, and the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice; of which body of Laws, called in our Law Books the Statutes of *Marlebridge,* I ſhall give you the chiefeſt Contents at the end of this King's Reign. And here I muſt alſo take notice, that Dr. *Brady* being deceived by *William Riſhanger,* (whoſe Authority he principally follows toward the end of his Hiſtory) places this Parliament under the next Year, whereas it appears by the * Title of this Statute, that it was made in the fifty ſecond Year of this King's Reign, being in this very Year 1268.

[4] *A. W.* The K. holds a Colloquy or Treaty at *Wincheſter,* and what was done there.

[5] *W. H.* p. 588. The K. holds a Parliament.

[1] *Id. ib.*

* Vid. *Raſtal's* or *Pulton's* Edition of Statutes.

There remains nothing more conſiderable to be remarked this Year, [2] but that the King being now reſolved to ſettle the Peace and Tranquillity of his Kingdom, cauſed it to be proclaimed in every County throughout *England,* that whoſoever ſhould invade or unjuſtly uſurp any one's Goods or Poſſeſſions, ſhould be liable to

[2] *G. R.* p. 1005.

The K's Proclamation againſt ſtealing.

a Capital Puniſhment, which was ſoon after executed upon one at *Dunſtable*, for having driven away twelve Oxen of the Villaines of *Colney* (belonging to the Abbey of St. *Albans*) who perſued, took him, and brought him before the Bailiff of the Liberty of St. *Albans*, who read to him in *Engliſh* the King's Proclamation before the whole Multitude, and then by virtue of this Royal command, he ſentenced him to be beheaded. This I take notice of, tho of no great importance, becauſe Dr. *Brady* has mentioned it as if it were an inſtance of the King's Prerogative, to cauſe Men to be executed by his ſole Proclamation without any legal Trial; whereas it is certain, that Theft of live Cattel was puniſhable with Death before this Statute was made; and tho Offenders in that kind have now the benefit of the Clergy, yet that is only allowed by later Statutes: nor does it follow that the Bailiff or Steward (who was then Judg for the Abbey in criminal Cauſes) condemned this Man preſently to be hang'd by the King's ſole Power and Prerogative, without any Trial by Jury: tho this Circumſtance be not particularly mentioned by the Author, from whom the Doctor has taken this Relation.

[3] *T.W.* *Ottobon* the Legate holds a *Synod*, wherein ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical *Canons* or Conſtitutions were ordained.

The Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Year fall out to be more conſiderable, than they have been for ſome Years before; for [3] about the beginning of *April*, *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate, ſummoning both the ſuperior and inferior Clergy, held a General Synod or Council in the Church of St. *Paul*'s at *London*, of all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates, with the inferior Clergy; where after he had confirm'd the Decrees or Conſtitutions that were made in the time of *Otto* his Predeceſſor, he then publiſhed certain new ones, which he cauſed to be read before all thoſe that were there preſent; and being thus publiſhed, he by his Legantine Authority commanded them to be obſerved through the whole Kingdom. Theſe Decrees or Conſtitutions being very long, and wholly relating to Eccleſiaſtical matters, I ſhall refer the Reader to *Lyndwood*'s Volume of *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions* for them, where he may obſerve, that both theſe made in this Synod, as well as thoſe of *Otto* abovemention'd, do contain the greateſt part of our Eccleſiaſtical or Canon Law.

A Bull of the Pope's is read in this Synod, whereby he abſolved *Simon Montfort*, and all thoſe that were ſlain with him, from the Sentence of *Excommunication*.

I find alſo in the Annals of St. *Auguſtins* of *Canterbury*, that there was read in this Synod, a certain Brief or Bull of the Pope's, whereby he abſolved *Simon Montfort*, late Earl of *Leiceſter*, and all thoſe that were ſlain with him at the Battel of *Eveſham*, from the *Excommunication* which their Souls hitherto lay under; alledging, that the Court of *Rome* had been miſinform'd concerning the grounds of the Sentence given againſt them; which if it were ſo, (as I find it in no other Author) it plainly ſhews, that the Pope did not then take upon him to be infallible; but whither they were thereby diſcharg'd out of Purgatory, or only made it lawful for Men to pray for them, I will not take upon me, as a Caſuiſt, to determine.

[4] *P.* 86. The Seculars are fain to grant a Twentieth part of all their Livings.

And according to [4] *Thomas Wikes*'s Chronicle, notwithſtanding the Tenths of all Eccleſiaſtical Revenues already granted by the Pope to the King, yet the Secular Clergy were likewiſe forced this Year to contribute (through the too great eaſineſs of the Biſhops) a Twentieth part of all their Eccleſiaſtical Livings; which Money by the King's conceſſion was to be diſtributed among the

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diſinherited Noblemen and Gentlemen, whoſe Lands the King had indiſcreetly beſtowed upon others, from whom by this means the Perſons diſinherited might redeem them at a certain value; which being done, thoſe Gentlemen were to be pardon'd all former Offences.

And this ſame Author ſays [5] (but a little before this time) that tho the King had received by Fines or Ranſoms from the Citizens of *London* for their Crimes, above 20000 Marks, yet it ſignified nothing, for it all went away to pay the Queen's Debts, which ſhe had contracted whilſt ſhe was beyond Sea: and [1] he alſo tells us further, that tho the annual Income ariſing from the Tenths of the Clergy, exceeded the whole Revenues of the Crown; yet the King's Treaſure was thereby little or nothing encreaſed, which proceeded from his two great eaſineſs; ſo that this was alſo ſquander'd away after the uſual manner upon unworthy Favorites, and ſoon diſperſed like the morning Dew before the Sun. I have taken notice of this, that ſo the Reader may obſerve, *that if never ſo much be given by the Subject, yet if it be not iſſued out with frugality and good Management for the publick* Good, *it contributes little or nothing towards the end for which it was intended.*

[5] *P.* 74. The vaſt Sums the K. received are all ſquander'd away.

[1] *P.* 86.

I have no more to note concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, [2] only that about the end of *November* Pope *Clement* the fourth departed this Life. He was of ſomewhat a better Character than his Predeceſſor for Piety and Acts of Mortification, yet I do not find he was leſs greedy of Money than thoſe that went before him: the beſt thing I meet with recorded of him, being this, that he would by no means be prevailed upon to grant Diſpenſations for Pluralities of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices: but after his Deceaſe the Cardinals not agreeing upon an Election, the Papal Throne continued vacant for above three Years.

[2] *Id. ib.* The Death of Pope *Clement* the 4*th*, with his Character.

But before I conclude this Year, it will not be amiſs to mention ſome foreign Affairs of great Moment, *viz.* that *Conradin* Duke of *Swevia*, Grandſon to *Frederick* the Emperour, being confederated with *Henry* Brother to the King of *Caſtile*, (who was at that time chief Senator of *Rome*, and General of her Forces) they marched with their Armies to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which *Conradin* claim'd as Heir to his Grandfather, that they might thereby deprive the new King *Charles* of *Anjou*, of that Crown; who preſently quitting the Siege of *Nocera*, went with his Army to meet them near the Lake of * *Celano*, where he gave them Battel, which was very Bloody; yet King *Charles* at laſt obtain'd the Victory, the Duke's Army being totally routed, and he himſelf and *Henry* abovementioned, were forced to ſave themſelves by flight: but they were both ſoon after taken in Diſguiſe, and delivered up to the Conqueror, who being the Year following about to undertake a Voyage to the *Holy-Land* (with his Brother the King of *France)* the better to ſecure this new acquired Kingdom in his Abſence, he cauſed Duke *Conradin* to be beheaded in the Market-place of *Naples*, and thereby confirm'd that old Obſervation, *That Princes ſeldom ſpare the Competitors of their Thrones, eſpecially if they know they have a better Title to them than themſelves:* but to return to the Hiſtory.

Vid. *Mezeray's* French Hiſtory, in the Reign of St. *Lewis*, under this Year.

* Anciently called *Lacus Fucinus.*

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* *M. W.*

King *Charles* being now eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, he alſo took upon him his former Dignity of Senator of *Rome*, and Vicar of the *Roman* Empire in *Thuſcany* and *Romania*,* over both which he appointed *Guido de Montfort*, younger Son of Earl *Simon* deceaſed, his Lieutenant: this *Simon* had about two Years ſince made his eſcape out of priſon in *England*, and having married the Daughter of an *Italian* Count called *Aldebrandino*, by his Advice he did great miſchiefs to the *Romans* and *Thuſcans*, and a few Years after treacherouſly murdered his Couſin *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, as you will find when we come to that Time.

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[3] *M.W.G.R.*

[4] *T. W.* A Parliament or Colloquy at *London.*

[5] *M. W.*

The *Jews* forbid to hold Eſtates in Fee, to take exceſſive Uſury, or receive any Quit-Rents in Fee.

[3] The King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Weſtminſter*, after which I find nothing conſiderable to have happened till fifteen days after *Eaſter*; and then [4] a great Multitude of the Noblemen of *England* were aſſembled at *London*, (by which expreſſion I ſuppoſe our Author means a Parliament) but the King ſeem'd only to trifle away the time with them, they [5] having no great matters then brought before them, ſaving (and that chiefly by the means of Pr. *Edward*, and the Lord *Henry* Son to the K. of the *Romans)* that it was ordain'd, that the *Jews* (who had till then intolerably oppreſt the *Chriſtians*, under pretence of certain yearly Fees, or quit-Rents, which they were obliged by their Bonds to pay them at certain ſtated times) ſhould be forbidden to receive ſuch Extortions for the future; and it was further order'd, that all ſuch Muniments or Writings which the *Jews* had from them, ſhould be delivered up to the *Chriſtians*.

**Rot. Pat.* 55. *H.* 3. *M.* 10. *Dorſ.*

This Law concerning the *Jews*, more plainly recited in the King's Writ, to the Mayor of *London.*

But what was the meaning of theſe annual Fees abovemention'd, will be beſt underſtood by this following Writ upon * Record, directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, which (tho dated near two Years after) refers to this Law, and gives us the beſt Interpretation of the words of our Author: for in this Writ the Law is thus recited, "That whereas the King has provided, by the Advice of " the Prelates and Great Men who are of his Council, that no " *Jew* ſhould enjoy a Freehold in any Mannor, Lands, *&c.* and by " Charter, Gift, Obligation, or other ways, only that they might " keep the Houſes, wherein they then inhabited, in Cities, Boroughs " and Towns: then after other Clauſes, forbidding *Jews* to plead by the King's original Writs, any where but before his Juſtices appointed for them, it follows, that they ſhould only receive their principal of *Chriſtians*, according to their Bonds or Chirographs; and at laſt concludes with another Clauſe, whereby they are alſo forbid to receive any perpetual Rents, called Fees, out of the Eſtates, or by the hands of *Chriſtians:* wherefore the King hereby ſtraitly enjoins, that the Perſons to whom this Writ is directed, cauſe the ſaid Proviſion, Ordinance and Statute to be proclaimed throughout their Bailywick, *&c.* Given at *Weſtminſter* 25° die *Julii* A. R. 55°.

[1] *T. W.* E. *Edmund* the K's Son, marries the Daughter of the E. of *Albemarle.*

[1] Before the Diſſolution of this Parliament, about the beginning of *April*, Earl *Edmund*, the King's ſecond Son, was married to *Avelina*, Daughter and Heir to *William* late Earl of *Albemarle* and *Holderneſs*; and ſhe was alſo to have been, after her Mother, (who was Daughter to the Earl of *Devonſhire)* Lady of the Iſle of *Wight*. The Wedding was kept at *Weſtminſter* with great Solemnity, the King

and Queen, with all the Nobility being preſent. But this Joy did not laſt long, [2] for the young Lady died before the Year was ended: and I muſt here obſerve, that *Matt. Weſtminſter* places this Marriage under the precedent Year, and *William Riſhanger* under the next; but they are both miſtaken, and *Thomas Wikes* is in the right, who places it in this Year, which is alſo confirm'd by a * Record in the *Tower*.

[2] *Sandford's* Gen. Hiſt. *l.* 2. *cap.* 7.

* *Rot. Pat.* 53. *H.* 3. *m.* 15.

Nothing elſe happened remarkable this Summer, till the [3] beginning of *Auguſt*, when *Richard* King of the *Romans* being return'd out of *Germany*, landed at *Dover*, bringing over along with him a beautiful young Lady named *Beatrix*, the Daughter of *Theodoric de Falkmorite*, a *German* Nobleman of great Reputation, whom he had married about *Midſummer*, more for her Beauty than Portion, which was but ſmall. But they were both received with great Joy, many of the Nobility of the Kingdom going out to meet them, and the King and Queen ſhewed them great Honour and Reſpect.

[3] *T.W. A.W.*

Rich. K. of the *Romans* arrives in *England* with a young Wife.

[4] Some time after this *Lewis* King of *France* ſent over his Envoys on purpoſe to Pr. *Edward*, deſiring him that (with the King his Father's leave) he would come over into *France*, to treat with him concerning matters of great Moment; whereupon the Prince preſently made haſt to go over to that King, and as ſoon as they met, he told the Prince, that ſince he himſelf had vowed an Expedition for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, he deſired the Prince, as a young and valiant Warrier, and experienced Commander, to accompany him thither: to which requeſt the Prince replied, that his Majeſty might very well know that the King his Father's Revenues were extreamly waſted and reduced by reaſon of the late Civil Wars; and that as for his own particular Appenage, it was much too ſmall for ſo great an Undertaking; whereupon the King of *France* generouſly offer'd to lend Prince *Edward* the ſum of thirty thouſand Marks, which he accepting of, immediately mortgaged to the King of *France* the Revenues of *Bourdeaux*, for the true payment of the Money.

[4] *G. R.*

K. of *France* ſends Envoys to P. *Edw.* deſiring his Preſence in *France*;

And his Company to the *Holy-Land*, but the Prince excuſes himſelf.

The *French* K. offers to lend P. *Edw.* 30000 Marks, which he accepts.

As ſoon as the Prince had finiſhed this Agreement with the *French* King, he return'd into *England* about the beginning of *September*, that he might prepare all things ready for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, and at his Return was received by the King his Father with great tenderneſs, who ſince he could not go that Pilgrimage himſelf, was highly pleaſed with his Son's undertaking it.

The Prince returns into *England*.

The Annals of *London* do here alſo further inform us, that the Prince now alſo brought over with him the King of *France*'s Charter, containing the Articles between them for the intended Expedition; which being ſet down at large in thoſe Annals, and are no where elſe to be found (as I know of) I ſhall give you the Heads of them from the *French* Original, which begins thus.

And brings over a Charter concerning the late Agreement between himſelf and K. *Lewis*.

Lewis by the Grace of God King of *France*, to all thoſe to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting, *&c.* and then it recites, that whereas he and the Lord *Edward*, eldeſt Son to the King of *England*, were agreed to go on Pilgrimage beyond Sea, they have entered into theſe mutual Covenants.

The Heads of this Charter.

1. The

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* *M. W.*

King *Charles* being now eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, he alſo took upon him his former Dignity of Senator of *Rome*, and Vicar of the *Roman* Empire in *Thuſcany* and *Romania*,* over both which he appointed *Guido de Montfort*, younger Son of Earl *Simon* deceaſed, his Lieutenant: this *Simon* had about two Years ſince made his eſcape out of priſon in *England*, and having married the Daughter of an *Italian* Count called *Aldebrandino*, by his Advice he did great miſchiefs to the *Romans* and *Thuſcans*, and a few Years after treacherouſly murdered his Couſin *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, as you will find when we come to that Time.

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[3] *M.W.G.R.*

[4] *T. W.* A Parliament or Colloquy at *London*.

[5] *M. W.*

The *Jews* forbid to hold Eſtates in Fee, to take exceſſive Uſury, or receive any Quit-Rents in Fee.

[3] The King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Weſtminſter*, after which I find nothing conſiderable to have happened till fifteen days after *Eaſter*; and then [4] a great Multitude of the Noblemen of *England* were aſſembled at *London*, (by which expreſſion I ſuppoſe our Author means a Parliament) but the King ſeem'd only to trifle away the time with them, they [5] having no great matters then brought before them, ſaving (and that chiefly by the means of Pr. *Edward*, and the Lord *Henry* Son to the K. of the *Romans)* that it was ordain'd, that the *Jews* (who had till then intolerably oppreſt the *Chriſtians*, under pretence of certain yearly Fees, or quit-Rents, which they were obliged by their Bonds to pay them at certain ſtated times) ſhould be forbidden to receive ſuch Extortions for the future; and it was further order'd, that all ſuch Muniments or Writings which the *Jews* had from them, ſhould be delivered up to the *Chriſtians*.

**Rot. Pat.* 55. *H.* 3. *M.* 10. *Dorſ.*

This Law concerning the *Jews*, more plainly recited in the King's Writ, to the Mayor of *London*.

But what was the meaning of theſe annual Fees abovemention'd, will be beſt underſtood by this following Writ upon * Record, directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, which (tho dated near two Years after) refers to this Law, and gives us the beſt Interpretation of the words of our Author: for in this Writ the Law is thus recited, "That whereas the King has provided, by the Advice of the Prelates and Great Men who are of his Council, that no *Jew* ſhould enjoy a Freehold in any Mannor, Lands, *&c.* and by Charter, Gift, Obligation, or other ways, only that they might keep the Houſes, wherein they then inhabited, in Cities, Boroughs and Towns: then after other Clauſes, forbidding *Jews* to plead by the King's original Writs, any where but before his Juſtices appointed for them, it follows, that they ſhould only receive their principal of *Chriſtians*, according to their Bonds or Chirographs; and at laſt concludes with another Clauſe, whereby they are alſo forbid to receive any perpetual Rents, called Fees, out of the Eſtates, or by the hands of *Chriſtians:* wherefore the King hereby ſtraitly enjoins, that the Perſons to whom this Writ is directed, cauſe the ſaid Proviſion, Ordinance and Statute to be proclaimed throughout their Bailywick, *&c.* Given at *Weſtminſter* 25° die *Julii* A. R. 55°.

[1] *T. W.* E. *Edmund* the K's Son, marries the Daughter of the E. of *Albemarle*.

[1] Before the Diſſolution of this Parliament, about the beginning of *April*, Earl *Edmund*, the King's ſecond Son, was married to *Avelina*, Daughter and Heir to *William* late Earl of *Albemarle* and *Holderneſs*; and ſhe was alſo to have been, after her Mother, (who was Daughter to the Earl of *Devonſhire)* Lady of the Iſle of *Wight*. The Wedding was kept at *Weſtminſter* with great Solemnity, the King

and Queen, with all the Nobility being preſent. But this Joy did not laſt long, [2] for the young Lady died before the Year was ended: and I muſt here obſerve, that *Matt. Weſtminſter* places this Marriage under the precedent Year, and *William Riſhanger* under the next; but they are both miſtaken, and *Thomas Wikes* is in the right, who places it in this Year, which is alſo confirm'd by a * Record in the *Tower*.

[2] *Sandford's* Gen. Hiſt. *l.* 2. *cap.* 7.

* *Rot. Pat.* 53. *H.* 3. *m.* 16.

Nothing elſe happened remarkable this Summer, till the [3] beginning of *Auguſt*, when *Richard* King of the *Romans* being return'd out of *Germany*, landed at *Dover*, bringing over along with him a beautiful young Lady named *Beatrix*, the Daughter of *Theodoric de Falkmorite*, a *German* Nobleman of great Reputation, whom he had married about *Midſummer*, more for her Beauty than Portion, which was but ſmall. But they were both received with great Joy, many of the Nobility of the Kingdom going out to meet them, and the King and Queen ſhewed them great Honour and Reſpect.

[3] *T.W. A.W.*

Rich. K. of the *Romans* arrives in *England* with a young Wife.

[4] Some time after this *Lewis* King of *France* ſent over his Envoys on purpoſe to Pr. *Edward*, deſiring him that (with the King his Father's leave) he would come over into *France*, to treat with him concerning matters of great Moment; whereupon the Prince preſently made haſt to go over to that King, and as ſoon as they met, he told the Prince, that ſince he himſelf had vowed an Expedition for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, he deſired the Prince, as a young and valiant Warrier, and experienced Commander, to accompany him thither: to which requeſt the Prince replied, that his Majeſty might very well know that the King his Father's Revenues were extreamly waſted and reduced by reaſon of the late Civil Wars; and that as for his own particular Appenage, it was much too ſmall for ſo great an Undertaking; whereupon the King of *France* generouſly offer'd to lend Prince *Edward* the ſum of thirty thouſand Marks, which he accepting of, immediately mortgaged to the King of *France* the Revenues of *Bourdeaux*, for the true payment of the Money.

[4] *G. R.*

K. of *France* ſends Envoys to P. *Edw.* deſiring his Preſence in *France*;

And his Company to the *Holy-Land*, but the Prince excuſes himſelf.

The *French* K. offers to lend P. *Edw.* 30000 Marks, which he accepts.

As ſoon as the Prince had finiſhed this Agreement with the *French* King, he return'd into *England* about the beginning of *September*, that he might prepare all things ready for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, and at his Return was received by the King his Father with great tenderneſs, who ſince he could not go that Pilgrimage himſelf, was highly pleaſed with his Son's undertaking it.

The Prince returns into *England*.

The Annals of *London* do here alſo further inform us, that the Prince now alſo brought over with him the King of *France*'s Charter, containing the Articles between them for the intended Expedition; which being ſet down at large in thoſe Annals, and are no where elſe to be found (as I know of) I ſhall give you the Heads of them from the *French* Original, which begins thus.

And brings over a Charter concerning the late Agreement between himſelf and K. *Lewis*.

Lewis by the Grace of God King of *France*, to all thoſe to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting, *&c.* and then it recites, that whereas he and the Lord *Edward*, eldeſt Son to the King of *England*, were agreed to go on Pilgrimage beyond Sea, they have entered into theſe mutual Covenants.

The Heads of this Charter.

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1. The King of *France* agrees to lend the ſaid Lord *Edward*, the ſum of ſeventy thouſand Pounds *Turnois*, of which two thouſand five hundred pounds were to be paid to *Gaſton* Viſcount *Byern*, for the Paſſage of the Lord *Edward* and his Forces through the Country of the ſaid Viſcount.

2. All the reſt of the ſaid Sum was to be laid out for Horſes, Victuals and Shipping, for the tranſport of the ſaid Lord *Edward* and his Forces, and was to be paid according to his Orders by King *Lewis*'s Officers, to ſuch Perſons to whom the ſaid Money ſhould become due.

3. The aforeſaid Sum of ſeventy thouſand pounds *Turnois* ſo lent, was to be paid in the ſpace of ſeven Years, at two half yearly payments to be made at *Paris*, during the ſaid Term, and was to be raiſed out of the Cuſtoms of the City of *Burdeaux*, by the Conſtable or Lieutenant thereof. The firſt payment of which Sum was to begin from the Year of our Lord 1273. and for the better aſſurance of this Obligation, the Lord *Edward* was to procure the King his Father's Letters of Confirmation.

4. But for default of ſuch payment, the King of *France* might ſeize all the Goods, both moveable and immoveable, belonging to the ſaid Lord *Edward*, within the Kingdom of *France*.

5. Alſo the Lord *Edward* further covenants with the ſaid King, that he will by the Feaſt of *Aſſumption* of the Bleſſed Virgin next enſuing, be ready at *Aigues mortes*, to ſail to the *Holy-Land*.

6. The Lord *Edward* further engages in good Faith, that he will come and paſs over ſooner if it be poſſible; and that in his Journey through *France*, he will do no damage neither by himſelf nor his People, in the Territories of the ſaid King, nor either of his Brothers within that Kingdom, either in his going, ſtaying, or returning from the ſaid Pilgrimage.

7. Laſtly, when the Lord *Edward* ſhall be engaged in this Expedition, he ſhall be obedient to King *Lewis* as one of the Barons of his Realm, and perform his Service to him as his Sovereign Lord.

All which Articles the ſaid Lord *Edward* hath ſworn upon the Holy Evangeliſts to do and obſerve in good Faith: and for the true performance of which, the ſaid Lord *Edward* was to deliver at *Paris* one of his Sons as a Hoſtage, to be redelivered upon the return of his Father from the ſaid Pilgrimage; but if he died before that time, the Child was to be delivered to his Mother, or to the King of *England* if ſhe were then dead: and for the true performance of this the King of *France* obliges himſelf and his Heirs. Then the Charter thus concludes.

In witneſs whereof the ſaid Lord *Edward* has delivered to the King of *France* his Letters Patents, ſealed with his Seal.

Then alſo follows this Memorandum,

And further, *Henry* eldeſt Son to the King of *Almaign*, *Gaſton* Viſcount of *Byern*, *Thomas de Clare*, Brother to the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and the Lord *Roger Leyburne*, have at the Requeſt of the Lord *Edward*, ſworn upon the Holy Evangeliſts, that they will do their endeavour, and will truly counſel and adviſe him to obſerve and keep all the aforeſaid Covenants; and in Teſtimony of which the ſaid King *Lewis* hath alſo cauſed his Seal to be put to this Charter, dated *Ann. Dom.* 1269.

[4] Not

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[5] *T.W.* p. 88.

K. *Henry* ſummons the Nobility, &c. to be preſent at the Tranſlation of St. *Edward*'s Reliques into a richer Shrine.

[5] Not long after Prince *Edward*'s return, the King was reſolved to tranſlate the Reliques of *Edward* the *Confeſſor* (for which he had a great Veneration) into a richer Shrine, and therefore ſummon'd to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 13th of *October* all the Prelates and Great Men of *England*, as alſo the richeſt Men of all the Burroughs and Cities in the Kingdom, that they might render this Solemnity the more illuſtrious; who being all aſſembled, beſides a vaſt confluence of ordinary People, the King himſelf and his Brother King *Richard* began the Ceremony, by taking up the Coffin wherein the ſaid Bones or Reliques were laid, upon their Shoulders; to which alſo the Princes *Edward* and *Edmund*, with divers other Earls and Great Barons put their helping hands: and being ſo carried, it was placed in a Shrine of Gold, adorn'd with precious Stones, which was then ſet in a high and eminent place with all due Reverence, where I ſuppoſe they continued till the 27th year of *Henry* the *Eighth*, when the greater Monaſteries being diſſolved, all ſuch Shrines and Reliques were removed as ſuperſtitious.

[1] *Id. ib.*

The Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, being newly rebuilt, is new Conſecrated.

[1] And our Author further adds, that all theſe things were perform'd in the Abbey Church of *Weſtminſter*, which the King had then newly rebuilt at his own expence, of ſuch a Structure as the like was not to be ſeen in Chriſtendom; and then alſo the Monks firſt conſecrated the Sacrament in it after this new building: when the Service was over, there was a great Feaſt in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, at which the King intended to have worn his Crown, but for ſome reaſons he alter'd his Reſolution. And it is here to be noted, that at this Feſtival the Archbiſhop of *York* (who in the Abſence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* then beyond the Seas, perform'd all the ſacred Functions at this Solemnity) had his Croſs carried before him as Primate of *England*, which gave great Offence to moſt of the Biſhops, becauſe they had not ſeen the like before.

A Parliament gives the King a 20th part of all moveables.

But to return to matters of greater moment: As ſoon as this Solemnity was over, the Nobles of the Kingdom began to treat in Parliament concerning the weighty Affairs thereof, in which there was granted to the King, by the conſent of the major part of the great Men, a Twentieth part of the moveable Goods of all Perſons in the Kingdom.

A fuller Account of it from the Annals of *London*.

But the Annals of *London* are more expreſs in this matter, and ſay, that all the *Freemen* of the Kingdom of *England*, as well of the Towns, as of the Cities and Burroughs, gave the King a Twentieth part of all their moveable Goods, towards his expences in his intended Voyage to the *Holy-Land*; for it ſeems he had not yet declared that he would not go himſelf in Perſon.

[2] *T.W. ib.*

A great Abuſe in collecting the late Tax, which cauſes Diſcontent.

I cannot but here obſerve from our former [2] Author, that altho the Perſons aſſign'd by the King's Council for collecting this Tax of a Twentieth part, had been named for all the Counties of *England*, yet could not the Money be ſuddenly rais'd, ſo that the Aſſeſſment was delay'd till toward *Lent*, and the Collection of it till *Midſummer* following, which cauſed great murmuring and diſcontent among the People; becauſe altho a great deal of their Stock was now ſold off, or killed, and their Barns emptied, yet were they forced to pay the Tax, not only according to what they were then poſſeſſed of, but as their Stock was at *Michaelmaſs* before, by

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which means a much greater ſum of Money was raiſed than at firſt intended; but the beſt uſe made of it then, was, that a great part of it was reſerved to aſſiſt Prince *Edward* in his intended Expedition to the *Holy-Land*.

[3] *Id. ib.*

The E. of *Glouceſter* being diſcontented, refuſes to come to Parliament.

[3] About this time the Earl of *Glouceſter* following ill Advice, refus'd to appear, tho ſummon'd to the two laſt Parliaments, ſometimes pretending that he was afraid to be taken and put in Priſon, by the contrivance of Prince *Edward*, who it ſeems was very jealous of his Proceedings; ſometimes that he was afraid of the Incurſions of the *Welſh*, if he ſhould leave *Wales*, where he then reſided, and come up to *London* with his Attendants: but at laſt, after many Diſputes and angry Meſſages, leſt a Civil War might again break out, it was by the mediation of divers Prelates and Noblemen agreed between the aforeſaid Prince and Earl, that they would ſubmit all differences to the determination of *Richard* King of the *Romans*; which Agreement the King himſelf not only approved of, but both the Parties abovementioned engaged by their Charters and mutual Oaths to ſtand to it; but this Buſineſs did not take effect till the beginning of the next Year.

The Pr. and Earl agree to refer all their Differences to the K. of the *Romans*.

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[4] Annal. de *London*.

A great Parliament at *London*, and what was done at it.

When the King and Queen had kept their *Chriſtmaſs* (together with ſeveral of the Great Men of the Kingdom) at his Mannor of *Eltham*, he removed from thence to *London*, and on *Hock-monday*, that is, on the Monday after *Eaſter* (according to the [4] City Annals) all the Biſhops, Earls, Barons, Knights, and *Freeholders* of the whole Realm, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* by the King's Writs of Summons, and there they treated of divers matters relating to the State of the Nation, but were chiefly taken up in reconciling the Differences between Prince *Edward* and the Earl of *Glouceſter*; for it ſeems, they were not ſatisfied in ſome Points of the Award or Sentence, that the King of the *Romans* was ready to make; and therefore the time for the perfecting of it was put off till eight days after *Midſummer*, and the Parliament was thereupon adjourned to that Time.

[5] *Id. ib.*

The Bps renew the Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt all Tranſgreſſors of the *Great Charters*.

[5] But in the mean while (*viz.* on the 13*th* of *May*) the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, with divers others of their Order, came to St. *Paul*'s Church, and there cauſed the Bull of Pope *Honorius* the *Third* to be publickly read, whereby he confirm'd the *Charters* of *Liberties* and *Foreſts*, which had been granted by King *Henry* at the beginning of his Reign; and at the ſame time alſo the Biſhops ſolemnly pronounced the Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt all infringers of thoſe Charters, as had been formerly publiſhed in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, A. D. 1253. But to return to Temporal matters.

[1] *T.W. A.W.*

The Award of the K. of the *Romans* at laſt publiſhed, with the Heads of it.

[1] Then eight days after *Midſummer*, almoſt all the Great Men met again at *London*, to try how they could beſt accommodate the aforeſaid Differences between Prince *Edward* and the Earl of *Glouceſter*; and at laſt, after many Conferences and Conſultations had with the ſaid Noblemen, King *Richard* finiſhed his Sentence or Award between the Parties, which was then openly read, and was to this effect.

1. That if the Lord *Edward* went beyond Sea for the *Holy-Land* in *September* following, the Earl of *Glouceſter* ſhould alſo go over the next *March*, if he were not hindred by ſickneſs, or ſome other reaſonable Cauſe, ſuch as ſhould be allowed by the ſaid King of the *Romans*.

2. And if the ſaid Earl ſhould aſſiſt the Lord *Edward* with any Men in this Expedition, then the King of *England* was to allow him the ſum of eight thouſand Marks, and ſhould alſo find him an able Ship for his Tranſportation; but if he did not aſſiſt the Prince with any Forces, the Earl was then only to receive three thouſand Marks, which was to be expended upon this Voyage, and on nothing elſe.

3. That whither the Earl went over beyond Sea or not, he ſhould not move or make any War or Diſturbance in *England*.

4. And for the true Obſervation of the Premiſes, the ſaid Earl was to ſubmit himſelf to the Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of *England*, to be by them *excommunicated* if he any ways tranſgreſſed the ſaid Articles, and ſhould alſo ſubmit all his Lands to an *Interdict*.

5. And for the farther performance of all theſe things, they were bound under the Penalty of *twenty thouſand Marks*, to be in the diſpoſition of the King of the *Romans*, how it ſhould be laid out.

6. And laſtly, for the better ſecurity of the Earl's ſincere intentions, he was preſently to deliver up two of his Caſtles in the Marches of *Wales* (called *Tenbrig* and *Henly*) to ſuch Perſons as the King of the *Romans* ſhould appoint for the ſafe keeping of them, till ſuch time as it ſhould be certainly known, that the Earl was arrived in the *Mediterranean*.

Theſe (our Authors tell us) were the chief Heads of this Award drawn up in the *French* Tongue, which are very long and intricate; and which the King himſelf wiſely obſerving, that he might take away all occaſion of Diſpute, he, by the conſent of all Parties took upon him to explain and moderate the ſaid Sentence in divers particulars. This Declaration was publiſhed at *Reading* on the eighteenth of *July*, and was ſo much to the Satisfaction of the Earl of *Glouceſter*, that he willingly ſubmitted to it: and he with his Dependants again attended at the King's Parliaments and * *Treaties*, together with the other Noblemen of the Kingdom, who all rejoiced that this troubleſome Diſpute was ſo happily brought to an end.

* *Tractatus.*

But to look a little back to the beginning of this Summer, when the Peace had like to have been interrupted by a fooliſh Quarrel that fell out between two Noblemen, which might have proved of dangerous Conſequence, if it had not been ſtopped in time; and it happened thus:

[2] *Id. ib.*

A Relation of the Quarrel between the E. of *Surrey*, and the Ld *Zouche*.

[2] There had been (it ſeems) a long Suit depending between *John* Earl of *Warren* and *Surrey*, and *Alan* Lord *Zouche*, concerning a certain Mannor; which coming to a Trial before the King's Juſtices in *Weſtminſter* Hall, there happened to paſs very reproachful and unſeemly Language between the Earl and the ſaid Baron, which at laſt came to blows, inſomuch, that the Earl and his Followers being privately armed, ſet upon the Lord *Zouche* and his eldeſt

The E. wounds the Ld *Zouche* and his Son.

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Son in open Court, and wounded them both, but the Father mortally, as it was then fear'd.

[3] *Id. ib.*

Flies to his Caſtle of *Rygate.*

[3] But as ſoon as the Earl had done this raſh and wicked Action, he with his Attendants being too ſtrong to be apprehended, preſently took Boats, and paſſing over the Water, fled to his Caſtle of *Rygate* in *Surrey*, where he fortified himſelf, and ſtood upon his Guard. The King, and Prince *Edward* his Son, being highly provoked at this Inſolence, and reſolving not to let it paſs unpuniſhed, ſent to the Earl and ſummon'd him to appear at Court, and abide the Law of the Kingdom: but the Earl fearing the Impriſonment of himſelf and his Adherents, raſhly refus'd to ſubmit; whereupon Prince *Edward*, with ſome Forces, was ſent down to bring him to Obedience; but as ſoon as the Prince arrived before the Caſtle, the Earl conſidered better of the bad Conſequences of this matter, and being perſuaded by the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and the Lord *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, yeilded himſelf Priſoner, and was by the Prince brought up to the Court the laſt of *June*, where he underwent the Judgment of the Law, and was fined five thouſand Pounds to the King, and two thouſand to the Lord *Zouche* and his Son, for the Wounds and Injuries they had received.

But being about to be beſieged, ſurrenders himſelf.

[4] *Id. ib.*

[4] And it was alſo further enjoyn'd the ſaid Earl, that he with fifty of his Followers, who had been all concern'd in this Fray, ſhould walk from the *New Temple* to *Weſtminſter* Hall on Foot, and ſhould there take an Oath before the King's Juſtices, that they had not acted what they did out of any *Prepenſe Malice*, but only out of ſudden Heat and Paſſion; and ſo this threatning Tempeſt was happily blown over.

[5] *Id. ib.*

[1] *Vol. I. p.* 689.

[5] But I muſt here obſerve, that our Author farther relates (and that very truly) that the Lord *Zouche*, who was pretty well in Years, fell into a Fever by reaſon of his Wounds, and died thereof in a few days following, to the great Grief of all his Friends. [1] And Sir *William Dugdale*, in his Baronage of *England*, (from an antient Inquiſition ſtill upon Record, and found upon the Death of this Lord) hath proved, that he indeed deceaſed this Year; tho he is himſelf miſtaken, when following the Authority of *Matt. Weſtminſter*, he makes this Fray to have happened in the Year 1268, whereas it appears by *Wikes*'s Chronicle, and the Annals of *Waverly*, that it fell out this very Year, not long before Prince *Edward*'s Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, which has (I ſuppoſe) led ſome of our Modern Hiſtorians into the like Miſtake; and Mr. *Speed* places it in 1269, and falſly ſuppoſes the Lord *Zouche* to have been chief Juſtitiary of *England*. But to leave this Digreſſion; theſe things being thus concluded, Prince *Edward* was preparing himſelf for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, which he now reſolved to undertake with all the ſpeed he could.

[2] *T. W.*

[2] In order to which, I muſt here give you an Account of what had already paſſed this ſpring in *France*, where not long after *Eaſter* King *Lewis*, together with his two Sons, Prince *Philip* and *John*, and a great multitude of the *French* Nobility, had begun their Journey for the *Holy-Land*; but before he departed, Prince *Edward*

paſſed

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paſſed over into *France*, as well to take his leave of that King, as alſo to ſettle ſome Affairs that were ſtill to be concerted between them; and when he had diſpatched what he had to do, return'd immediately into *England* to ſubmit to the Award of his Uncle, the King of the *Romans*, and ſo this Affair reſted till the beginning of *July*, as you have already heard.

[3] Annal. *London.*

[3] About this time alſo Prince *Edward* reſolving to make himſelf Popular, and to take away all occaſion of Diſcontents at home, interceded with the King his Father to reſtore to the City of *London* their antient Privileges, and particularly the Power again to *elect* their own *Mayor* and *Sheriffs* in the ſame manner as they had done before the late Civil Wars; in conſideration whereof, the Farm which the City ſhould for the future pay the King, was the ſum of four hundred Pounds *per Annum*, out of the Fines and Iſſues of the City, whereas before they paid but three hundred Pounds *per Annum* for the ſame; and then the ſame Week the Citizens choſe *John Adrien* for their *Mayor*, and *Philip Taylor*, and *Walter Potter* for their *Sheriffs*, who on the eighteenth of *July* following, were preſented to the King, and ſworn before him. I mention this, becauſe that ſince their laſt Pardon they had not yet choſen thoſe Officers, but they had been ſolely nominated by the King, out of ſuch Citizens as he could beſt confide in.

The King in a Parliament at *Wincheſter* delivers up the Croſs to the Prince, and gives him what remain'd of the late Tax.

And the ſame Annals further relate, that in a Parliament or Council held this Year at *Wincheſter* (not long before the Prince's departure for the *Holy-Land*) the King, with the Aſſent and in the preſence of the Biſhops and Great Men of *England*, with great ſolemnity took off the Croſs (which till then he wore) and deliver'd it to his Son Prince *Edward*, in token he was to undertake the *Cruſado* in his Father's ſtead. Which is alſo confirmed by the King's Writ or Declaration (ſtill upon * Record) wherein he ſets forth, that whereas it was not thought ſafe or expedient by the Prelates, Great Men, and * *Community* of the Kingdom, for himſelf and his Son to be both abſent from *England* at once; therefore to perform this Vow, he ſubſtitutes the Lord *Edward* his Son to undertake that Expedition, and thereby alſo beſtows upon him all that remain'd to be gather'd of the late Tax of the Twentieth part: This was dated at *Wincheſter Aug.* 4. *A. R.* 54. and it was to help to defray the charge of this Expedition.

**Rot. Pat.* 54. *H.* 3. *M.* 7. Int.

But to give you ſome Account of the Prince's Actions before his Departure.

[4] *T. W.* p. 92.

The Prince being ready to ſail, ſtops his Voyage on the death of *Boniface* ABp of *Canterbury*.

[4] It was now about the tenth of *Auguſt*, when he went from this Parliament at *Wincheſter*, down to *Portſmouth*, in order to begin his Voyage; but when the Forces he carried with him were ready to go on Board, and the Fleet only wanted his Order to ſail, he received the News that *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was lately deceaſed in his own Country of *Savoy*, being a Perſon not fam'd for Learning, or any other extraordinary Quality, except his Charity to the Poor, and Nobility of Birth.

The Prince hereupon having a great deſire to make one *Robert Burnel* his Chaplain (and a great Favourite of his) Archbiſhop, immediately left the Fleet, and rode away to *Canterbury*, to ſee if he could prevail with the Monks to *elect* him; but they having newly

before

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And goes to *Canterbury* to get the Monks to elect his Chaplain ABp who had choſe another before.

before received from the King their *Congè d' elire*, had already *Elected* their Prior Archbiſhop, with an unanimous Conſent; whereupon the Prince finding himſelf fruſtrated in his Deſign, return'd back again to *Portſmouth*, and going on Board, paſſed over into his own Dominion of *Gaſcoigny*; for the Princeſs his Wife was gone over thither before him, in order to accompany him in this long and hazardous Expedition; having left their two Sons, *John* and *Henry*, to the care of King *Richard* their Uncle: for the King of *France* was ſo generous as to truſt to Prince *Edward*'s Honour, without taking either of his Sons as a Hoſtage, for the performance of the Conditions.

The Prince and Princeſs paſs through *France* to *Aigues Mortes*, but find K. *Lewis* gone from thence before.

The Prince and Princeſs being ſafely arrived, quickly left *Gaſcoigny*, and took their Journey through *France* and the Borders of *Spain*, as far as *Aigues Mortes*, where he intended to take Shipping for the *Holy-Land*; but when he came thither, he found the King of *France* had ſome three Months before ſail'd for *Tunis*, his Brother *Charles* King of *Sicily* promiſing ſpeedily to follow him, who was the chief cauſe of King *Lewis*'s making this unfortunate Voyage into *Africa*, and thereby diverting him from his principal Deſign, which was for the *Holy-Land*.

[5] *Id.* p.93.

The K. of *France* goes over to *Tunis*, and on what Occaſion.

The King thereof proffers to pay them Tribute, which is accepted.

[5] But to give you the true ground and motive of this Expedition, it was, that the King of *Tunis* having for ſome time been Tributary to *Frederick* the late Emperor, as King of *Sicily*, therefore the preſent King *Charles* (tho of another Family) expected the ſame Tribute to be paid to him, as was before to the Emperor, which the King of *Tunis* refuſing, *Charles* was reſolved to make uſe of this lucky Opportunity of the *French* Fleet and Army to force him to it: ſo King *Lewis* and his Noblemen landing near the City of *Tunis*, they began vigorouſly to beſiege it; but when the *Mooriſh* King ſaw the danger he was in, he thought it his beſt way to offer the payment of the whole arrears of this Tribute; and this being accepted of by the two brother-Kings, they made a Truce with him for thirty Years, upon which he made them, and the great Lords their Attendants, divers rich and noble Preſents. This account of our Author, as alſo of *Vignier* in his Hiſtorical *Bibliotheque*, ſeems more probable than that of moſt of the *French* Hiſtorians, who relate, that their King with his Brother *Charles*, ſail'd to *Tunis* with this Army, as well becauſe it was of great Conſequence to their main Deſign to be maſter of thoſe Coaſts from whence the Sultan of *Egypt* received great Aſſiſtances, both in Men and Money, as alſo becauſe the King of *Tunis* had given great hopes of his turning *Chriſtian*, in caſe they would help him to force his Subjects to ſubmit to it. But certainly the *Mooriſh* King pretended this latter only to amuſe them; for I cannot ſee that the taking of this City could have been any Advantage to the Conqueſt of the *Holy-Land*, which lay ſo far remote from it; or if the King of *Tunis* had deſired their Company, why ſhould he refuſe them admittance when they came thither, as he certainly did? and therefore I rather adhere to *Vignier*, and to our Author, who agree in the Account of the reaſons of this Expedition as above related. But to return to our Hiſtory.

[1] Prince *Edward* having left the greateſt part of his Forces behind, to follow him with his Fleet, paſſed over the *Mediterranean* from *Aigues Mortes* to *Tunis*, where he arrived preſently after the concluſion of the Truce abovementioned; but being not at all pleaſed with this Undertaking, nor finding the King of *France* at that time ready, nor indeed (as he thought) deſign'd to ſail for the *Holy-Land*, he took his leave of him and repaſſed thoſe Seas, reſolving to winter at *Trepani* in *Sicily*: but the Prince had not been long gone, when the *Chriſtian* Army that lay encamped at *Tunis* were taken with malignant Fevers, and bloody Fluxes, thro the extreme heat of the Country, as alſo for want of Water and freſh Proviſions; ſo that beſides common Soldiers, a great many of the higheſt Rank died there; with both which Diſtempers King *Lewis* himſelf being alſo ſeized, deceaſed on the five and twentieth of *Auguſt* in the fifty fifth Year of his Age, and forty fourth of his Reign, with all the marks of Devotion and entire Reſignation of himſelf to God; being a Prince of that ſignal and extraordinary Piety and Charity, that he was ſome Years after canonized for a Saint. His Son *Philip* the *Third*, ſirnamed the *Hardy*, a young Prince of great Courage, and who attended his Father in this Expedition, ſucceeded him in the Throne, and preſently return'd home, carrying back his Father's Body to be buried at *St. Dennis*.

[1] *Id. ib.*

P. *Edward* paſſes the *Mediterranean* to *Tunis*, where he finds the *French* K. not ready to ſail to the *Holy-Land*.

The Prince repaſſed that Sea, to winter in *Sicily*.

The Chriſtian Army before *Tunis* taken with Fevers and Fluxes, which carry off a great many, and at laſt K. *Lewis* himſelf.

His Character.

[2] But whilſt Prince *Edward* paſſed the Winter in *Sicily*, he conſulted with his Couſin the Lord *Henry*, and the other Great Men that accompanied him, how he might beſt ſecure the Peace of *Gaſcoigny* during his Abſence, who all adviſed him to ſend back *Henry* into that Province, to command and defend it for him; whereupon in compliance with the Prince's Deſires, he paſſed over into *Italy* in order to get into *Gaſcoigny*, and coming as far as the City of *Viterbo* in *Italy*, he there met the new King of *France*, and his Uncle the King of *Sicily*, in their return home; where ſtaying with them ſome time to promote the *Election* of a new Pope (which the Cardinals there Aſſembled were then very buſy about) as this Prince was one Morning betimes hearing Maſs at the Church of St. *Laurence*, his two Couſin Germans *Simon* and *Guido de Montfort* (who were then baniſh'd *England*) entring the Church with divers armed Attendants, taking this Advantage, broke in, and falling upon him murdered him before the High-Altar, in revenge (as they pretended) for the deaths of their Father and Brother, who had been ſlain at the Battel of *Eveſham*: an Action both cowardly and cruel; for neither this Prince nor his Father the King of the *Romans* were ſo much as preſent at that Battel, being then both Priſoners, nor (if they had) could they have been guilty of their deaths, unleſs they had killed them with their own Hands. [3] The Body of the murdered Prince was the next Year after brought over into *England*, and buried at the Monaſtery of *Hayles* in *Glouceſterſhire*, which his Father King *Richard* had ſome Years before founded for the Monks of the *Cyſtercian* Order.

[2] *Id.* p. 94.

The Prince ſends the Ld *Henry* his Couſin to command in *Gaſcoigny*.

Who is baſely murder'd at *Viterbo* by his Couſins *Simon* and *Guido de Montfort*.

[3] *Id.* p. 95.

P. *Henry*'s Body carried over into *England*, and buried at *Hayles*.

But to return to Prince *Edward*: he ſpent all the reſt of this Winter in *Sicily*, exerciſing his Men, and preparing his Fleet in order to ſail for the *Holy-Land* the Spring following; on which Expedition he was ſo reſolutely bent, that upon the caſting away great

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[4] *W. R.* Great part of the *French* Fleet caſt away; P. *Edward*'s generous Reply thereupon.

part of the [4] Fleet belonging to the King of *France* and *Sicily* by a violent Storm, as it lay at Anchor in a Haven of that Iſle, and thoſe about the Prince endeavour'd to diſcourage him by this ill Succeſs, from undertaking his intended Voyage, he ſmote his Breaſt, and ſwore, *by the Blood of God, that tho they all deſerted him, yet himſelf would go to* Acon, *if he were not attended with any more than* Fowen *his Groom.*

[5] *Annal. Lond.* A War like to break out between *England* and *Flanders*, and on what Occaſion.

But before I conclude this Year, I ſhall give you an Account of ſome Affairs of leſs moment, which ſince they could not be inſerted in due order of Time, becauſe it was not expreſs'd in my Author, are therefore reſerved for this Place: the moſt remarkable of which is, [5] that a War was now like to break out between *England* and *Flanders*, by reaſon that the Counteſs of that Province had ſeized the Goods of all the *Engliſh* Merchants, as alſo of all others the King's Subjects of *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Gaſcoigny*, trading in that Country, to the value of forty thouſand Marks, in ſatisfaction of certain annual Penſions and Payments, which ſhe alledged were due to her from the King of *England*, and he in requital did the ſame by her Merchants, who were alſo all ſeized, and put in Priſon, and all Commerce and Trade of *Wools* and other Commodities, were forbidden with thoſe of *Flanders*; and becauſe the Merchants of other Nations, that had ſtill Liberty to carry out *Wool*, were found to ſell it in *Flanders*, therefore all Exportation of *Wool* was forbid by the King's Writ, or Proclamation, not only into *Flanders*, but any other Parts beyond the Sea, until the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt* next enſuing. I mention this, to ſhew that our Kings could antiently, by their bare Proclamation, hinder the Exportation of what Commodities they thought fit.

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[1] *M. W.* The King falls deſperately ſick, but recovers;

This Year the King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* with his Queen, and many of the Nobility at *Weſtminſter*, but in the end of *February* following [1] he was ſeized with ſo great a fit of Sickneſs, that deſpairing of his Recovery, he cauſed himſelf to be prayed for in moſt Churches; and the Monks of *Weſtminſter* went barefooted in a Grand Proceſſion from their own Church, to that of the *Knight's-Templars* in *Fleetſtreet*, and there ſung a ſolemn Maſs for his Recovery, which ſoon after followed; but whither for that reaſon I will not determine.

* *Cl.* 55. *H.* 3. *M.* 8.

† *Pat.* 55. *H.* 3. *M.* 16. intus.

But I ſhall here give you the Contents of two Records in the *Tower*, ſince they ſerve to let us know ſome things relating to the Hiſtory of this Time, which are not to be found elſewhere. The * firſt is a *Latin* Letter of the King's to Prince *Edward*, written preſently after his Recovery, commanding his Son's return into *England* with all convenient ſpeed, for divers Reaſons therein mention'd; it is dated the ſixth day of *February*, this Year. The other is *French*, in nature of † a Deed or Obligation; wherein it is firſt recited, that the King having in his late Sickneſs vowed, that if he recovered, he would go in Perſon to the *Holy-Land*, had now taken up a great ſum of Money, of his Brother K. *Richard*; and therefore for the ſecurity of the ſaid Money, he hereby engaged all the Revenues of his Kingdom (except ſome few particulars there expreſſed) till the ſaid Money be paid, but how much it was is not ſaid; nor do I believe it was ever received at all, K. *Henry* dying this Year, as you will find

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anon. *Note*, This laſt Record bears date the ſixth of *April*, after the former, and are both printed in *Pryn*'s * ſecond Volume of *Papal Vſurpations*. But it is time to ſay ſomewhat of Prince *Edward*, whom we left in *Sicily*.

* *Page* 1056, 1057.

[2] *W. H.* p. 590.

An Account of Pr. *Edward's* Actions after he arrived at the *Holy-Land*.

[2] This Year early in the Spring, that Prince putting his ſmall Army on board, ſet ſail from *Trepani* for the *Holy-Land*, and taking *Cyprus* in his way, was kindly received by the King and great Men of that Iſland; and having there refreſhed himſelf a while, he again ſet ſail for the City of *Acon*, where he came very ſeaſonably, it being then like to be taken by the *Sultan* of *Babylon*, had not this Prince's arrival with freſh Forces prevented him: but when he had ſtayed there about a Month to refreſh himſelf, as well as his wearied Souldiers, he then marching out at the head of ſeven thouſand *Chriſtians*, took the City of *Nazareth*; but when in their return to *Acon* the Enemies perſued them, watching for ſome Advantage, they ſuddenly turned, and making head, vigorouſly repulſed them, killing many of the *Saracens*. Then about *Midſummer*, Prince *Edward* having heard that they had got together in great numbers at a place called *Cakcow*, being about fifteen Miles diſtant from *Acon*, he marching out one morning early before break of day, ſurprized the *Saracens*, and killing about a thouſand of them, put the reſt to flight, taking great ſtore of rich Booty from them; and then going as far as the Caſtle of *Pilgrims* near the Sea, they lodged there that Night, and return'd to *Acon* next day: the Prince alſo with the *Chriſtians* then in the Town, made not long after a third Expedition, as far as a place called St. *George*'s, where they kill'd ſome *Saracens*, and finding none able to reſiſt them, they return'd home in ſafety.

[3] *Id.* p. 591.

The *Saracen* Princes afraid of his Succeſs.

[3] Things had hitherto proceeded proſperouſly, for Prince *Edward* had now gain'd ſo great a Reputation, that the chief Commanders of the *Saracens* began to be in great fear of his Succeſs, and therefore they reſolved, if they could, to diſpatch him; for which end the Admiral or Governor of *Joppa* ſent privately to Prince *Edward*, as if he would become a *Chriſtian*, but the Meſſenger that brought the Letters (tho it was unknown to the Prince) was one of thoſe Aſſaſſins who were bred up on purpoſe that they ſhould diſpatch whatſoever *Chriſtian* Prince, or great Man, was judged to be an inveterate Enemy to their Superſtition, upon a belief that they merited Paradiſe for ſo doing; ſo this Fellow going two or three times with Letters and Meſſages from his Maſter to Prince *Edward*, his Servants began to have the leſs Suſpicion of him: however before they admitted him, they ſearched his Girdle, and other places for Weapons, as the Cuſtom then was; but it ſeems it was not done ſo throughly as it ought; for one time having delivered his Letters to the Prince, who was then bareheaded, ſitting near a Window, with only a looſe Coat about him becauſe it was very hot, he ſeemed well ſatisfied in the Account this Meſſenger gave him, that the Admiral his Maſter intended to be with him in a few days, in order to fulfil his Promiſe: but when the Prince called this Fellow again to him, to aſk him ſome further queſtion, he, bowing towards the Prince, as if it had been in way of Reſpect, pulled out a poiſon'd Dagger on the ſudden from under his Girdle, and was juſt

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The Prince is wounded by an Aſſaſſin, whom he kills on the ſpot.

[4] *T.W.*p.97.

going to ſtab the Prince into the Belly; but he ſeeing the blow coming, warded it off with his Arm, and there received a dangerous Wound; yet as the Villain was about to redouble the ſtroke, the Prince had no other way to ſave himſelf, but by lifting up his Foot, and ſtriking him ſuch a blow on the Breaſt, that he beat him down backward; [4] then the Prince leaping up, ran in to him, and wreſted the Dagger out of his Hand with that Violence, that he gave himſelf a ſlight hurt in the Forehead, but however he quickly diſpatched him: whereupon his Servants (who it ſeems were not then preſent) came running in, and one of them (his Muſician) being in a great Rage and Fright, took up a Stool and ſtruck the dead Man's head with that force, that he beat out his Brains, for which the Prince ſeverely reproved him, as he had good reaſon.

[5] *Id. ib.*

The Prince is in great danger from the Wound.

But is recover'd by the skill of an *Engliſh* Chirurgeon.

[5] So ſoon as this ſad News was diſperſed into the Palace and Town, all Places were filled with Outcries and Lamentations; but notwithſtanding all the Remedies the Chirurgeons could apply, the Wound within a few days began to gangreen, inſomuch that all People deſpair'd of his Life, except one *Engliſh* Chirurgeon who would undertake to cure him, provided he might be left entirely to his Management, and that the Princeſs his Lady (who was then in the Room) might be removed, and not permitted to come to him till he was paſt Danger; which being done (tho not without great Grief and Reluctancy on her part) the Chirurgeon preſently began to cut off the gangreen'd Fleſh to the quick, which put the Prince to great Torment, but then by the application of proper Remedies, the wound was ſo well heal'd in fiſteen days time, that he was able to mount on Horſeback. Thus was this magnanimous Prince by his own Courage, aſſiſted through God's particular Providence, twice delivered when he was in the utmoſt danger of his Life.

The Story of the Princeſs *Eleanor*, her ſucking the Venom out of her Husband's Wound, a meer *Romance*.

* In *Middleſex*.

But I cannot leave this Subject without taking notice, that the vulgar Story of the Princeſs *Eleanor* her ſucking the Venom out of her Husband's Wound, and to which he owed his Recovery, is a meer Romance; this action of hers not being mention'd by any antient Author of, or near that time: the firſt in whom I can find it, being Mr. *Camden* in his * *Britannia*, from whom it is alſo tranſcribed by Mr. *Speed* in his Chronicle, and both of them cite *Rodericus Toletanus*, or *Roderick* Archbiſhop of *Toledo* for it: but tho I have diligently ſearched that Author's Hiſtory of *Spain*, yet I cannot find it any where there, nor I believe any body elſe; for at the end of his Work he tells the Reader, that he finiſh'd it *Ann. Dom.* 1243. *Æra Hiſpan.* 1281. which was above ten Years before Prince *Edward* married the Princeſs *Eleanor* of *Caſtile*, and near twenty Years before this accident of the Aſſaſſin's wounding that Prince. But to return to our Hiſtory.

[1] *Id. ib.*

The *Sultan* of *Babylon* congratulates the Prince's Recovery, and proteſts his Innocency of the late Attempt upon his Perſon.

[1] When the *Sultan* of *Babylon* heard what had happened to Prince *Edward*, he could ſcarce believe he had been alive; but ſo ſoon as he was aſſured of it, he ſent Ambaſſadors to him, to congratulate his Recovery, and they ſolemnly proteſted in their Maſter's Name, that this Wickedneſs had never been done by his procurement or privity; with which the Prince ſeeming ſatisfied, he honourably diſmiſſed them. But what he did further, our Authors do

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not tell us, only it is certain, that he ſtaid in *Paleſtine* till the Summer following, and that during his abode there, [2] the Princeſs *Eleanor* was brought to bed of a Daughter, who from the Place of her Birth, was named *Joan de Acres*, or *Acon* (as we call it in *Engliſh*) and was afterwards married to *Gilbert* Earl of *Glouceſter*.

[2] *W. R.* p. 1006.

The Princeſs *Eleanor* is brought to Bed of a Daughter.

But it is now time to look back into *England*.

And here I can find nothing conſiderable happened after Prince *Edward*'s departure, [3] except the death of *John* his eldeſt Son, a Child of great Beauty, and Wit, for his Age: he died about the beginning of *Auguſt*, and was buried in the *Abbey* Church of *Weſtminſter*, where his Tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

[3] *T. W.* p. 96.

John eldeſt Son to P. *Edward*, dies.

As for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, I can meet with nothing remarkable to have happened this Year, but that [4] the Cardinals after many delays, not being able to agree upon any one of their own Body, whom they could think fit to make Pope, at laſt agreed to chooſe *Theobald* Arch-deacon of *Liege*, who was then with Prince *Edward* to perform his Pilgrimage in the *Holy-Land*. So ſoon as this Prelate heard of his Advancement, he took his leave of the Prince, and went ſtraight for *Italy*, to receive his Conſecration, by the name of Pope *Gregory* the X*th*.

[4] *Id. ib.*

Theobald Arch-deacon of *Liege*, choſen Pope, tho then in the *Holy-Land*.

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Where King *Henry* kept his *Chriſtmaſs* this Year is uncertain; the Continuator of *Matt. Paris* makes it to have been at *Weſtminſter*, but I believe he is as much miſtaken in this, as in the Year it ſelf, which he falſly makes to be 1273. and the Annals of *Waverley* (whoſe Authority I prefer) ſay expreſly, that the King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* in the Caſtle of *Wincheſter*, and ſtayed there till after *Twelfe-tide*, by reaſon of ſome Indiſpoſition he then laboured under; but that preſently after the Holy-days he quitted that Place, and return'd to *Weſtminſter*, becauſe the Juſtices Itinerant (to wit) Maſter *Roger de Seiton* and his Aſſociates, were to ſit at *Wincheſter*; for the King being aged and infirm, had no mind to ſtay there during ſo great a concourſe as muſt needs come to ſuch a vaſt Aſſembly.

The King leaves *Wincheſter*, and comes to *London*.

I can find nothing worth relating to have happened in *England*, during this Spring and the following Summer, except [5] the death of *Richard* King of the *Romans*, who had been ſometime before *Chriſtmaſs* ſeized with the Dead-palſy, ſo that he had neither the uſe of his Tongue, nor other Members; and having languiſhed all Winter, he departed this Life at his Caſtle of *Berkhamſted* on the ſecond of *April*: his Body was buried at the Abbey of *Hayles*, but his Heart at the Priory of *Rewly*, which he had founded in the Subburbs of *Oxford* for the *Ciſtercian* Monks. He was a Prince of ſufficient Parts and Courage (tho in neither extraordinary, yet) in both which he excell'd the King his Brother, as he did alſo in the management of his Revenues, ſo that he was accounted one of the richeſt Princes of *Europe*.

[5] *Id. p.* 97.

The death of *Richard* King of the *Romans*, with his Character.

This enabled him to be very magnificent in his Buildings and Religious Foundations, beſtowing a great deal of Money upon *Wallingford*-Caſtle and other Places, but much more upon his two Monaſteries abovemention'd.

[1] About *Michaelmaſs* after his deceaſe, *Edmund* Earl of *Cornwal*, his ſecond Son, being newly return'd from the *Holy-Land*, (after the

[1] *Id.* p. 98.

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murder of his elder Brother *Henry)* married *Margaret* the Siſter of *Gilbert de Clare* Earl of *Glouceſter*: the Wedding was kept at *Wallingford*-Caſtle with great Pomp and Solemnity, and he ſucceeded his Father in his Title of Earl of *Cornwal*, as alſo in his great Eſtate.

[2] *W. H.* p. 593.

Pr. *Edward* concludes a Truce with the *Sultan* of *Babylon* for ten Years, *&c.*

It is now fit we give you ſome Account of what Pr. *Edward* (whom we left laſt Year in the *Holy-Land)* performed there ever ſince that time; for he perceiving that he was like to expect no Aſſiſtance from *France*, by reaſon of the death of King *Lewis*, and the Succeſſion of his Son King *Philip*, whoſe Affairs were as yet unſettled, nor that King *Henry* was able to ſend him any further Aid, either of Men or Money, having already rais'd all he could to equip him out; as alſo that the Forces he carried over with him (being at firſt not very many) were now reduced but to a few; therefore all theſe things conſidered, [2] he thought it neceſſary to treat with the *Sultan* of *Babylon* concerning a Truce, who (being very glad to be rid of him out of thoſe Parts) readily conſented to it, and accordingly by Meſſengers that paſſed between them a Truce was concluded on for ten Years, ten Weeks, and ten Days, and both Parties in the mean while were quietly to poſſeſs all thoſe Towns and Places which they then held.

[3] *Id. ib.*

The Prince takes Shipping, and lands in *Sicily*, and paſſes through *Italy* as far as *Viterbo*, to the Pope.

[3] This Truce being finiſhed, the Prince after above a Year's ſtay at *Acon*, took Shipping about the middle of *Auguſt*, to paſs over into *Europe*; and landing at *Trepani* in *Sicily* toward the end of *September*, went from thence to *Meſſina*, and ſo paſſed through the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Rome*, and ſo to *Viterbo*, where he was honourably received by the new Pope *Gregory*, who had been lately his fellow Pilgrim, and of whom he obtain'd a ſentence of *Excommunication*, and Baniſhment from the Territories of the Church, againſt Count *Aldobrandino*, *Simon Montfort*, and all others the murderers of the Lord *Henry de Montfort*.

But whilſt Prince *Edward* was in *Italy*, he received the News of the Death of the King his Father, and thereupon took upon him the Title of King of *England*: however I ſhall leave him there for the preſent, and defer ſaying any thing more of his Actions in his return home through *France* till I come to his Reign, which I reſerve (if God grant me Life) for the next Volume.

It is now time for us to look back into *England*, where I find very little worth noting to have fallen out during this Prince's Abſence, more than what hath been already related; only that ſome unquiet Spirits, who love to fiſh in troubled Waters, deſiring to enrich themſelves with the ſpoil of other Men's Eſtates, thought the only way to obtain them, was by making freſh Diſturbances.

[4] *M. W.*

A ſmall Inſurrection in *England*.

[4] Of theſe ſort of People, there were to the number of about three hundred Horſe and Foot, beſides a great deal of unarmed Rabble, got together in the *North* parts; but Earl *Edmund* the King's ſecond Son, and *Roger de Mortimer*, ſoon diſperſed them, and forced the reſt to return to their own Homes, having kill'd a great many, and taken more of them Priſoners, ſo that they durſt not attempt any thing of the like kind for the future.

[5] R. W.

But in the Month of *Auguſt*, there aroſe a greater Diſturbance, [5] by reaſon of a Quarrel between the Citizens and the Monks of

Norwich, which grew to ſuch a height, that the Towns-men ſet fire to the Cathedral Church, and that, together with the adjoining Monaſtery and Buildings, were all conſumed to the ground.

The Townſmen of *Norwich* burn the Cathedral Church, and adjoining Monaſtery, *&c.*

A larger Account of this from other Authors.

But I ſhall give you a more particular Account of theſe Barbarities from ſome Authors, that are either in Manuſcript or but lately printed, than what is ſet down by *Matt. Paris's* Continuator; and of theſe [1] *Bartholomew de Cotton*, a Monk of the Priory of *Norwich*, relates, that in the beginning of this fray, the Citizens of that Place beſieged the Monaſtery, and when they could not enter it, they ſet fire to the Gates, which not only burnt the Gate-houſe, but a Pariſh Church adjoining to it; then ſome of the Seditious at the ſame time ſhot Arrows with Fire on them, from the Tower of St. *George*, into the great Bell-Tower beyond the Choir, by which means the whole Church was burnt (except the ſmall Chappel of St. *Mary)* as alſo all the Rooms and Lodgings belonging to the Prior and Monks: in the mean while the Rabble entring the Cloſe, plundered and carried away all the ſacred Veſſels of the Altar, and other Ornaments, that the Fire had not yet deſtroyed; and not content with this, they kill'd and wounded ſeveral Deacons, and Clerks belonging to the Monaſtery within the Cloſe it ſelf, and drove away all the Monks, and continued their Malice in killing and plundering for almoſt three days together.

But when theſe things were told the King, [2] he was extremely grieved, and reſolving to ſee ſpeedy Juſtice executed on the Malefactors, he ſummon'd all the Biſhops and Great Men of *England* to meet him at St. *Edmundsbury* on the firſt of *September*, to adviſe with them, how to proceed againſt them; whereupon the King being attended by the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and other Noblemen, went down thither, and there held a kind of great Council or Parliament: after good deliberation he was adviſed to go to *Norwich* in Perſon, and revenge this wickedneſs.

The King ſummons a Grand Jury or Inqueſt, out of four adjacent Counties.

But in order to this, before he went from thence, he iſſued out his Precept or Writ to *William Gifford*, Sheriff of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, dated *September* the ſixth at *St. Edmundsbury*, to ſummon all the Knights and Freeholders of both thoſe Counties, that held twenty Pounds *per Annum* and above, to appear before him at *Norwich* on the fifteenth of the ſame Month, to do as they ſhould be directed by him, with the Advice of his Council. The ſame Writ was likewiſe iſſued to the Sheriff of *Cambridg* and *Huntington-ſhire*, to ſummon twenty four Knights and Freeholders, that had twenty Pounds *per Annum* and above, to be alſo at *Norwich* the ſame day, as appears upon [3] Record.

But of theſe Knights and Freeholders (being eight and forty in all) returned from theſe four Counties, were choſen ſeveral Grand Inqueſts, or Juries, who were to enquire upon Oath into this Offence, and who were concerned in it, either in the City of *Norwich*, or elſewhere; and by theſe a great many being found Guilty before the King's Juſtices, they were condemned to be drawn at Horſe's Tails to the Gallows, and there to be hanged, and their Bodies to be burnt, which was executed accordingly.

But

[1] *Annot. Eccleſiæ Norwic. in Anglia Sacra*, Vol. I. p. 399.

[2] *Id. ib.*

[3] *Rot. Pat.* 56. *H.*3. *M.*4. intus.

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But the Monk above cited, finds fault with the Injuſtice of theſe Proceedings.

But the abovecited Monk here finds great fault with the Injuſtice of theſe Proceedings; and that the richer ſort of Citizens, who had alſo (tho privately) engaged in, and promoted this Riot, corrupted with Bribes, not only the King's Juſtices, and his Council, but the Grand Inqueſt of Knights and Freeholders of the Counties already mention'd, who tho upon their Oaths, yet falſly found the Fire that burnt the Church to have firſt begun in the Bell-Tower belonging to it, ſo that all farther Proſecution againſt the Townſmen ceaſed; and divers things were alſo laid to the Charge of ***William de Burnham*** the then Prior, inſomuch that he was committed to the Biſhop's Priſon, and all the Lands belonging to the Priory were for ſome time ſeized into the King's hands, as likewiſe the Liberties that had been granted to the City of ***Norwich***; ſo that the Prior not long after reſigned, and a new one was choſen in his ſtead. But the Biſhop of ***Norwich*** (having before, in a Synod of all the Clergy of his Dioceſs, ***excommunicated*** all Perſons concerned in this Sacrilege) kept the City of ***Norwich*** by times under an ***Interdict***, for near three Years enſuing, till the Citizens could obtain their Abſolution from ***Rome***, and compound for their Offence with King ***Edward***, which they did for two thouſand Marks, having been condemned to pay three thouſand in his Father's Reign, had he not died before it could be levied. But of this I ſhall ſay more in the next Volume, if I have opportunity to finiſh it.

An Account of this Action from the Annals of *London*.

But ſtill it appears from what this Author has already ſaid, that the Monks themſelves were the chief Cauſe of the burning their Church and Monaſtery; for it is not at all probable, that (as he relates) the Citizens ſhould have ſo great a Purſe, and ſo conſiderable an Intereſt, as to bribe the Judges, the King's Council, and all theſe Grand Inqueſts, conſiſting of the moſt conſiderable Men of the four Counties abovenamed. Yet after all, I ſhall from the Annals of ***London***, give you a truer Account of this Action, than is to be found in any of our Monkiſh Authors, who all take part with thoſe of their own Profeſſion, whereas this Writer being a Layman is more diſintereſſed, and leſs partial in his Relation of it; and informs us, that a Quarrel ariſing between the Citizens and the Monks of ***Norwich***, about certain Privileges and Juriſdictions which the latter claimed, and the former would not agree to, the Monks in revenge ſent their Servants into the City to beat and outrage the Citizens, who being thereby provoked, and finding they could have no redreſs upon their Complaints, fell upon the Servants of the Priory where ever they met them in the City, and beating them ſoundly, the Prior thereupon ſent for a great many Seamen from ***Yarmouth***, and made a kind of Gariſon in the Priory; and from thence with their Aſſiſtance again aſſaulted the Townſmen, who upon this joining together, repulſed the Seamen, and beſieged the Monaſtery; and in order to take it, ſet fire to the great Gates thereof, which burnt the Gate-houſe, and from thence the Church was at firſt ſuppoſed to have been ſet on Fire; but it was afterwards diſcover'd that a Prieſt belonging to it, having hired certain Smiths to forge Arrowheads in the Bell-Tower, theſe when they ſaw the Gate-houſe on Fire, ran down to quench it, leaving their own fire of Coals burning

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ing careleſly behind them, the ſparks whereof being blown about by the Wind into ſome combuſtible matter, ſet on fire firſt the Tower, and then the adjoining Church and Monaſtery; and it was found by the Inqueſt of eleven Knights of the County of *Norfolk*, that the Church was burnt by the means of that wicked Prieſt, who had brought up thoſe Workmen into the Bell-Tower, and which agrees with *Bartholomew de Cotton*'s Relation.

[4] *R.W.*

So ſoon as the [4] King had ſeen Juſtice done on theſe Offenders, and ſettled all things at *Norwich*, as well as the ſhortneſs of time would permit, he reſolved to return to *London* two days before *Michaelmaſs*; but ſtaying in his way thither, to repoſe himſelf a while at the Abbey of *St. Edmundsbury*, he was there ſeized with a languiſhing Diſtemper, which never left him ſo long as he lived. However he got from thence to *Weſtminſter* by eaſy Journies; but his Sickneſs ſtill daily increaſed, inſomuch that the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons, attended on him to pay him their laſt dutiful Reſpects. When he had performed all thoſe religious Offices that were then thought neceſſary for a dying Man, and given Orders that his Debts ſhould be firſt paid, and that whatſoever remain'd, ſhould be given to the relief of the Indigent; he departed this Life on the twentieth of *November*, after he had reigned fifty ſix Years, and twenty Days. His Body being arrayed in Royal Robes, with the Crown on his Head, was two days after carried with great mournful Pomp, to be buried in the Abbey Church of *Weſtminſter*, the chief Noblemen of the Kingdom bearing it to the Grave, where he was laid before the High Altar, near the Shrine of K. *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, and * where his Tomb with his Statue in Braſs remains to this day.

The King's Death.

* *Note*, The Altar being ſince remov'd, the Tomb ſtands now behind it.

To give you a Character of this Prince's Perſon is not very difficult, ſince we find him deſcribed [5] to have been of a middle Stature, of a Body ſtrong and well ſet, having one of his Eye-lids hanging down, and almoſt hiding the pupil of his Eye: but I wiſh it were no leſs hard to make as true a Character of his Mind and Diſpoſition, which was ſo variable and uncertain, that we can't tell where to find a juſt Account of him; only that he was naturally wilful and very paſſionate, eaſily provoked to anger, and as eaſily appeaſed: he was alſo very fickle and unconſtant in his Love as well as Hatred, for he never had ſo great a Favorite whom he threw not into diſgrace at ſome time or other, nor ſo great an Enemy whom he received not again into Favour; as may appear from the Example of *Hugh de Burgh*, who was for a while his greateſt Confident, but being afterwards diſgraced, was proſecuted with the higheſt Rigour, and yet received into competent Favour again, as were alſo many other great Officers and Miniſters, who were diſgraced during his Reign.

[5] *Id. ib.*

K. *Henry*'s Character.

The truth is, this Prince was of himſelf good-natured and merciful, ſo that if he did any thing too rigorouſly, it is to be imputed to the chief Miniſters of State that had the Aſcendant over him; for he was ſcarce ever *Sui Juris*, being always under the Government of one or other of the great ones moſt part of his Life: and indeed it might be juſtly ſaid of him, that he was a much better Man than he was a King; for tho he oppreſs'd his Subjects with many great and unneceſſary Taxes, and often broke his Coronation-Oath, and violated the *Great Charter*,

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Charter, which himſelf had ſo ſolemnly ſworn (and that more than once) to obſerve; yet he was nevertheleſs very charitable to the Poor, and extreamly Devout, commonly hearing three Maſſes every day: and once when *Lewis* the King of *France*, and this Prince converſed together, and the former prefer'd Sermons before Maſſes, King *Henry* wittily enough defended his own practice, ſaying, *That he had rather ſee his Friend often, than hear often from him*; which was well ſaid according to his Principles. As for his Courage it was not very great, being never noted for any perſonal Valour in the Field; and indeed he had no great encouragement to it, for as his Temper was not martial, ſo it may be obſerved, that where ever he was in Perſon, his ſide commonly had the worſt on't. However it happened very well for him, when the Prince his Son overcame *Simon Montfort*; for he (tho againſt his Will) appeared chief Commander of the Army. In ſhort, his greateſt Happineſs was in his admirable Son, by whom all Civil Troubles being at length compos'd, he paſt the four laſt Years of his Reign in peace, and alſo left a Prince behind to ſucceed him, who by his Prudence and Valour raiſed the whole *Engliſh* Monarchy to great part of its antient Glory.

But his moſt ſhining Virtue, and that which made him the more eminently conſpicuous (as being at that time rare in Princes) was his Continence; for there is nothing mentioned either of any baſe Children he had, or of any Concubine he kept; which is more than can be ſaid of any of his Predeceſſors of the *Norman* Race, except King *William* the *Firſt*.

[1] *M. W.*

The Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Year.

I ſhall conclude this King's Reign with ſome few [1] Eccleſiaſtical matters that happened this Year. When (tho the exact time is not mentioned) *Raymond* the Pope's Clerk was by him ſent into *England*, with Authority to compel all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to pay the whole Arrears of the Tenths of all their Temporal, as well as Spiritual Livings into his hands; ſo ſoon as he had received them, he beſtowed great part of them for the uſe of Pr. *Edward*, and E. *Edmund* his Brother, in conſideration of their Expences in the *Holy-Land*.

[2] *W. R.*

Alſo the new Pope [2] now vacated the Election of *Adam Chelindon*, the Prior of *Canterbury*, whom the Monks had choſen for their Archbiſhop, (the Prior himſelf reſigning what he ſaw he could not enjoy) and his Holineſs beſtowed the Archbiſhoprick upon *Robert Kilwardeby*, who was then Provincial of the *Friers Predicants*, and had, before he entered into that Order, taught Philoſophy in the Univerſity of *Paris*; and after his coming into it was in great reputation for his deep skill in School Divinity, as well as in the liberal Sciences: and the Pope had ſo great a Value and Reſpect for him, that he gave him leave to be conſecrated by what Biſhop he himſelf ſhould pleaſe to appoint.

The Wife and Iſſue of King Henry *the* Third.

I ſhall conclude this King's Reign with a ſhort Account of his Wife and Children; he married *Eleanor*, ſecond Daughter to *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, who lived with him Thirty ſeven Years; was his Widow Nineteen; died a Nun at *Ambresbury*, and was buried in that Monaſtery, being then near fourſcore Years old. She was a Lady of a high Spirit, but recompenced the ſmallneſs of her Fortune by the greatneſs of her Prudence, and the many fine Children ſhe brought forth; and it is very remarkable, that tho her Father was but a mean Prince, yet all his Daughters were married to Real or Titular Kings.

By this Princeſs King *Henry* had ſix Sons, and three Daughters; the four youngeſt of his Sons died in their Infancy, and were buried three of them at *Weſtminſter*, and the fourth in the new Temple-Church near *Fleetſtreet*; and of whom nothing more is related.

His eldeſt Son [3] *Edward*, ſirnamed *Long-ſhanks*, (from his long Legs) who ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, was born at *Weſtminſter* upon the ſixteenth of *June*, 1239.

[3] *M. P.* p. 488.

Edmund, his ſecond Son, [4] was born *Jan.* the ſixteenth, *Anno Dom.* 1245. in the thirteenth Year of his Father's Reign: he was Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, and *Derby*; Lord of *Monmouth*, and High-Steward of *England*: he was alſo inveſted by the Pope with the Kingdom of *Sicily*. And *Speed* in his Chronicle has given us a Seal, having this Prince's Effigies with that Title round it; but being never poſſeſſed of that Kingdom, he ſoon left off the empty Title of King.

[4] *Id.* p. 654.

Margaret, [5] his eldeſt Daughter, was married to *Alexander* the *Third*, King of *Scots*, being then a Child of about nine Years old; by whom, tho ſhe had ſeveral Children, yet the Sons dying before him, (and his Daughter *Margaret*, Wife to *Erik* King of *Norway*, having no more than one Daughter of her own name, who died in Childhood) that Line of the Kings of *Scotland* thereby fail'd.

[5] *Rot. Pat.* 36. *H.* 3. *M.* 14.

[1] *Beatrix*, King *Henry*'s ſecond Daughter, was born at *Bourdeaux* in *Gaſcoigny* on the five and twentieth of *June*, *Anno Dom.* 1242. and was married to *John de Dreux*, Duke of *Bretaigny* in *France*, and Earl of *Richmond* in *England*.

[1] *M. P.* p. 514.

Katherine [2] his third Daughter, was born at *London* on St. *Katherine*'s day, being the 25*th* of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1253. and died at five years of Age.

[2] *Id.* p. 879.

Taxes in this King's Reign.

Before I treat of the Laws, I ſhall give you an Account of the Taxes which were either given him by Parliament, or which he raiſed under colour of his Prerogative.

The Parliament called at *Northampton* [3] on the Octaves of *Holy-Trinity*, 1224, granted the King *two Shillings* of every Plough-Land: and the King then granted to the Great Men a *Scutage* of two Marks Sterling of every Knight's Fee.

[3] *M. P.* p. 322. 9 *H.* 3.

The Parliament called at [4] *Weſtminſter* at *Chriſtmaſs*, 1224. granted him a Fifteenth of all Moveables, as well of the Clergy as Laiety of the whole Kingdom, for the Grant or Confirmation of *Magna Charta*; one half of this Fifteenth was collected ſoon after *Eaſter*, and the other half was to be gathered at *Michaelmaſs* following.

[4] *Id.* p. 323. N° 10.

A Fortieth part of all Moveables were granted.

A. D. 1224. Matt. Paris.

King *Henry* [5] compelled the Citizens of *London* to pay him

[5] 12 *H.* 3. *A. D.* 1227. *F.* 336. *n.* 10, 20.

five thouſand Marks, becauſe they had given ſo much to *Lewis* late King of *France* when he left *England*.

M. P. ib.

At the ſame time he alſo took for an Aid from the Burgeſſes of *Northampton* twelve hundred Pounds, beſides one Fifteenth of their moveable Goods.

He likewiſe forced all Religious and beneficed Clerks, to pay a Fifteenth, as well out of their Spirituals as Temporals; and thoſe that were unwilling to pay, were compelled either by the King's Authority, or elſe by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures.

12 *H.* 3. Ib. n. 40.

Soon after the Religious and Others had notice, that unleſs they renewed their Charters, their old ones ſhould be of no Advantage to them; and for the renewing of which every one was to pay according to his Faculty, at the Juſtitiary's Diſcretion.

[1] *Id. ib. F.* 365. *n.* 10. 15 *Hen.* 3. A. D. 1230.

In the [1] Year 1230. the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors, gave a great ſum of Money for recovering the King's Rights beyond Sea. At the ſame time he put the Citizens of *London* to a grievous Fine or Ranſom, and forced the *Jews* to pay the third part of what they were worth.

Id. 16 *H.* 3. *F.* 367. *n.* 50. A. D. 1231.

In the Year 1231. the King required a *Scutage* of three Marks of every Knight's Fee of all that held Baronies, as well Laicks as Prelates: but tho it was oppoſed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other Biſhops, yet it was agreed to by all others.

A. D. 1232. 17 *H.* 3. *Id. F.* 377. *n.* 5. and *F.* 380. *n.* 30.

On the 14*th* of *September*, in a Parliament held at *Lambeth*, a Fortieth part of all the Moveables, both of Eccleſiaſticks and Laicks, was granted to the King, and was collected about the latter end of *October* following.

Id. A.D. 1235. 20 *H.* 3. *Id. F.* 417. *n.* 30.

Anno Dom. 1235. He took two Marks of every Plough-Land for the marriage of *Iſabel* his Siſter to *Frederic* Emperor of *Germany*, and gave with her Thirty thouſand Marks. And [2] at the ſame time there was a Thirtieth part of all Moveables granted by the Biſhops and Lay Great Men.

[2] *Rot. Clauſ.* 21 *H.* 3. *M.* 1. and *M.* 21. *Dorſ.*

[3] *Rot. Pat.* 20 *H.* 3. *M.* 8. *n.* 12. A. D. 1236.

A [3] *Scutage* of two Marks on every Knight's Fee, granted by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, *&c.* and 'tis very probable, that this was the ſame *Scutage* which was given for the Mariage of his Siſter to the Emperor.

M. P. F. 435. *n.* 10. 21 *H.* 3. A.D. 1237.

A. D. 1237. a Thirtieth part of all Moveables was granted to the King.

Id. A.D. 1242. *F.* 595. *n.* 30. and 597. *n.* 20.

In the Year 1242. about *Michaelmaſs* the King required another *Scutage* of three Marks for every Knight throughout *England*; ſo *Matt. Paris*, but as others only twenty Shillings; but we do not find that this was ever raiſed, tho Dr. *Brady* puts it down as paid.

Id. Fol. 643. *n.* 20. A. D. 1244.

In a Council or Parliament held at *London* three Weeks after *Candlemaſs*, Twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee was granted to the King for the mariage of his eldeſt Daughter, one half to be paid at *Eaſter*, the other at *Michaelmaſs* following.

A. D. 1253. 37 *H.* 3. M. P. *f.* 866. *n.* 20, 30.

The Clergy granted the Tenth of all their Eccleſiaſtical Revenues for three Years, and the Nobility or Knights three Marks of every Knight's Fee, for the Relief of the *Holy-Land*, upon his Confirmation of *Magna Charta*; whereby it appears, that three Year's Tenths of all Church Revenues were granted to the King by the Pope.

A. D. 1253.

This Year alſo a Twentieth part was granted to the King, of all Grain, Live Stock, and other Moveables, as well by the Great Men and Knights, as other *Lay-men*, as appears by the [4] Record it ſelf at large, which you will find in the *Appendix*, *N°. ult.* And who theſe other Laymen were that are mention'd in this Record, appears from the City-Chronicle, in the Book *de Antiquis Legibus*, where, in the latter end of this King's Reign under this Year, are theſe words, *Eodem Anno omnes* Liberi homines *de Regno, tàm de villis quàm de Civitatibus & Burgis & alibi, dederunt Regi viceſimam partem omnium Bonorum ſuorum mobilium ad Expenſas faciendas in Itinere ad Terram Jeroſolimatanam.*

[4] *Rot. Clauſ.* 54 *H.* 3. *M.* 11. *Dorſ.*

I have been the more particular in this Quotation, becauſe Dr. *Brady* has given us only a ſhort Note of this Tax, without mentioning by whom it was given; I ſuppoſe, becauſe it confutes his falſe Notion, that the Knights of Shires were after the 48*th* of this King, no more ſummon'd to Parliament, till the 18*th* of *Edward* I. and the Citizens and Burgeſſes not till the twenty third of the ſame King, becauſe the Doctor can find no Writs of Summons for them till thoſe Years; of the falſeneſs of which Aſſertion, I ſhall (God willing) treat farther in the Introduction to my next Volume, and therefore ſhall ſay no more of it here.

But the Reader is to obſerve, that all ſuch Tailliages and Exactions as were contrary to *Magna Charta*, and raiſed by this King, without the conſent of Parliament, or Clergy in a Synod or Convention, were unjuſt and illegal, and are ſo noted by *Matt. Paris* and other Authors, tho Dr. *Brady* has not thought fit to take any notice of it.

Of the Laws and Ordinances made in this King's Reign.

Having given you an Account of the Taxes raiſed by, or granted to this King, and which indeed (unleſs it were thoſe that were impoſed under pretence of his Prerogative) may be alſo reckoned amongſt his Laws, I ſhall now proceed to give ſome brief Heads of ſuch Statutes and Ordinances, that were made during this Reign; for I ſhall not trouble the Reader with more, ſince he may find them at large in our Statute Books.

I ſhall begin with the Great Charter, called in Latin *Magna Charta*, which is affirm'd by * *Matt. Paris* to contain (for the moſt part) thoſe Laws and Liberties that were granted by King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* to the Church, Great Men, and People of *England*; and which Charter is by ſeveral ſubſequent Acts of Parliament alſo called a Statute, as being enacted by the joint conſent of the King, *Clergy*, *Nobility*, and People, tho the Grant was drawn up in the King's name alone.

* *Page* 252.

But as for the Charter it ſelf, having already given it you at large, and being almoſt the ſame in the moſt material and conſtituent Parts thereof, *mutatis mutandis*, with that at the end of the Reign of King *John*, I need not here repeat it, but ſhall only take notice, that the ſame Charters, both of *Liberties* and *Foreſts* (except ſuch Clauſes as were thought fit to be left out) were new granted and confirm'd by King *Henry* the *Third*, his Son, *Anno Dom.* 1217. in the ſecond Year of his Reign; which Charters bearing date at St. *Paul's*, the

* i. e. *Richard de Mariſco.*

[5] *Rot. Clauſ.* 1 *H.* 3. *M.* 10. *Dorſ.*

ſixth day of *November*, were deliver'd by the hand of * *Richard* Biſhop of *Durham*, the King's Chancellor, and for which there was then given by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Knights, Freeholders, and all Perſons of the Kingdom, an Aid of a Fifteenth part of all moveable Goods. Of this Charter, as alſo of that of *Foreſts*, tho the Originals are loſt, there are yet ſeveral antient Copies of them remaining in divers hands; and beſides one of them that is in the Cuſtody of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Kingſton*, I my ſelf have ſeen another fair Copy in the hands of my worthy Friend *William Petyt*, Eſq; Bencher of the *Inner-Temple*, and Keeper of the Records in the *Tower*; and I have heard from him, that there is alſo a third Copy of them in the keeping of *John Cook* Eſq; Prothonotary of the Court of *Common-Pleas*; and the truth of all theſe is alſo confirmed by a [5] Record in the *Tower*, containing the King's Writ to the Sheriff of *Worceſter-ſhire*, commanding him to cauſe to be read in the County-Court, *thoſe Charters of Liberties, which the King had lately granted by the Common-Council of his Kingdom, to the Barons and all others of his Realm, and which the Lord Legate had alſo confirmed with his Seal*; *becauſe the King being under Age, had no Seal of his own.* This bears date the 23*d* day of *June*, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, and which is alſo printed in the *Appendix* to this Volume, *N*°. 8.

[1] Vid. *Rot. Pat.* 28 *E.* 1.

And theſe Charters were again confirm'd *Anno Dom.* 1224. in the ninth Year of this King; of both which, tho there were ſeveral Copies ſent to all the Counties, and moſt of the Cathedrals and Religious Houſes in *England*, yet they are not to be found at this day among the Records of the *Tower*: but there is a fair Original of this of the 9*th* of *H.* 3. under Seal, remaining in the hands of Sir *Nathaniel Powel*, one of his Majeſty's learned Council, which is ſuppoſed to have belonged to *Battle* Abbey, which I my ſelf have likewiſe ſeen. As for thoſe Charters of *Liberties* and *Foreſts*, which remain upon Record in the Rolls in the *Tower*, they are only the Charters of the 28*th* of *Edward* I. reciting by *Inſpeximus verbatim*, thoſe granted by King *Henry* III. (as aforeſaid) as appears both by the beginning of that Charter it ſelf, as alſo by the Concluſion, in which (by miſtake) in the Print, (but not in the [1] Roll it ſelf) *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is named as the firſt witneſs to it, whereas in the Original Charter he is truly named *Stephen*, i. e. *Stephen Langton*, who was then Archbiſhop; *Boniface* not ſucceeding him till long after, toward the middle of King *Henry*'s Reign, and deceaſing at the latter end of it.

* *L.* 3. *c.* 6.

There are alſo two antient Copies of theſe Charters, the one printed in the Annals of *Burton*, under the 9*th* of *Hen.* III. and the other in * *Walter Hemingford*'s Chronicle; which differ very little from one another, only, That in the *Burton* Annals is witneſſed by *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and moſt of the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons of *England*, whereas the latter concludes more briefly with *Teſte meipſo, & aliis prænominatis*, which I ſuppoſe might proceed from the careleſneſs of the Tranſcriber, who would not take the Pains to write over ſo many Names.

[2] *Id.* p. 570.

[2] Then follows in the Author laſt mention'd, another Charter of Confirmation of the *Great Charter* and that of *Foreſts*, dated in

the 21*ſt* of this King's Reign, after he came of full Age; and this Charter is ſaid to be witneſſed by *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and all thoſe named in the *Great Charter* it ſelf: which confirms my Conjecture of the Reaſon of leaving out the Witneſſes Names in the Charter abovemention'd.

But ſince I have already told you, that this Charter of K. *Henry*'s, and that of King *John*'s were for the moſt part the ſame, and that it would be impertinent to tranſcribe it again, I ſhall therefore only here take notice of ſuch Clauſes in King *John*'s Charter, as were not thought fit or neceſſary to be inſerted into this of *Henry* III. being theſe that follow.

1. The laſt Clauſe of the ſeventh Chapter or Article, about ſhewing to the next of Kin the Conſanguinity of the Heir, before his marriage, is omitted, as are alſo,

2. The twelfth and thirteenth Chapters concerning Debts owing to the *Jews*, and againſt payment of Uſury by the Heir, whilſt he is under Age; no more being there ſaid under that Head, except the following Clauſe, *That if any one die, and owe Money to the* Jews, *his Wife ſhall have her Dower, and ſhall not pay any thing of that Debt.*

3. The third is concerning Aids payable by the City of *London*, to make the King's eldeſt Son a Knight, and to marry his eldeſt Daughter, which is alſo omitted.

4. The fourth is the laſt Clauſe of the ſixteenth Chapter, That all other Cities, Boroughs, Towns, and Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, ſhall have the common Advice or Conſent of the Kingdom, concerning the Aſſeſſment of their Aids, otherwiſe than in the three Caſes aforeſaid, of Knighting the King's Son, *&c.*

5. But the moſt conſiderable omiſſion is, that of the ſeventeenth Chapter, which ſays thus, *And we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned by particular Writs, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Abbots, Earls, and greater Barons, for the Aſſeſſing of* Scutages.

6. As alſo the whole eighteenth Chapter, concerning the general Writs of Summons to the other Tenants *in Capite.*

7. Together with the nineteenth Chapter touching Proceedings upon Buſineſs at the day appointed, tho they did not all appear that were ſummon'd; but I ſhall ſpeak nothing concerning the reaſon of the omiſſion of theſe three laſt Articles, ſince I intend to treat of it in another Place, if ever I live to publiſh a third Volume of this Hiſtory.

Stat. de Hibernia.

The next Statute or Ordinance of this King's is ſaid to be made at *Weſtminſter*, *Feb.* 9. *Anno* 14 *H.* 3. and *Anno Dom.* 1229. which, ſince it is no more than the King's Writ or Declaration directed to *Gerald Fitz-Maurice*, or rather *Maurice* * *Fitz-Gerald*, Juſtitiary of *Ireland*, to let the Knights or Tenants *in Capite* of that Kingdom know, how Lands holden by Knight's Service, and deſcending to Coparceners within Age, ſhall be divided according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, I ſhall not ſay any more of it, becauſe it had not the Conſent or Advice, either of the Lords or Commons.

* *Cox* Hib. Anglic. *p.* 60, 61.

Then

Stat. of *Merton.*

Then follow the Statutes or Proviſions made at Merton, *20th H. 3. Anno Dom.* 1235. *the Title of which runs thus,*

† A *Monaſtery* in *Surrey.*

" It is provided in the Court of our Sovereign Lord the King,
" holden at † *Merton* on Wedneſday the morrow after the Feaſt of St.
" *Vincent*, in the twentieth Year of the Reign of King *Henry*, the
" Son of King *John*, before *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and
" other his Biſhops and Suffragans, and before the greater part of
" the Earls and Barons of *England* there, being Aſſembled for the
" Coronation of the ſaid King, and *Eleanor* the Queen, about which
" they were all called; where it was treated for the Common-
" Wealth of the Realm, upon the Articles under-written, *viz.*
" thus it was provided and granted, as well of the aforeſaid Arch-
" biſhops, Biſhops, Earls and Barons, as of the King himſelf, and
" others.

I have been the more exact in the recital of the Title to theſe Proviſions, or Statutes, becauſe they afford us ſome uſeful Obſervations; as *firſt*, That the Great Council or Parliament is here called the King's *Court*; *ſecondly*, That whereas many have too raſhly affirm'd, that all the antient Statutes go in the name of the King alone, and ſeem to be made by his abſolute Prerogative, it is here evident, that this Body of Laws (the moſt antient of any after *Magna Charta*) was made and granted not only by the King, who is named almoſt laſt of all, but alſo by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons of *England*, and *Others*. But who theſe were included under the *Others* here mentioned, having already diſcourſed of it in my *Introduction*, I ſhall not ſay any thing here farther concerning them, but will now proceed to give you a ſhort Account of theſe Proviſions themſelves, which are divided into eleven Articles or Chapters.

CHAP. I.

|| *i. e.* refus'd to aſſign them their Dowers.

The Firſt of which ordains what Damages Widows ſhall recover after the Death of their Husbands, from ſuch as have || *deforced* them of their Dowers, that is to ſay, the value of the whole Dower to them belonging, from the time of the death of their Husbands, to the day of the Judgment obtain'd in the King's Court for the ſame, and the *Deforceors* withal to be amerced at the King's pleaſure.

CHAP. II.

Grants to Widows a Power to bequeath the Crop on the Grounds, as well of their Dowers, as of their other Lands and Tenements.

CHAP. III.

Appoints, how Diſſeiſors that have rediſſeis'd thoſe who have recovered Seiſin or Poſſeſſion from them by Aſſize of *Novel Diſſeiſin*, (to wit) that the Perſons thereof convicted, ſhall be forthwith taken and kept in the King's Priſon, and not be diſcharged, but by Fine or ſome other means; and the Plaintiff ſhall further have the King's Writ directed to the Sheriff, containing the plaint of Diſſeiſin done upon diſſeiſin, upon the receipt of which he ſhall take with him the Keepers of the Pleas of the Crown, and other lawful Knights, and in his proper Perſon ſhall go unto the ſaid Land, *&c.* and if by the Inquiſition of the Jurors, and other Neighbours, they find him again diſſeiſed, the Sheriff ſhall then deliver him the Seiſin or Poſſeſſion; and if it be found otherwiſe, the Plaintiff ſhall be amerced, and the other go quit: and in the ſame manner ſhall be done to them that have recovered their Seiſin by Aſſize of *Mort-d'aunceſtour*, and ſo ſhall it be of all Lands and Tenements recovered in the King's Court by Inqueſts, if they be afterwards diſſeiſed by the firſt *Deforceors*, againſt whom they have before recovered by Inqueſt.

CHAP. IV.

Ordains, that Lords of Mannors may make Profit of the reſidue of their Mannors, as of their waſtes, Woods and Paſtures, provided their Feoffees and Free-Tenants have ſufficient Paſture, with free egreſs and regreſs from their Land unto the Paſture, for as much as belongeth to their Tenements; and if they alledg they have not ſufficient Paſture, according to their holdings, then the Truth is to be enquired into by Aſſize, *&c.* The reſt is needleſs to be here recited.

CHAP. V.

Provides, that from thenceforth Uſury ſhall not turn againſt any one under Age, from the time of the death of his Anceſtor, (whoſe Heir he is) unto his lawful Age; this Law is either obſolete, or repeal'd.

CHAP. VI.

Appoints the Penalties for Raviſhment of a Ward from his Lord's Cuſtody, and for the diſappointment of the Lord by his Ward's marrying himſelf without his Conſent alſo.

CHAP. VII.

Provides, that the Ward ſhall pay at his full Age, to his Lord, the value of his mariage, in caſe he refuſe the Party whom his Lord requires him to marry: both which Statutes are out of doors, ſince the taking away of all Wardſhips, Liveries, *Tenants in Capite*, and Knight's Service, by the Statute of the *12th* of *Charles* II. *C.* 24. and therefore I ſhall ſay no more of it, and only mention the Title of

CHAP. VIII.

Which contains ſeveral limitations of Preſcription, relating to the dates of divers Writs; and becauſe they are now grown obſolete, I ſhall ſay no more concerning them neither; but the next is more conſiderable, for

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Declares, that he is a Baſtard who is born before the Mariage of his Parents; but to the King's Writ of Baſtardy, whither one born before Matrimony may inherit in like manner as he that is born after Matrimony, all the Biſhops anſwered, that they would not, neither could anſwer to it, becauſe it was directly againſt the common Order of the Church; and all the Biſhops were urgent with the Lords, that they would conſent, that all ſuch as were born before Matrimony, ſhould be Legitimate, as well as thoſe born within Matrimony, as to the ſucceſſion of Inheritance, for ſo much as the Church accepteth ſuch for Legitimate. But all the Earls and Barons with one voice anſwered, * ***That they would not conſent that the Laws of the Realm ſhould be changed,*** which hitherto had been uſed and approved of.

**Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.*

This I have ſet down at large, becauſe it ſhews a worthy conſtancy of the Nobility of *England*, in not permitting the antient Laws thereof to be changed for the ſake of the Eccleſiaſtical, or Canon Law.

CHAP. X.

Provides and grants, that every Freeman who oweth ſuit to the County, Tything, Hundred and Wapentake, or to the Court of his Lord, may freely make his Attorney to do thoſe Suits for him; but as for the next,

CHAP. XI.

Concerning treſpaſſers in Parks and Ponds, it is not yet diſcuſſed; for the Lords demanded the proper Impriſonment of ſuch as they ſhould take in their Parks and Ponds: but it appears here that the King denyed, wherefore it was deferred.

As to the other Statute that follows in our Statute Books, *viz.* that *de Anno Biſſextili*, made at *Weſtminſter*, 21 *H.* 3. A. D. 1236.

It declares, That the day of the Leap-Year, and the day before, ſhall be holden for one day.

This certainly never was an Act of Parliament, but only the King's Writ to the Juſtices of the Bench, directing them how they ought to proceed in that matter, which was then doubtful; for it was uſual in thoſe times for the King, by the Advice and Conſent of his Great Council of Earls and Barons, *&c.* to make ſuch temporary Laws and Ordinances without the Conſent of the General Council of the Kingdom or Parliament.

So likewiſe the Statute intituled *Aſſiſa Panis & Cerviſiæ*, made *Anno* 51 H. 3. *Anno Dom.* 1266.

Setting forth, that the prices of Bread and Ale ſhall be according to the prices of Corn. This was no other than the King's Writ or Proclamation, inforcing certain Ordinances concerning the Meaſure, or Aſſize of Bread and Ale.

But as for the latter part of this Ordinance, or Declaration, becauſe it ſets forth, what was the Law of *England* concerning Meaſures, and the value of Money in thoſe times (and is worthy the knowing) I ſhall therefore put it down at large.

By the conſent of the whole Realm of *England*, the Meaſure of our Lord the King was made, that is to ſay, that an *Engliſh* Penny called a *Sterling*, round, and without any clipping, ſhall weigh XXXII. Wheat Corns taken out of the midſt of the Ear, and that XX*d.* do make an Ounce, and XII. ounces one Pound, and eight Pounds do make a Gallon of Wine, and eight Gallons of Wine a *London* Buſhel, which is the eighth part of a Quarter: and foraſmuch as in our Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter* in the firſt Year of our Reign, we have granted that all good Statutes and Ordinances, made in the times of our Progenitors aforeſaid, and not revoked, ſhall be ſtill obſerved, we have cauſed (at the requeſt of the Bakers of our Town of *Coventry)* that the Ordinances aforeſaid, by tenor of theſe Preſents, ſhall be exemplified: in witneſs whereof, *&c.* Witneſs the King at *Weſtminſter* the *22d* day of *March.*

Where you may obſerve, "That theſe Laws concerning Mea-" ſures, and the value of Money, are here declared to have been " ſettled by the *common Conſent of the whole Realm,* whereas it is not ſo mentioned concerning the prices of Bread and Ale.

I ſhall likewiſe barely mention two other Ordinances made the ſame Year, and which follow in the ſame place: the firſt

Concerning general days in *Bank* in real Actions, and the ſecond concerning general Days in a Writ of *Dower:* becauſe they are only matters of form relating to Pleadings, and were no Acts of Parliament, I do but juſt mention them.

And the Year-Book of the 15 *E.* 4. *fo.* 13. *a.* ſays, That theſe two were not Statutes, but written in our Books to the intent that what was before doubtful, ſhould now be put in certain.

But as for the Statute *de Diſtrictione Scaccarii*, of the ſame Year, ſhewing what Diſtreſſes ſhall be taken for the King's Debts, and how they ſhall be uſed; tho it be not expreſly mentioned when and where it was made, yet ſeeing I take it to have been by Authority of Parliament, I ſhall here ſet down the ſubſtance of it.

That foraſmuch as the * *Commonalty* of the Realm hath ſuſtained great damage by wrongful taking of Diſtreſſes, which have been made by Sheriffs, and other the King's Bayliffs, for the King's Debt, or for any other cauſe: It is therefore provided and ordained, (to this effect) that when a Sheriff, or any other Man, doth take the Beaſts belonging to others, they to whom ſuch Cattle do belong, may give them Meat whilſt they are ſo impounded, without diſturbance, and that neither the Beaſts nor any other Diſtreſs taken for the King's Debt, nor for any other Cauſe, ſhall be ſold or diſpoſed of within fifteen days after the taking thereof, with power alſo, upon giving Pledges or Security, to replevy them; and that no Diſtreſs ſhould be taken of Ploughs, Sheep, or Beaſts which till the Land; as alſo that ſuch Diſtreſſes be reaſonable, according to the value of the Debt or Demand, and that the Receipt by the Sheriff or Bayliff ſhall acquit the Debtor of all further Diſturbance.

* *Communitas.*

So likewiſe the Statute made the ſame Year, intitled *de Scaccario, i.e.* concerning the *Exchequer*; wherein it is ſet forth when the King's Farmers, Sheriffs, and Bayliffs, ſhall make their Accompts and Payments, and who ſhall be Eſcheators in ſeveral Shires. This, ſince it relates only to the Officers and Perſons mentioned in the Statute,

tute, and is not of any general uſe, and moſt of it grown obſolete, I ſhall content my ſelf with barely mentioning it.

Thoſe Directions concerning the *Pillory* and *Tumbrel*, and of the Aſſize of Bread and Ale, made the ſame Year, ſeem to be no more than a Proclamation of the King's, reinforcing, and repeating the former Law concerning the prices of Bread and Ale; and that Bakers and Brewers offending againſt it, ſhall be puniſhed by the *Pillory* and *Tumbrel*, that is, the former by the one, and the latter by the other.

Then follow the Statutes made at *Marlebridge* (now *Marleborough*) November 18. *An.* 52*d. H.* 3. the Title of which I ſhall give you at large.

" In the year of Grace, 1267. and the two and Fiftieth Year of " the Reign of King *Henry*, Son of King *John*, in the * *Utas* of " St. *Martin*, for the better Eſtate of this Realm of *England*, and " for the more ſpeedy Miniſtration of Juſtice, as belonged to the " Office of a King, the more *Diſcreet* Men of the Realm being " called together, as well of the *Higher* as of the *Lower Eſtate*; it " was provided, agreed, and ordain'd, That whereas the Realm of " *England* had of late been diſquieted with many-fold Troubles and " Diſſenſions, for reformation whereof, Statutes and Laws be right " neceſſary, whereby the Peace and Tranquillity of the People may " be obſerved, wherein the King intending to deviſe convenient " Remedy, hath made theſe Acts, Ordinances and Statutes under " written, which he willeth to be obſerved for ever firmly and " inviolably of all his Subjects, as well high as low.

* i. e. *The Octaves, or eight days after the Feaſt.*

This Title I have put down at length, for the Reader hence to obſerve, that theſe Laws were provided and ordained by the Advice and Conſent, not only of the King and the Great Men, but by others of lower Eſtate or Condition; who theſe were, I have already diſcuſſed in my *Introduction* againſt Dr. *Brady*'s cavils in his Anſwer to Mr. *Petyt*'s Treatiſe of the *Rights of the Commons*, &c. and therefore I ſhall now only give you a brief Account of this Body of Laws, which are divided into nine and twenty Chapters, and refer the Reader to the Statutes at large, for his further Satisfaction.

CHAP. I.

Appoints, That all Perſons that ſhall diſtrain other Men's Goods and Chattles of their own Authority, without the Award of the King's Court, and be convict thereof, ſhall be puniſhed by Fine according to the Treſpaſs, tho they have had no Damage or Injury done them.

CHAP. II.

Ordains, that no Man ſhall be diſtrained to come to the Lord's Court, which is not of his Fee or Place, where he hath no Juriſdiction, by reaſon of Hundred, or Bailywick; nor ſhall take Diſtreſſes out of the Fee or Place, where he hath no Bailywick nor Juriſdiction.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Ordains, That ſuch as will not ſuffer ſuch diſtreſſes to be delivered by the King's Officers, after the Law and Cuſtom of the Realm, or will not ſuffer Summons, Attachments, or executions of Judgment given in the King's Court to be done, he ſhall be puniſhed in manner aforeſaid, as one that will not obey the Law; and that according to the Quantity and Offence: but excepts all Lords diſtraining their Tenants for Services, and Cuſtoms, or any other thing, being due to them, whereby the Lord of the Fee had cauſe to diſtrain; tho it be afterwards found that the ſame Services are not due, yet the Lord ſhall not therefore be puniſhed by Fine, but ſhall be amerced as hitherto had been uſed.

CHAP. IV.

Ordains, That henceforth no Diſtreſs ſhall be driven out of the County, where it was firſt taken; and that ſuch Diſtreſſes ſhall be reaſonable, and not too great; and he that ſhall do otherwiſe, to be grievouſly amerced for ſuch exceſſes.

CHAP. V.

Contains a confirmation of the *Great Charter*, and that of *Foreſts*, and that for the future they ſhall be obſerved in all points, and the Offenders when convict, to be grievouſly puniſhed.

CHAP. VI.

Ordains, That fraudulent Conveyances made to defeat Lords of their Wardſhips, ſhall be void, otherwiſe not.

CHAP. VII.

Ordains what ſort of proceſs ſhall iſſue out againſt *Deforceors* upon Wards, and who refuſe to anſwer proceſs in *Communi Cuſtodia*, needleſs to be further mentioned.

CHAP. VIII.

Reinforces the puniſhment of ſuch as commit Rediſſeiſin to the ſame effect as in the Statute of *Merton*, with this Addition, That if it be found that the Sheriff had ſet any Man free, contrary to this Ordinance, he ſhall be therefore grievouſly amerced.

CHAP. IX.

Ordains in what manner Suits to Courts of Great Lords or others ſhall be obſerved; that none who is infeoffed by Deed, ſhall from henceforth be diſtrained to do ſuch Suit in the Court of his Lord, without he be eſpecially bound thereto by the form of his Deed; thoſe only excepted, whoſe Anceſtors, or they themſelves, have uſed to do ſuch Suit, before the firſt Voyage of the ſaid King *Henry* into *Bretaigny* (which was thirty nine Years before the making of this Act) and if the Lords of the Fee do diſtrain their Tenants for ſuch Suits contrary to this Act, then at the complaint of the Tenants, ſuch Lords ſhall be attached to appear in the King's Court to make anſwer thereunto, at a ſhort day, and ſhall have but one Eſſoin therein, if within the Realm; and immediately the Beaſts, or other Diſtreſſes ſhall be delivered to the Plaintiff, and ſo to remain till the Plea between them be determined; and if ſuch Lords ſhall not appear at the day given them by their Eſſoin, the Plaintiff ſhall be diſmiſſed without any day aſſigned: ſo likewiſe Tenants that after this Act ſhall withdraw from their Lord their due Suits, ſhall be proceeded againſt after the ſame manner as the Lords are ordained to be.

CHAP. X.

Provides, That Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, or any religious Men or Women, ſhall not need to come to the Sheriff's Tourns, unleſs eſpecially required for ſome other cauſe; but the Tourn ſhall be kept as it hath been uſed in the times of the King's Progenitors: and they that have Hundreds of their own to keep, ſhall not be bound to appear at any ſuch Tourns, but in the Bailywicks where they dwell.

CHAP. XI.

Ordains, That no Fines be taken for *Beaupleader*, or fair Pleading.

CHAP. XII.

Appoints what days ſhall be given in Pleas of *Dower*, in Aſſizes of *D'arraign preſentment*, and in a Plea of *Quare Impedit*, of Churches vacant; which ſince they relate only to forms of Proceſs, need not be further inſiſted on.

CHAP. XIII.

Ordains, That when a Man hath put himſelf upon any Inqueſt (*i. e.*) after iſſue joined, the Plaintiff ſhall have but one * Eſſoin or one Default; ſo that if he come not at the day given him by the Eſſoin, or make default the ſecond Day, then the Inqueſt ſhall be taken by his Default, and according to the ſame Inqueſt, they ſhall proceed to Judgment. The reſt being not very material, I omit.

* *i.e.* Excuſe for Non-appearance.

CHAP. XIV.

Appoints in what caſes ſuch as have Charters of Exemption from Purchaſers being impannel'd in Aſſizes, Juries, and Inqueſts, ſhall be ſworn (that is) in ſuch caſes where their Oaths are ſo requiſite, that without them Juſtice cannot be adminiſtred, as in great *Aſſizes*, *Perambulations*, and in Deeds of Covenants (where they be named for Witneſſes) or in Attaints, and in other like caſes they ſhall be compelled to ſwear.

CHAP. XV.

Declares, That it ſhall from henceforth be lawful for Perſons, for any manner of Cauſe, to take Diſtreſſes out of his Fee, not in the King's High-way, nor in the common Street, but only to the King or his Officers, having ſpecial Authority to do the ſame.

CHAP. XVI.

Appoints what remedy the Heir in Ward ſhall have, when he comes of full Age, againſt his Lord, if he refuſe to ſurrender his Land without Plea; all which proceſs being now taken away by the abovementioned Statute of *Charles* II. I only mention it.

CHAP. XVII.

Provides, That Guardians in *Soccage* ſhall, whilſt the Heir is within Age, make no waſte, nor Sale, nor any deſtruction of the ſame Inheritance, but ſhall ſafely keep it to the uſe of the ſaid Heir, ſo that when he cometh to his lawful Age, they ſhall anſwer to him for the Iſſues of the ſaid Inheritance by a lawful Accompt, ſaving to the ſame Guardians their reaſonable Coſts. And that ſuch Guardians ſhall make no Profit by the marriage of ſuch Heirs, but for the ſaid Heir's Advantage.

CHAP. XVIII.

Appoints, That Juſtices eſpecially aſſigned to take Aſſizes, or to hear and determine Matters, ſhall from henceforth have no power to amerce for default of common Summons, but only the chief Juſticers, or Juſticers in *Eyre* in their Circuits.

CHAP. XIX.

Appoints, That in Counties, Hundreds, Court-Barons, or in other Courts, none ſhall need ſwear to warrant his Eſſoine.

CHAP. XX.

None from henceforth (except our Lord the King) ſhall hold in his Court any Plea of falſe Judgment, given in the Court of his Tenants; for ſuch Plea eſpecially belongeth to the Crown and Dignity of our Lord the King.

CHAP. XXI.

Appoints, That the Sheriff after complaint to him, ſhall grant Replevins upon all Diſtreſſes taken within the County, unleſs they were taken within any Liberties; and if the Bayliffs thereof will not deliver them, then upon their Default the Sheriff may do it.

CHAP. XXII.

None from henceforth may diſtrain his Freeholders to anſwer for their Freeholds, without the King's Writ, nor ſhall cauſe his Freeholders to ſwear againſt their Wills; for no Man may do that without the King's Commandment.

CHAP. XXIII.

Provides, That if Bayliffs, who ought to make Accounts to their Lords, do withdraw themſelves, and have no Lands nor Tenements whereby they may be diſtrain'd, then they ſhall be attached by their Bodies, ſo that the Sheriff in whoſe Bailywick they be found, ſhall cauſe them to appear to make their Accompts.

Alſo Farmers during their Terms, ſhall not make waſte, ſale, nor * exile of the Houſes, Woods, *&c.* nor of any thing belonging to the Tenements that they have to farm, without ſpecial Licence had by Writing of Covenant, making mention that they may do it; which if they do, and thereof be convict, they ſhall yield full Damage, and be grievouſly puniſhed by Amercement.

* *i.e.* Deſtruction, or Spoil.

CHAP. XXIV.

Ordains, That the Juſtices in *Eyre* from henceforth ſhall not amerce Townſhips in their Circuits, becauſe all Perſons of twelve Years old came not before the Sheriffs and Coroners, to make inquiry of Robberies, burnings of Houſes, or other things pertaining to the Crown, ſo that there come ſufficient out of thoſe Towns, by whom ſuch Inqueſts may be made full, except Inqueſts for the Death of a Man, *&c.* and other Caſes there mention'd.

CHAP. XXV.

Ordains, That Manſlaughter where it is found by Misfortune, ſhall not be judged before the Juſtices.

CHAP. XXVI.

Provides, That none being vouched to Warranty before the Juſtices in *Eyre* in Pleas of Land, or Tenement, ſhall be amerced from henceforth, becauſe he was not preſent when he was vouched to Warranty; but that upon Summons by the Sheriff he ſhall have three or four days time to come in, and make his Appearance, and if he dwelt out of the Shire, then to have Fifteen days at leaſt for that purpoſe.

CHAP. XXVII.

Ordains, That where a Clerk (*i. e.* one in *Holy Orders*) is arreſted for any Crime or Offence touching the Crown, and is thereupon by the King's Command let to Bail, his Sureties (or Bail) ſhall not be amerced, if they bring him before the Juſtices, tho he will not nor cannot anſwer, by reaſon of his Clerical Privilege. But this is now taken away by the Statutes of 28 *H.* 8. cap. 1. *and* 32 *Hen.* 8. cap. 3.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Provides, That all Biſhops and Prelates of the Church, may have Actions to demand the Goods of the Church, againſt ſuch as have treſpaſſed upon, and taken them away from their Predeceſſors, whither they had ſued their Right for ſuch wrongs, or whither they did not perſue their Right during their Lives: the like Remedy alſo againſt ſuch as have intruded into the Lands and Poſſeſſions of any Biſhoprick or Abbey during its vacancy, in which caſe the Succeſſors ſhall have a Writ to recover their Seiſin; and Damages ſhall be awarded them, as in Aſſize of *Novel diſſeiſin.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Ordains, That a new Original Writ of Entry, called *ſur-diſſeiſin in the Poſt*, be provided by the Council of our Lord the King, in caſe of ſuch Alienations that may happen to be made in ſuch and ſuch Degrees there mention'd, when by reaſon thereof a common Writ of Entry cannot be made in the Form before times uſed; and as for the Form of the Writ, the Reader may conſult the Regiſter, *Fol.* 228. Fitzh. *N. B.* F. 291. if he pleaſes.

I cannot here omit taking notice that the greateſt part of theſe Statutes had been ſeveral Years before paſs'd into a Law, by a certain Statute made in the *47th* Year of this King, being *A. D.* 1263. and were indeed part of the Laws and Proviſions that had been made at *Oxford*; and tho the greater part of thoſe Conſtitutions were then declared Null, yet theſe being looked upon as not at all derogatory to the King's Prerogative, were confirm'd, as they were alſo again by this Statute; but for what reaſon, whither they thought the Times were then Troubleſome when they were made, and therefore were not paſs'd in due form, is hard to determine at this diſtance of time.

But ſince the Edict or Statute, intituled, *Dictum de Kenelworth*, is only an Award, or Sentence given and confirmed at that Place, by the King, his Noblemen and Commons, in the 5*1th* year of *Henry* the *Third*, and ſince the ſubſtance of it is already repeated in the foregoing Hiſtory, I need ſpeak no further concerning it.

There are likewiſe ſome other Temporary Edicts or Laws of this King, which tho they are not in any of our Records, or Law-Books, but only mention'd by ſome of our Hiſtorians, yet they ought not to be omitted; ſuch is that Edict of his that we find in *Matt. Paris*, and which is already taken notice of in this Hiſtory, under the Year 1228. when the King in his return from *York* to *London*, perceiving the meaſures of Grain, Wine, and Ale, to be extreme falſe and ſcanty, he commanded them to be all broken or burnt, and others of a larger ſize to be made in their Rooms; and alſo that the weight of Bread ſhould be increaſed, and ordered the

Offenders againſt this Edict to be ſeverely fined; which I take notice of, becauſe they were made ſeveral Years before the Statute or Aſſize of Bread and Beer, * which you will find by the date, was not made till the 15*th* of this King. Beſides this, I find in the ſame Author's † *Additaments*, that in a Parliament held at *London*, *A. D.* 1246. there were ſome Laws made with ſeverer Penalties againſt thoſe that robbed Parks and Warrens, to this effect.

* Vid. *Pulton*'s Statutes.

† *P.* 156.

If the Malefactor fled, or was killed, there was neither Law nor Appeal allowed for his Death; if an Earl, Baron, or Knight, complained to the King that his Deer were ſtolen, Inquiſition was to be made thereupon by the King's Writ; and if he that was indicted, was thereupon convicted, he was to lie in the King's Priſon a Year and a Day, and to pay three Years value of his Eſtate, having ſufficient allowed him out of it, to maintain him, of which Fine the King was to have two parts, and he that received the Injury, one; and then he was to find twelve Sureties, that he ſhould never offend in the like kind in any Parks, Warrens, or Foreſts, nor do any thing againſt the King's Peace; and theſe were to anſwer for his Body, and for his Tranſgreſſions: and if any one were taken in a Park or Warren, he was to be impriſoned and fined, and alſo to give Sureties as before.

There are likewiſe, beſides theſe temporary Statutes, certain other Edicts or Precepts of this King's, which not being found in any of our Statute-Books, are only extant among the Records of the *Tower*: ſuch are theſe that follow, *viz.* that of *Rot. Pat.* 3. of *Henry* III. *m.* 3. which contains the King's Writ to the Biſhop of *Bathe* and *Wells*, and to his fellow Juſtices Itinerant, for the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet* and *Oxon*, with divers other Shires therein mention'd, ſtraitly enjoining them, that in all Trials for the future, they omit thoſe of *Ordeal*, by Fire and Water, as being forbid by a Decree of the Pope and Council. And tho *Ordeal* was never taken away by any Act of Parliament, yet being forbid by the Pope, and look'd upon alſo as a ſuperſtitious and very uncertain way of Trial, it was therefore at the King's command laid aſide by the Judges, and ſoon after grew quite out of uſe.

The ſecond is, *Rot. Clauſ.* 19. *H.* 3. *M.* 22. *Int.* containing the King's Writ to the Sheriffs of *London*, ſtraitly commanding them to put down all publick Schools of Laws, or the teaching them within the City for the future: But I cannot here omit that Sir *Edward Coke* in his Proem to his ſecond Inſtitutes, makes this Prohibition to mean certain publick Readings upon *Magna Charta*, and that *de Foreſta*, but (as Mr. *Selden* hath very well proved in his Diſſertation upon *Fleta*) it was the Canon and not the Common, or Statute-Laws, that were hereby forbid to be taught; and King *Stephen* had long before iſſued out the like Prohibition againſt one *Vacarius*, whom Pope *Eugenius* the *Second* had ſent over hither to read at *Oxford*, upon *Gratian*'s *Decretals*.

Neither can I here likewiſe omit taking notice of a great miſtake in Sir *Richard Baker*'s Chronicle, which among the Laws ſaid to be made in *Henry* the *Third*'s Reign, ſets down this for one, *That by a Statute of this King's, the Wardſhip and Marriage of the King's Barons* (he ſhould alſo have ſaid his other Tenants *in Capite*) *was granted* *to the Crown*; which Story, tho this Author has borrowed it either from *Polydore Virgil*, or *Henry de Knyghton*, yet to prove it falſe, I need but refer the Reader to *Magna Charta* in *Engliſh*, at the end of King *John*'s Reign, or to the *Latin* Original in the *Appendix*, cap. 3, 4, and 6. as alſo to the Statute of *Merton* made the *20th* of *Henry* the *Third*, by which it appears, that the Wardſhip and Mariage of the Heir were not granted by any Statute, but were always incident to Knight's Service.

This I thought good to note, that ſo ordinary Readers, not verſed in the Law, may not be miſled in reading our leſs Authentick Hiſtorians.

Matters relating to Ireland *during the Reign of King* Henry *the* Third.

SINCE Dr. *Brady* has given us at the end of his Hiſtory, a pretty exact Account of ſuch Writs and Letters as relate to the Affairs of *Ireland*, during this King's Reign, being ſuch as are to be found either upon Record in the *Tower*, or elſe in *Matt. Paris*, I thought fit to add them here for the Reader's Satisfaction; ſeeing that That part of *Ireland* which was then under the *Engliſh* Dominion, was a Juriſdiction quite different from that Sovereignty which the King claimed over the reſt of the *Iriſh* Princes of that Iſland.

King *Henry* by his Councellors in the firſt Year of his Reign (he being then but nine Years old) or by *William Mareſchal* his Governor, to gratify the *Iriſh* for their Loyalty to his Father and himſelf, granted out of his ſpecial Grace, that they and their Heirs for ever, ſhould enjoy the Liberties granted by his Father to the Kingdom of *England*, which were written and ſent ſealed thither, under the Seals of the Pope's Legate, and *William* Earl Mareſchal, the King then not having * a Seal of his own, and his Father's Seal being loſt with his other *Regalia*, in the Paſſage over the *Waſhes*.

Append 227. the Engliſh Hiſt.

King *John*'s Charter of Liberties granted to the *Iriſh*.

* *Rot. Cl.* 7. *H.* 3. *M.* 5. *Dorſ.*

In the ſeventh Year of his Reign, upon Complaint made by the Citizens of *Dublin* againſt their Archbiſhop (who was then the King's Chief Juſtice) for proceeding contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Nation uſed in all places of *England*, and for his Uſurpation upon the Rights of the Crown, againſt his Truſt and Duty, as Chief Juſtice, in drawing ſeveral Cauſes belonging to the King's Temporal, to his Eccleſiaſtical Courts, to enlarge his Juriſdiction, to the Grievance and Diſhonour of the King; there was a Writ ſent to him to forbear ſuch things for the future, or elſe that he ſhould be ſeverely dealt with for ſuch practices.

The King prohibits the ABp of *Dublin* to meddle with ſecular Cauſes in Spiritual Courts.

In the eleventh Year of his Reign, † there was a Writ ſent to *Geoffrey de Mariſco*, Juſtice of *Ireland*, for obſerving the ſame Cuſtoms and Law there, for taking Perſons continuing *Excommunicate* by the ſpace of forty days, upon the Archbiſhop and Biſhop's Certificate by a *Capias Excommunicatum*, as was uſed in *England*.

† *Rot. Cl.* 11. *H.* 3. part 1. *M.* 21.

The ſame Law being in *Ireland* as *England*, concerning *Excommunicate* Perſons.

* *Rot.Cla.*12. *H.* 3. *M.* 8.

In the twelfth Year of his Reign, he wrote to * *Richard de Burgh*, his Juſtitiary, to call together the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Free-Tenents, and his Officers in every County, and to cauſe the Charter of King *John* to be read before them, and to enjoin them to the ſtrict obſervation of the Laws contained in it.

* *Rot.Cla.*19. *H.* 3. *M.* 20. *Dorſ.*

Free Commerce and Trade between *England* and *Scotland.*

In the nineteenth Year of his Reign, the King iſſued a * Writ to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* his Juſtitiary, for free Commerce and Trade between his Subjects of both Nations, without reſtraint.

† *Rot. Cla.*20. *H.* 3. *M.*13. *Dorſ.*

The Statutes of *Merton* concerning *Baſtardy* to be obſerved in *Ireland.*

The next Year † he wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and to his Juſtitiary, for the obſervation of the Statutes of *Merton*, eſpecially concerning *Baſtardy*, and in a caſe then depending before them.

|| *Matt. Paris F.*526. *n.* 40.

How Coheirs Females were to hold in Knight's Service.

In the twenty fourth Year of his || Reign, the King ſent inſtructions under his Great Seal, how Lands holden in *Knight's-Service*, that deſcended to Siſters, being Co-heirs, ſhould be divided; and how, and by whom, Homage ſhould be done; and in what manner, and of whom the younger Siſter ſhould hold according to the Statute of *Ireland*, made the fourteenth Year of his Reign.

* *Append.* n. 228.

The Laws of *England* to be ſtrictly obſerved in *Ireland.*

In the thirtieth of his Reign, he directed a * Writ to the Archbiſhops, and others in *Ireland*, that the Laws of *England* ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved in *Ireland*, as King *John* his Father had formerly commanded.

Note, This was done without any Authority of Parliament, either in *England* or *Ireland.*

† *Appen.*n. 229

The Laws not intended for the benefit of the Native *Iriſh.*

Yet notwithſtanding this Command, this Privilege of uſing the *Engliſh* Laws in *Ireland*, † was never deſigned by King *John*, or King *Henry*, that it ſhould extend to all the Native *Iriſh*, but only to the *Engliſh* Inhabitants that were tranſplanted thither, or were there born; and to ſuch native *Iriſh* as faithfully adhered to theſe Kings and the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*, againſt the *Iriſh* that complyed not with them; and thoſe were not to receive any benefit by them.

|| *Rot.Clau.*38. *H.* 3. *M.* 9. *Dorſ.*

The K. ſends into *Ireland* for Forces to be brought to him from thence into *Gaſcoigny.*

The King in the Thirty eighth Year was in *Gaſcoigny*, and wanting Forces, || ſent his Writ to *John Fitz-Geoffrey*, his Juſtice of *Ireland*, to come to him in Perſon with a good number of Men, if there were no danger of an Inſurrection in *Ireland*; otherwiſe to ſend *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* with the ſame Force, and to borrow Money from the Pope's Collector in *Ireland* for that Affair, to be repaid him at a certain day.

Prince *Edward* had the Kingdom of *Ireland* committed to him for his ſupport, with Power to make, and put in and out what Juſtices and other Officers he pleaſed, when the Barons were at *Oxford*, and had made their Proviſions, in the forty ſecond Year of this King's Reign.

* *Rot. Pat.*42. *H.* 3. *M.* 5.

It alſo appears upon * Record, that the King wrote to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Barons, Knights, *&c.* of that Kingdom, that he heard his Son *Edward* intended to make a new Juſtitiary there without his Conſent, and put his Caſtles into ſuch Hands, as might be of great Damage to them, and not without danger of their Diſinheriting; and therefore commands them not to be obedient to any ſuch Juſtitiary, Conſtables, or Keepers of Caſtles,

tles, made or appointed without his Letters Patents, by the Aſſent and Advice of his Council.

After the ſame manner he wrote alſo to all Mayors and † Communities of Cities, and Towns in *Ireland*, and to the Conſtables of Caſtles, and commanded *Alan de la Zouche* his Juſtitiary, not to obey, or give up his Authority to any new Juſtitiary, or Conſtable, that ſhould come without his ſaid Letters Patents.

† *i. e.* Corporations.

The King wrote likewiſe * to the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, the Biſhop of *Meath* his Treaſurer, *Walter de Burgh*, and *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, that he heard there was like to be much Diſſenſion between the Great Men of *Ireland*, and therefore ordered them to ſecure the Peace of that Nation; and ſent them further private Inſtructions by *Roger Waſpail*, who carried theſe Letters, to whom he commanded them to give entire Credit.

* *Rot. Clauſ. 40. H. 3. M. 7. Dorſ.*

The K's Writs to ſeveral Great Men, to ſecure the Peace of *Ireland*.

This is all I find worth noting concerning *Ireland* in this King's Reign, who for the moſt part appointed courageous Juſtitiaries and other Officers, by whoſe Induſtry, and by putting the *Engliſh* Laws in due Execution, that Nation was kept in Peace and Quiet during his Reign.

8 JA 56

FINIS.

An Advertiſement to the Reader.

WHEREAS in the end of King *Richard*'s Reign, *p.* 574. I have there ſaid, that I had never ſeen any Charters of King *John*, wherein he was in direct terms ſtiled Lord of *Ireland*, I think it not too late to retract that miſtake; for ſince the printing off of that Reign, I have received Authentick Copies of two ſeveral Charters from *Ireland*, the one of Earl *John*, with the expreſs Title of Lord of *Ireland*, being a Grant to the Men of *Briſtol*, of the City of *Dublin*, to inhabit in: The Charter follows.

JOHANNES filius Domini Regis Angliæ *& Dominus* Hiberniæ. *Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Juſticiis, Conſtabulariis, Miniſtris, & omnibus Ballivis & Fidelibus ſuis* Francis *&* Anglis *&* Hibernienſibus, *ſalutem. Sciatis me conceſſiſſe & præſenti Carta mea confirmaſſe hominibus meis de* Briſtowe *Donationem quam Dominus Rex* Angliæ *Pater meus eis dedit, ſcilicet,* Civitatem meam de Divilinâ ad inhabitandam. *Quare volo & firmiter præcipio quod ipſi eam inhabitent & teneant illam de me & hæredibus meis bene & in pace, libere & quiete, integre & plenarie & honorifice, cum omnibus Libertatibus & liberis Conſuetudinibus ſuis, quas homines de* Briſtowe *habent apud* Briſtowe, *& per totam Terram Domini Regis* Angliæ *patris mei, ſicut Carta ipſius teſtatur. T.* Hugone de Laci *Conſtabulario*, Bertino de Verdun *ſervo meo*, Gilberto Pypard, Willielmo de Wennes *Dapifero*, Albardo *Camerario meo*, Adamo de Heford, Philippo de Wireceſter, Roberto de Mortemer. *Dat. apud* Kildare.

Copia Vera
Examinatur per
Tho. Twigg,
Cleric. Theol. CCD.

The Seal is in great part broke, but there is ſtill to be ſeen the Head of the Horſe upon it.

There is alſo another Charter precedent to this, from his Father King *Henry* the *Second*, in the ſame words, of which this above ſeems to be only a Confirmation, and therefore I would not trouble the Reader with it. But I muſt obſerve, that King *Henry* has not ſtiled himſelf in that Lord of *Ireland*, tho it was dated at *Dublin*, and he at that time there in Perſon. The Seal of this is pretty perfect, repreſenting him on the *Foreſide* as ſitting on a Throne, and on the *Reverſe* as riding on *Horſeback*, according to the manner of Seals in thoſe Times.

*

THE APPENDIX.

I SHALL begin it with the ſeveral Charters of Liberties, granted by our *Engliſh* Kings of the *Norman* Race, beginning with that of King *William*, and ending with the great Charters of *Henry* the *Third*, called *Magna Charta*, and *Charta* de *Foreſta*.

* Charta Regis *Willielmi* conquiſitoris de quibuſdam Statutis.

* *Printed in Mr.* Lambards Archaionom. *and in Sir* Roger Twiſden's *Edition of the ſame Work, from the antient Manuſcript Copy in the* Red Book *in the* Exchequer.

WILLIELMUS Rex *Anglorum*, Dux *Normannorum*, omnibus hominibus ſuis *Francis* & *Anglis*, Salutem.

I.

De Religione & Pace publica.

STATUIMUS imprimis ſuper omnia, unum Deum per totum Regnum noſtrum venerari, unam fidem Chriſti ſemper inviolatam cuſtodiri, Pacem, & Securitatem & Concordiam, Judicium & Juſtitiam inter *Anglos* & *Normannos*, *Francos* & *Britones Walliæ* & *Cornubiæ*, *Pictos*, & *Scotos Albaniæ*, ſimiliter inter *Francos* & *Inſulanos*, Provincias & Patrias, quæ pertinent ad Coronam & dignitatem, defenſionem & obſervationem & honorem Regni noſtri, & inter omnes nobis ſubjectos per Univerſam Monarchiam Regni *Britanniæ* firmiter & inviolabiliter obſervari. Ita quod nullus alii forisfaciat in ullo ſuper forisfacturam noſtram plenam.

II.

De fide & obſequio erga Regem.

STATUIMUS etiam ut omnes Liberi homines fœdere & Sacramento affirment, quod intra & extra univerſum Regnum *Angliæ* (quod olim vocabatur Regnum *Britanniæ*) *Willielmo* Regni Domino ſuo fideles eſſe volunt, Terras & Honores illius omni fidelitate ubique ſervare cum Eo, & contra Inimicos & Alienigenas defendere.

III.

De Normanni *ſeu* Francigenæ *cæde.*

VOLUMUS autem & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes homines, quos nobiſcum adduximus, aut poſt nos venerint, ſint ſub Protectione

& in Pace noſtra per univerſum Regnum prædictum ; & ſi quis de illis occiſus fuerit, Dominus ejus habeat intra V. dies homicidam ejus ſi poterit ; ſin autem, incipiat perſolvere nobis XLVI Marcas argenti, quamdiu ſubſtantia Domini illius perduraverit : Ubi vero ſubſtantia Domini defecerit, totus Hundredus in quo occiſio facta eſt, communiter ſolvat quod remanet.

IV.

De Jure Normannorum *qui ante adventum Regis* Gulielmi *Cives fuerant* Anglicani.

ET omnis ***Francigena***, qui tempore ***Edwardi*** Propinqui noſtri fuit in ***Anglia*** particeps conſuetudinum ***Anglorum***, quod ipſi dicunt * ***Anhlote*** & ***Anſcote***, perſolvat ſecundum legem ***Anglorum***.

* i.e. *Payment of* Scot *and* Lot.

V.

De clientelari ſeu Feudorum *Jure*, & Ingenuorum *immunitate*.

VOLUMUS etiam ac firmiter præcipimus & concedimus, ut omnes Liberi Homines totius *Monarchiæ* Regni noſtri prædicti, habeant & teneant Terras ſuas & poſſeſſiones ſuas bene & in Pace, liberè ab omni Exactione injuſta, & ab omni Tallagio, ita quod nichil ab eis exigatur vel capiatur, niſi ſervicium ſuum liberum, quod de Jure nobis facere debent & facere tenentur ; & prout ſtatutum eſt eis & illis a Nobis datum & conceſſum ***Jure hæreditario*** imperpetuum, ***per Commune Concilium totius Regni noſtri prædicti***.

VI.

De nocturnis cuſtodiis.

STATUIMUS etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes ***Civitates*** & ***Burgi*** & ***Caſtella*** & ***Hundredi*** & ***Wapentachia*** totius Regni noſtri prædicti, ſingulis noctibus vigilentur & cuſtodiantur in Gyrum, pro Maleficis & Inimicis, prout Vicecomes & Aldermanni, & Præpoſiti & cæteri Ballivi & Miniſtri noſtri melius, per ***Commune Conſilium*** ad Utilitatem Regni, providebunt.

VII.

De menſuris & ponderibus.

ET quod habeant per Univerſum Regnum menſuras fideliſſimas & ſignatas, & pondera fideliſſima & ſignata, ſicut boni Prædeceſſores ſtatuerunt.

VIII.

De Clientum *ſeu* Vaſſallorum *præſtationibus*.

STATUIMUS etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes Comites & Barones, Milites, & ***Servientes***, & ***Univerſi Liberi*** homines totius *Regni* noſtri prædicti, habeant & teneant ſe ſemper bene in Armis & in Equis, ut decet & oportet, & quod ſint ſemper prompti & bene parati ad Servicium ſuum integrum nobis explendum & peragendum, cum ſemper opus adfuerit, ſecundum quod nobis debent de Feodis & Tenementis ſuis, de Jure facere, & ſicut illis ſtatuimus, *per Commune Concilium* totius Regni noſtri prædicti, & illis dedimus & conceſſimus in Feodo *Jure hæreditario*, hoc præceptum non ſit violatum ullo modo, ſuper forisfacturam noſtram plenam.

IX.

Ut Jura Regia illæſa ſervare pro viribus conentur ſubditi.

STATUIMUS etiam & firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes Liberi homines totius Regni noſtri prædicti ſint fratres conjurati ad Monarchiam noſtram & ad Regnum noſtrum pro viribus ſuis & facultatibus, contra Inimicos pro poſſe ſuo defendendum & viriliter ſervandum, & Pacem & Dignitatem Coronæ noſtræ integram obſervandam, & ad Judicium Rectum, & Juſtitiam conſtanter omnibus modis pro poſſe ſuo ſine dolo & ſine dilatione faciendam. [*Hoc Decretum ſancitum eſt in Civitate London.*]

X.

Ne venditio & emptio fiat niſi coram teſtibus & in Civitatibus.

INTERDICIMUS etiam, ut nulla viva * pecunia vendatur aut ematur niſi intra Civitates, & hoc ante tres fideles teſtes, nec aliquam Rem vetitam, ſine Fidejuſſore & Warranto: quod ſi aliter fecerit, ſolvat & perſolvat & poſtea forisfacturam.

* *i.e.* Pecus.

XI.

De Emporiis & Jure urbium, pagorumque notæ melioris.

ITEM nullum Mercatum vel Forum ſit, nec fieri permittantur, niſi in Civitatibus Regni noſtri, in Burgis & Muro vallatis, & in Caſtellis & in locis tutiſſimis, ubi conſuetudines Regni noſtri & Jus noſtrum Commune & Dignitatis Coronæ noſtræ, quæ conſtituta ſunt a bonis Prædeceſſoribus noſtris deperiri non poſſunt, nec defraudari, nec violari, ſed omnia rite & in aperto & per Judicium & Juſtitiam fieri debent. Et ideo Caſtella, & Burgi & Civitates ſitæ ſunt & fundatæ, & ædificatæ, ſcilicet, ad tuitionem Gentium & Populorum Regni, & ad defenſionem Regni, & idcirco obſervari debent cum omni libertate & integritate & ratione.

XII.

De purgatione forenſi in Judiciis publicis.

DECRETUM eſt etiam † ibi, ut ſi *Francigena* appellaverit *Anglum* de perjurio aut murdro, furto, homicidio, (*Ran* quod dicunt) apertam rapinam quæ negari non poteſt, *Anglus* ſe defendat per quod melius voluerit, aut Judicio Ferri, aut Duello: Si autem *Anglus* infirmus fuerit, inveniat alium, qui pro eo faciat: Si quis eorum victus fuerit, emendet Regi XL ſolid. Si autem *Anglus Francigenam* appellaverit, & probare voluerit Judicio aut Duello, volo tunc *Francigenam* purgare ſe ſacramento, non ferro.

† *i.e.* Londini.

XIII.

XIII.

Firmantur Leges Edwardi *Regis.*

HOC quoque præcipimus ut omnes habeant & teneant Leges *Edwardi* Regis in omnibus Rebus, adauctis hiis, quas conſtituimus ad utilitatem *Anglorum.*

XIV.

De Juſtitiæ Publicæ fidejuſſoribus.

OMNIS homo qui voluerit ſe teneri pro libero, ſit in plegio, ut Plegius eum habeat ad Juſtitiam, ſi quid offenderit, & quiſquam evaſerit, talium videant Plegii, ut ſolvant, quod calumniatum eſt, & purgent ſe quodam evaſo nullam fraudem noverint. Requiratur Hundredus & Comitatus (ſicut Anteceſſores ſtatuerunt) & qui juſte venire debent & noluerint, ſummoneantur ſemel; & ſi ſecundo non venerint, accipiatur unus Bos; & ſi tertio, alius Bos; & ſi quarto, reddatur de rebus hujus hominis quod calumpniatum eſt, quod dicitur * *Ceaþᵹel*, & inſuper Regis foriſfactura.

XV.

De ſervis & eorum manumiſſione.

ET prohibimus ut nullus vendat hominem extra patriam; ſi qui vero velit ſervum ſuum liberum facere, tradat eum Vicecomiti per manum dextram in pleno Comitatu, quietum illum clamare debet a jugo ſervitutis ſuæ per manumiſſionem, & oſtendat ei liberas vias & portas, & tradat illi libera arma, ſcil. Lanceam & Gladium, deinde *Liber Homo* efficitur.

XVI.

De Servis.

ITEM ſi Servi permanſerint ſine Calumnia per annum & diem in Civitatibus noſtris, vel in Burgis Muro vallatis, vel in Caſtris noſtris, a die illa Liberi efficiuntur, & Liberi a Jugo ſervitutis ſuæ ſint imperpetuum.

XVII.

De ſupplicorum modo.

INTERDICIMUS etiam, nè quis occidatur vel ſuſpendatur pro aliqua culpa, ſed enervantur oculi & abſcidantur pedes, vel teſticuli vel manus, ita quod truncus remaneat vivus in ſignum proditionis & nequitiæ ſuæ, ſecundum enim quantitatem delicti debet pœna maleficis infligi: Iſta præcepta non ſint violata ſuper foriſfacturam noſtram plenam. Teſtibus, *&c.*

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* *This word, as it is here, has no meaning: I therefore ſuppoſe it ſhould have been written* Ceaþᵹeld, *which ſignifies the Price or Value of a thing when taken and ſold: that is, if the Perſon ſummon'd fail'd the fourth Time, he was to pay for his Mulct the price of all his Oxen, which were to be ſold, beſides a Forfeiture to the King. This Emendation I owe to the Learned Dr.* Hicks's *Skill in the* Engliſh Saxon *Tongue.*

Alia Charta continens Inſtitutiones ſive Leges Regis Willielmi; *quæ videntur additiones Prioribus.*

(*a*) *WILLIELMVS* Dei Gratia, Rex *Anglorum*, omnibus ad quos ſcriptum hoc perveniat, ſalutem & amicitiam, quod mando & præcipio per totam *Angliæ* nationem cuſtodiri.

XVIII.

De examine Forenſi.

SI *Anglicus* homo compellet aliquem *Francigenam* per † Bellum de furto vel Homicidio vel aliqua Re, pro qua Bellum fieri debeat, vel Judicium inter duos homines, habeat plenam licentiam faciendi. Et ſi *Anglicus* Bellum nolit, *Francigena* Compellatus adlegiet ſe in jurejurando contra eum per Suos teſtes ſecundum Legem *Normanniæ*.

† i. e. *Battel* or *Duel.*

XIX.

De eodem.

ITEM ſi *Francigena* compellat *Anglicum* per Bellum de eiſdem rebus, *Anglicus* plena licentia defendat ſe per Bellum vel per Judicium, ſi magis ei placeat. Et ſi *untrum* ſit, (id eſt invalidus) & nolit Bellum vel non poſſet, quærat ſibi Legalem Defenſorem.

XX.

De eodem.

SI *Francigena* victus fuerit, perſolvat Regi LX Solid. Et ſi *Anglicus* nolit ſe defendere per Bellum vel per Teſtimonium, *(b)* adlegiet ſemper || Dei Judicium.

|| *i.e.* Ordeal.

XXI.

De examine forenſi.

DE omnibus *Vtlagariæ* rebus, Rex inſtituit, ut *Anglicus* ſe purget ad Judicium; & ſi *Anglicus* Appellet *Francigenam*, de *Vtlegaria* & hoc ſuper eum inveritare velit, defendat ſe *Francigena* per Bellum. Et ſi *Anglicus* non audeat eum probare per Bellum, defendat ſe *Francigena* pleno Juramento, non in verborum obſervantiis.

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* Charta Libertatum Regis *Henrici* primi.

* Mat. Paris. *p.* 55.

HENRICVS Dei Gratia Rex *Angliæ*, &c. *Hugoni* de *Boclande* Vicecomiti & omnibus fidelibus ſuis tam *Francis* quam *Anglicis* in *Herefordſyre* ſalutem, ſciatis me Dei miſericordia & *Communi Conſilio Baronum, Regni Angliæ Regem eſſe Coronatum.*

(*a*) *Theſe are not in the* Red Book *of the* Exchequer, *but to be found in* Bromton's *Chronicle*, Col. 982. *and are alſo in the Manuſcript belonging to the Dean and Chapter of* Rocheſter, *call'd* Textus Roſſenſis, *p.* 47. *as Dr.* Hicks *obſerved to me, who will print them in his new* Saxon *Grammer.*

(*b*) *The* Saxon *is*, he laꝺıᵹe hinc mıꝺ ıꞃene, *he ſhall purge himſelf with Iron*; that is, with the *Ordeal hot Iron.*

I. ET quia Regnum oppreſſum erat injuſtis exactionibus, ego reſpectu Dei & amore, quem erga vos omnes habeo, ſanctam Dei eccleſiam liberam facio, ita quod nec eam vendam nec ad firmam ponam, nec mortuo Archiepiſcopo vel Epiſcopo, vel Abbate, aliquid accipiam de Dominio Eccleſiæ, vel de hominibus, donec Succeſſor in eam ingrediatur.

II. ET omnes malas Conſuetudines, quibus Regnum Angliæ injuſte opprimebatur, inde Aufero, quas malas conſuetudines in parte hic pono.

III. SIQUIS Baronum meorum, Comitum, vel aliorum, qui de me tenent, mortuus fuerit, hæres ſuus non Redimet terram ſuam, ſicut facere conſueverat tempore Patris mei, ſed juſta & Legitima Relevatione relevabit eam : Similiter & * homines Baronum meorum legitima & juſta relevatione relevabunt terras ſuas de Dominis ſuis.

* *i. e.* Tenentes.

IV. ET ſiquis Baronum vel aliorum hominum meorum, filiam ſuam tradere voluerit, ſive ſororem, ſive nepotem, ſive cognatam, mecum inde loquatur, ſed neque ego aliquid de ſuo pro hac licentia accipiam, neque defendam ei, quin eam det, excepto ſi eam dare voluerit Inimico meo.

V. ET ſi mortuo Barone vel alio homine meo, filia hæres remanſerit, dabo illam cum conſilio Baronum meorum cum terra ſua.

VI. ET ſi mortuo marito, uxor ejus remanſerit, & ſine liberis fuerit, dotem ſuam, & maritagium habebit, & eam non dabo marito, niſi ſecundum velle ſuum. Si verò uxor cum liberis remanſerit, dotem ſuum & maritagium habebit, dum corpus ſuum legitimè ſervabit ; & eam non dabo niſi ſecundum velle ſuum, & terræ Liberorum cuſtos erit ſive uxor, ſive alius propinquior, qui juſtus eſſe debet : & præcipio, ut homines mei ſimiliter ſe contineant erga filios & filias & uxores, hominum ſuorum.

VII. MONETAGIUM Commune, quod capiebatur per Civitates vel Comitatus, quod non fuit tempore *Edwardi* Regis, hoc ne amodo fiat omnino defendo.

VIII. SI quis captus fuerit ſive monetarius ſive alius cum falſa moneta, Juſtitia recta inde fiat.

IX. OMNIA placita & omnia debita, quæ Regi fratri meo debebantur, condono, exceptis firmis meis, & exceptis illis, quæ pacta erant pro aliorum hæritatibus, vel pro illis rebus, quæ juſtius alios contingebant. Et ſi quis aliquid pro hæreditate ſua pepigerat, illud condono & omnes Releviationes, quæ pro rectis hæreditatibus pactæ erant.

X. ET ſi quis Baronum vel hominum meorum infirmabitur, ſicut ipſe dabit vel dare diſpoſuerit, pecuniam ſuam : ita datam eſſe concedo.

XI. QUOD ſi ipſe præventus, vel armis, vel Infirmitate, pecuniam ſuam nec dederit, nec dare diſpoſuerit, uxor ſui, ſive Liberi aut parentes, & legitimi homines ſui, pro anima ejus eam dividant : ſicut eis melius viſum fuerit.

XII. SI quis Baronum vel hominum meorum foriſfecerit, non dabit vadium in miſeria pecuniæ ſuæ, ſicut faciebat tempore Patris, vel fratris mei, ſed ſecundum foriſfacturæ modum : nec ita emendabit ſicut emendaſſet retro tempore Patris mei vel fratris.

XIII. QUOD ſi perfidiæ vel ſceleris convictus fuerit, ſicut culpa, ſic emendet.

XIV. MURDRA etiam retro ab illa die, qua in Regem Coronatus ſum, omnia condono, & ea quæ amodo facta fuerint, juſtè emendentur ſecundum Lagam Regis *Edwardi*.

XV. FORESTAS *Communi Conſilio* Baronum meorum in manu mea, ita retinui, ſicut Pater meus eas habuit.

XVI. MILITIBUS, qui per Loricas terras ſuas defendunt, terras dominicarum carucarum ſuarum quietas ab omnibus Geldis & omni proprio, Dono meo concedo; ut ſicut tam magno Gravamine alleviati ſunt, ita equis & armis bene ſe inſtruant, ut apti & parati ſint ad ſervitium meum, & ad defenſionem Regni mei.

XVII. PACEM firmam pono in toto Regno meo, & teneri amodo præcipio *Lagam* Regis *Edwardi* vobis reddo, cum illis emendationibus, quibus pater meus eam emendavit, Conſilio Baronum ſuorum.

XVIII. SI quis aliquid de modo, vel de rebus alicujus poſt obitum Regis *Willielmi* fratris mei cepit, totum cito Reddatur abſque emendatione; & ſi quis inde aliquid retinuerit, ille ſuper quem inventum fuerit, graviter mihi emendabit.

HIS teſtibus, *Mauricio Londonienſi* Epiſcopo, *Willielmo Wintonienſi* Electo, *Girardo Herefordenſi* Epiſcopo, *Henrico* Comite, *Simone* Comite, *Waltero Giffard*, Comite *Roberto de Monte forti*, *Rogero Bigod*, & aliis multis.

* Will. Malms. de geſt. Reg. *p.* 179. *N.* 3.

* Charta Regis *Stephani*.

I. EGO *Stephanus* Dei Gratia, Aſſenſu Cleri & Populi in Regem Angliæ electus, & a Domino *Willielmo* Archiepiſcopo *Cantuariæ* & Sanctæ Eccleſiæ *Romanæ* Legato conſecratus, & ab *Innocentio* Sanctæ Sedis *Romanæ* Pontifice poſtmodum confirmatus, reſpectu & Amore Dei ſanctam Eccleſiam liberam eſſe concedo, & debitam reverentiam illi confirmo.

II. NIHIL me in Eccleſia, vel in rebus Eccleſiaſticis ſymoniace acturum, vel permiſſurum eſſe promitto.

III. ECCLESIASTICARUM Perſonarum & omnium Clericorum, & rerum eorum Juſtitiam & poteſtatem & diſtributionem bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum manu Epiſcoporum eſſe, perhibeo & confirmo.

IV. DIGNITATES Eccleſiarum, privilegiis earum confirmatas, & conſuetudines earum antiquo tenore habitas, inviolate manere concedo & ſtatuo.

V. OMNES Eccleſiarum poſſeſſiones, & tenuras, quas die illa habuerant, qua *Willielmus* Rex Avus meus fuit vivus & mortuus, ſine omnium calumniantium reclamatione eis liberas & abſolutas eſſe concedo.

VI. SI quid vero de habitis aut poſſeſſis ante mortem Regis, quibus modo careat, Eccleſia, deinceps repetierit, indulgentiæ & diſpenſationi meæ vel diſcutiendum, vel reſtituendum reſervo.

VII. QUÆCUNQUE vero poſt mortem Regis, liberalitate Regum, largitione Principum, oblatione, vel comparatione, vel qualibet tranſmutatione Fidelium collata ſunt confirmo.

VIII. PACEM meam & Juſtitiam in omnibus facturum & pro poſſe meo conſervaturum promitto.

IX. FORESTAS quas *Willielmus* Rex avus meus, & *Willielmus* Avunculus meus inſtituerunt & tenuerunt, mihi reſervo. Cæteras omnes, quas *Henricus* Rex ſuperaddidit, Eccleſiis & Regno quietas reddo & concedo.

X. SI quis autem Epiſcopus vel Abbas, vel alia Eccleſiaſtica Perſona ante mortem ſuam rationabiliter ſua diſtribuerit, vel diſtribuenda ſtatuerit, firmum manere concedo.

XI. SI vero morte præoccupatus fuerit, pro ſalute animæ ejus, Eccleſiæ conſilio eadem fiat diſtributio.

XII. DUM vero Sedes propriis fuerint Paſtoribus vacuæ & ipſæ & omnes, earum poſſeſſiones, in manu & cuſtodia Clericorum vel proborum hominum, ejuſdem Eccleſiæ committantur, donec Paſtor canonice ſubſtituatur.

XIII. OMNES Exactiones & *Meſcheningas*, & Injuſtitias, ſive per Vice-Comites, vel per alios quoſlibet male inductas, funditus extirpo. Bonas leges & antiquas & juſtas conſuetudines in murdris, & Placitis & aliis cauſis obſervabo, & obſervari præcipio, & conſtituo: apud *Oxenford* anno incarnationis Domini 1136. Regni mei primo.

Charta libertatum Angliæ *Henrici* II.

N. 4. Ex Vol. II. Concil. Britan. D. *Hen. Spelman.* p. 51.

HENRICUS Dei Gratia Rex *Anglorum*, Dux *Normanniæ* & *Acquitaniæ*, Comes *Andegaviæ*, Baronibus & Fidelibus ſuis *Francis* & *Anglicis*, Salutem.

I. SCIATIS me ad honorem Dei & ſanctæ Eccleſiæ & pro communi emendatione totius *Regni* mei, Conceſſiſſe & reddiſſe & præſenti Charta mea Confirmaſſe, Deo & Sanctæ Eccleſiæ & omnibus Comitibus & Baronibus & omnibus hominibus meis, omnes Conſuetudines quas Rex *Henricus* Avus meus eis dedit & conceſſit; Similiter etiam omnes malas conſuetudines, quas ipſe delevit & remiſit, Ego remitto & deleri concedo pro me & Hæredibus meis.

II. QUARE volo & firmiter præcipio, ut ſancta Eccleſia, & omnes Comites & Barones, & omnes mei homines, omnes illas Conſuetudines & donationes & Libertates, & liberas Conſuetudines habeant & teneant libere & quiete, bene & in pace, integre, de me & Hæredibus meis, ſibi & Hæredibus ſuis, adeo libere & quiete & plenarie in omnibus, ſicut Rex *Henricus* Avus meus eis dedit & conceſſit, & Charta ſua confirmavit. Teſt. *Richardo de Lucy*.

Charta libertatum Regis Johannis,

Sicut invenitur in *Mat. Paris*, p. 255. Collata cum duabus Chartis *Original.* una in Bibliotheca *Cotton.* altera in Archivis Eccleſiæ *Sarisburienſis*, penes Decanum & Capitulum.

JOHANNES Dei Gratia Rex *Angliæ*, Dux *Normanniæ* & *Acquitaniæ*, Comes *Andegaviæ*, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, * *Juſtitiariis, & Foreſtariis*, Vicecomitibus, Præpoſitis, Miniſtris & omnibus Ballivis, & fidelibus ſuis, † *præſentem Chartam inſpecturis*, ſalutem. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei & pro ſalute animæ noſtræ & Anteceſſorum omnium & Hæredum meorum, & ad honorem Dei, & exaltationem S. Eccleſiæ, & emendationem Regni noſtri, per Conſilium venerabilium patrum noſtorum, *Stephani Cantuarienſis* Archiepiſcopi, totius Angliæ Primatis, & Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis, *Henrici Dublinenſis* Archiepiſcopi, *Willielmi Londinenſis* Epiſcopi, *Petri Wintonienſis*, *Jocelini Bathonienſis* & *Glaſton*, *Hugonis Lincolnienſis*, *Walteri Wigornenſis*, *Willielmi Coventrenſis*, *Benedicti Roffenſis* Epiſcoporum, & magiſtri *Pandulphi* Domini Papæ Subdiaconi & familiaris, & fratris *Eymerici* magiſtri Militiæ Templi in *Anglia*, & Nobilium virorum *Willielmi* Mareſchalli Comitis *Pembroc. W.* Comitis *Saresberienſis*, *Willielmi* Comitis *Warrennæ*, *Willielmi* Comitis *Arundel*, *Alani de Galerveia* Conſtabularii *Scotiæ*, *Warini filii Geraldi*, *Petri filii Hereberti*, & *Huberti de Burgo*, *Seneſchalli Pictaviæ*, *Hugonis* de *Nevilla*, *Matthæi filii Hereberti*, *Thomæ Baſſet*, *Alani Baſſet*, *Philippi de Albeniaco*, *Roberti de Roppele*, *Johannis Mareſchalli*, & *Johannis filii Hugonis*, & Aliorum Fidelium noſtrorum. Imprimis conceſſiſſe Deo, & hæc præſenti Charta noſtra confirmaſſe pro nobis & Hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum.

* Ita in S. & C. deſunt in M. Paris.

† Deſunt in S. Nota quod C. denotat Chartam Cotton. S. Sarisburienſ. M.P. Mat. Par.

I. QUOD Anglicana Eccleſia libera ſit, & habeat Jura ſua integra, & libertates ſuas iilæſas, ‖ *& ita volumus obſervari, quod apparet ex eo, quod libertatem Electionum, quæ maxima & magis neceſſaria reputatur Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, mera & ſpontanea voluntate, ante diſcordiam, inter nos & Barones noſtros manifeſte motam, conceſſimus, & charta noſtra confirmavimus, & eam obtinuimus a Domino Papa* Innocentio *tertio confirmari; quam & nos obſervabimus, & ab hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum bona fide volumus obſervari.*

‖ Deſunt hæc in Charta R. Henrici 3.

II. CONCESSIMUS etiam omnibus liberis hominibus Regni *noſtri*, pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum, omnes libertates ſubſcriptas; habendas & tenendas eis & hæredibus ſuis de nobis & hæredibus noſtris.

III. SI quis Comitum vel Baronum noſtrorum, ſive aliorum Tenentium de nobis in Capite per Servitutum militare mortuus fuerit, & cum deceſſerit hæres ſuus plenæ ætatis fuerit & relevium debeat; habeat hæreditatem ſuam per antiquum relevium, ſcilicet hæres vel hæredes Comitis de Baronia Comitis Integra, per centum libras; hæres vel hæredes Baronis de Baronia integra centum * *marcas*; hæres vel hæredes militis de feodo militis integro per centum Solidos ad plus; & qui minus debuerit, minus det, ſecundum antiquam conſuetudinem feudorum.

* S. Libras.

* Deſunt in M: P.
† In Cotton. & Sarisb. *cum autem.*

IV. SI autem hæres alicujus talium fuerit infra ætatem, & fuerit in Cuſtodia, * *Dominus ejus non habeat Cuſtodiam ejus, nec terræ ſuæ, antequam homagium ejus ceperit, & poſtquam talis hæres fuerit in Cuſtodia,* † *& ad* ætatem pervenerit, ſcilicet viginti & unius Anni, habeat hæreditatem ſuam ſine Relevio, & ſine Fine, ita tamen quod ſi ipſe, dum infra ætatem fuerit, fiat miles, nihilominus terra remaneat in Cuſtodia Dominorum ſuorum uſque ad terminum prædictum.

† Deſunt in S. & C.
‖ Deſunt in S. & C.

V. CUSTOS terræ hujuſmodi hæredis, qui infra ætatem fuerit, non capiat de Terra hæredis, niſi rationabiles Exitus, & rationabiles conſuetudines, & rationabilia ſervitia : & hoc ſine deſtructione & vaſto Hominum vel Rerum. Et ſi Nos Commiſerimus cuſtodiam alicujus talis terræ Vicecomiti vel alicui alii, qui de exitibus † *terræ illius* nobis debeat reſpondere, & ille deſtructionem de cuſtodia fecerit vel vaſtum; nos ab illo capiemus Emendam, & terra committatur duobus legalibus & diſcretis hominibus de Feudo illo, qui ſimiliter de Exitibus nobis reſpondeant, vel ei cui eos aſſignabimus, ‖ *ſicut prædictum eſt.*

† Deſunt in M. P.
* Deſunt in C.

VI. CUSTOS autem quam diu cuſtodiam terræ habuerit ſuſtentet, domos parcos, vivaria, ſtagna, molendina, & cætera ad illam terram pertinentia, de exitibus terræ ejuſdem, & Reddat hæredi, cum ad plenam ætatem pervenerit, terram ſuam totam, inſtauratam de carucis & Waynagiis, † *ſecundum quod Tempus Waynagii exiget, & exitus Terræ rationabiliter poterit ſuſtinere.* * *Et omnibus aliis rebus, ad minus ſecundum quod illa recepit : Hæc omnia obſerventur de cuſtodiis Archiepiſcopatuum, Epiſcopatuum, Abbatiarium, Prioratuum, Eccleſiarum & Dignitatum vacantium, quæ ad nos pertinent ; excepto quod cuſtodiæ Hujuſmodi vendi non debent.*

† Deſunt in Charta R. Henrici tertii.

VII. HÆREDES maritentur ſine diſparagatione : * *ita tamen quod antequam contrahatur matrimonium, oſtendatur Propinquis de conſanguinitate ipſius hæredis.*

* Deſunt in S. & C.
† Deſunt in C.
‖ Deſunt in S. & C.

VIII. VIDUA poſt mortem mariti ſui, ſtatim & ſine difficultate * *aliqua* habeat, Maritagium * *ſuum* & Hæreditatem ſuam ; nec aliquid det pro Dote ſua, vel pro Maritagio ſuo, vel Hæreditate ſua, quam Hæreditatem etiam maritus ſuus & ipſa tenuerunt, die obitus ipſius mariti : Et maneat in Domo capitali meſſuagio mariti ſui per quadraginta dies, poſt obitum ipſius mariti, infra quos aſſignetur ei Dos ſua, † [*niſi ei prius fuerit aſſignata :*] ‖ *vel niſi domus illa fuerit Caſtrum, & ſi de Caſtro receſſerit, ſtatim provideatur ei domus competens, in qua poſſit honeſte morari, quouſque ei Dos ſua aſſignetur, ſecundum quod prædictum eſt & habeat rationabile, Eſtoverium ſuum interim de* Communi : *Aſſignetur autem ei pro Dote ſua tertia pars totius terræ mariti ſui, quæ ſua fuit in vita, niſi de minore dotata fuerit ad oſtium Eccleſiæ.*

IX. NULLA vidua deſtringatur ad ſe maritandum, dum voluerit vivere ſine marito; ita tamen quod ſecuritatem faciat, quod ſe non maritabit ſine Aſſenſu noſtro, ſi de Nobis tenuerit ; vel ſine Aſſenſu Domini ſui de quo tenuerit, ſi de alio tenuerit.

* Deeſt in S. & C.
† Deſunt in S. & C.

X. NEC Nos vel nec Ballivi noſtri ‖ *non* ſeiſiemus terram aliquam, nec redditum pro debito aliquo, quamdiu catalla Debitoris * *præſentia* ſufficiunt ad debitum reddendum ; † *& ipſe Debitor paratus ſit inde ſatisfacere,* nec Plegii ipſius Debitoris deſtringantur, quamdiu ipſe Capitalis Debitor ſufficiat ad ſolutionem Debiti.

‖ In S. & C. ſolvat.

XI. ET ſi capitalis Debitor defecerit in ſolutione Debiti, non habens unde ‖ *reddat, aut reddere nolit, cum poſſit* Plegii reſpondeant de

Debito : & ſi voluerint, habeant terras & redditus debitoris, * *quouſque* ſit eis ſatisfactum de Debito quod ante pro eo ſolverint ; niſi capitalis Debitor monſtraverit ſe inde eſſe quietum verſus eoſdem Plegios.

* C. & S. *Donec.*

XII. *SI quis mutuo Acceperit aliquid à* Judæis *plus vel minus, & moriatur antequam debitum illud* † perſolverit ; *debitum illud non uſuret, quam diu hæres fuerit infra ætatem, de quocunque teneat : & ſi debitum illud incidat in manus noſtras, nos non capiemus niſi catallum contentum in Charta.*

Deſunt hæc duo Capitula de Debitis Judæorum, in Chartis *H.* 3.
† In C. & S. *ſolvatur.*

XIII. *ET ſi quis moriatur & debitum debeat* Judæis, *uxor ejus habeat Dotem ſuam, & nil reddat de Debito illo. Et ſi liberi ipſius Defuncti, qui fuerint infra ætatem, remanſerint, provideantur eis neceſſaria ſecundum tenementum quod fuerit Defuncti, & de reſiduo ſolvatur Debitum* ; *ſalvo* || tamen *ſervitio Dominorum, ſimili modo fiat de Debitis, quæ debentur aliis quam* Judæis.

|| Deeſt in S. & C.

XIV. * NULLUM Scutagium vel Auxilium † ponam in Regno noſtro, niſi per *Commune Concilium Regni noſtri,* niſi ad Corpus noſtrum redimendum, & ad primogenitum Filium noſtrum militem faciendum, & ad primogenitam Filiam noſtram ſemel maritandam ; Et ad hæc non fiat niſi rationabile Auxilium.

* Deeſt totum in Chart. H. 3.
† In S. & C. *ponatur.*

XV. || *SIMILI modo fiat de Auxiliis de Civitate Londinenſi* ; & Civitas London. habeat omnes antiquas Libertates & liberas Conſuetudines ſuas, tam per terras quam per aquas.

|| Deſunt in Charta Hen. 3.

XVI. PRÆTEREA Volumus & concedimus quod omnes aliæ Civitates & Burgi, & Villæ, * *& Barones de quinque Portubus,* & omnes Portus, habeant omnes Libertates & omnes liberas conſuetudines ſuas, † *Et ad habendum commune concilium Regni de* || *Auxiliis aſſidendis,* aliter *quam in tribus caſibus prædictis.*

* Deſunt in S. & C.
† Deſunt in Charta Hen. 3. hæc quinque Capitula ſequentia.
|| In C. & S. Auxilio aſſidendo.

XVII. * *ET de Scutagiis aſſidendis, ſubmoneri faciemus Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, Abbates, Comites, & Majores Barones* Regni *ſigillatim per literas noſtras.*

* In C. & S. vel de Scutagio Aſſidendo.

XVIII. *ET præterea faciemus, ſubmoneri in generali, per Vicecomites & Ballivos noſtros, omnes illos alios, qui in* Capite *tenent de nobis, ad certum diem, ſcilicet ad terminum quadraginta dierum ad minus, ad certum locum, & in omnibus literis ſummonitionis illius, cauſam ſummonitionis illius exprimemus.*

XIX. *ET ſic facta ſummonitione, negotium procedat ad diem aſſignatum ſecundum conſilium illorum qui præſentes fuerint, quamvis non omnes ſummoniti venerint.*

XX. *NOS non concedemus de cætero alicui, quod capiat Auxilium de liberis hominibus ſuis, niſi ad corpus ſuum redimendum ; & ad faciendum primogenitum filium ſuum militem, & primogenitam filiam ſuam ſemel maritandam ; & ad hæc non fiat niſi rationabile Auxilium.*

XXI. NULLUS diſtringatur ad faciendum majus ſervitium de feudo militis, nec de alio libero Tenemento quam inde debetur.

XXII. COMMUNIA placita non ſequantur curiam noſtram, ſed teneantur in aliquo certo Loco.

XXIII. RECOGNITIONES de nova Diſſeiſina, de morte Anteceſſoris, & de ultima Præſentatione non capiantur niſi in Comitatibus ſuis & hoc modo : Nos (vel ſi extra regnum fuerimus) capitalis Juſtitiarius noſter, *mittet* Juſtitiarios noſtros per unumquemque Comitatum per vices in anno, qui cum militibus Comitatuum, capiant

in

* Ita in C.& S. deeſt in M. P.

in Comitatibus Aſſiſas * *prædictas*. Et ea quæ in illo Adventu ſuo in Comitatibus per Juſticiarios prædictos, ad prædictas Aſſiſas capiendas miſſos, terminari non poſſunt per eoſdem propter difficultatem Articulorum terminari non poſſunt, referantur ad Juſticiarios noſtros de Banco. Aliter ſe habet in C. & S. hic Articulus, *viz.*

XXIV. *ET ſi mittemus duos Juſticiarios per unumquemque Comitatum per quatuor vices in anno, qui cum militibus Comitatuum cujuſlibet Comitatus electis per Comitatum, capiant in Comitatu, & in die & loco Comitatus, Aſſiſas prædictas; & ſi in die Comitatus Aſſiſæ prædictæ capi non poſſint, tot milites & Liberè Tenentes remaneant de illis qui interfuerunt Comitatui die illo, per quos poſſint ſufficienter Judicia fieri ſecundum quod negotium fuerit majus vel minus.*

† Deſunt in S. & C.

XXV. † *ASSISÆ de ultima Præſentatione Eccleſiarum ſemper capiantur eorum Juſtitiariis de Banco, & ibi terminentur.*

|| Deſunt in C. &. S.

* Deeſt in C. & S.

XXVI. LIBER homo non amercietur pro parvo delicto, niſi ſecundum modum ipſius delicti; ſalvo Contenemento ſuo. Et Mercator eodem modo, ſalva marcandiſa ſua. Et Villanus || *alterius quam noſter*, eodem modo amercietur; ſalvo Waynagio ſuo, ſi inciderit in miſericordiam noſtram. Et nulla prædictarum Miſericordiarum ponatur, niſi per Sacramentum proborum & * *legalium* hominum de Vicineto Comitatus.

XXVII. COMITES & Barones non amercientur, niſi per Pares ſuos; & non niſi ſecundum modum Delicti.

† Ita in C. & S. in M. P. *nulla Eccleſiaſtica Perſona amercietur*, &c.

XXVIII. † *NULLUS Clericus* amercietur de laico Tenemento ſuo, niſi ſecundum modum aliorum prædictorum, & non ſecundum quantitatem Beneficii ſui Eccleſiaſtici. In M. P. ſequitur, *ſed ſecundum laicum Tenementum ſuum, & ſecundum Quantitatem delicti.*

XXIX. NEC villa nec homo deſtringatur facere pontes ad Riparias, niſi qui ab Antiquo & Jure facere debent.

|| Deeſt totum in S. & C.

XXX. || *NULLA Riparia de cetero defendetur, niſi illa quæ fuerat in defenſo tempore* Henrici *Regis Avi noſtri.*

XXXI. NULLUS Vicecomes, Conſtabularius, Coronatores, vel alii Ballivi noſtri, teneant Placita Coronæ noſtræ.

XXXII. OMNES Comitatus & Hundredi Wapentagia & Trethingi, ſint ad antiquas firmas, abſque ullo incremento, exceptis Dominicis maneriis noſtris.

* Deeſt in S.

XXXIII. SI Aliquis tenens de Nobis laicum feudum moriatur, & Vicecomes vel Ballivus noſter litteras * *noſtras* oſtendat patentes, de ſummonitione noſtra non de debito, quod defunctus nobis debuit: liceat Vicecomiti vel Ballivo noſtro attachaiare & imbreviare catalla Defuncti inventa in laico Feodo ad Valentiam illius debiti, per viſum legalium hominum; ita tamen quod nichil inde amoveatur, donec perſolvatur debitum Nobis quod clarum fuerit, & reſiduum relinquatur Executoribus ad faciendum teſtamentum Defuncti. Et ſi nichil nobis debeatur ab ipſo, omnia catalla cedant Defuncto; ſalvis uxori ipſius & pueris rationabilibus partibus ſuis.

† Deſunt in M. P.

XXXIV. † *SI Aliquis liber homo inteſtatus deceſſerit, catalla ſua per manus Propinquorum, Parentum & amicorum ſuorum per viſum Eccleſiæ diſtribuantur; ſalvis unicuique debitis quæ defunctus ei debebat.*

|| Deſunt in S. & C.

* Deſunt in C. & S.

XXXV. NULLUS Conſtabularius, vel alius Ballivus noſter capiat blada vel alia catalla alicujus, || *qui non de Villa ubi Caſtrum ſitum ſit*, niſi ſtatim inde reddat denarios, aut reſpectum inde habere poſſit de voluntate venditoris; * *ſi autem de Villa ipſa fuerit, infra quadraginta dies pretium reddat.*

XXXVI. NULLUS Conſtabularius deſtringat militem aliquem ad dandum denarios pro cuſtodia Caſtri, ſi ipſe eam facere voluerit in propria perſona ſua, vel per alium probum hominem; ſi ipſe eam facere non poſſit * *propter* rationabilem cauſam.

* In M. P. per.

XXXVII. ET ſi nos duxerimus, vel miſerimus eum in Exercitum, erit quietus de Cuſtodia, ſecundum quantitatem temporis, quo per nos fuerit in Exercitu, † *de feodo, pro quo fecit ſervitium in Exercitu.*

† Deſunt in C. & S.

XXXVIII. NULLUS Vicecomes vel Ballivus noſter vel aliquis alius, capiat equos vel Carectas alicujus || *Liberi hominis* pro cariagio faciendo, * *niſi reddat liberationem antiquitus ſtatutam; ſcilicet pro Carecta ad duos equos, decem denarios per diem, & pro carecta ad tres equos, quatuordecim denarios per diem.*

|| Deſunt in M. P.

* Deſunt in C. & S. ubi eſt, niſi de voluntate ipſius Liberi Hominis.

XXXIX. † *NULLA carecta Dominica alicujus Eccleſiaſticæ Perſonæ vel Militis, vel alicujus Dominæ, capiatur per Ballivos prædictos* : nec Nos, nec Ballivi noſtri capiemus boſcum alienum ad Caſtra vel agenda noſtra, niſi per voluntatem illius cujus Boſcus ille fuerit.

† Deſunt in S. & C.

XL. NOS autem non tenebimus terras eorum, qui convicti fuerint de Felonia, niſi per unum annum & unum diem; & tunc reddantur terræ Dominis feudorum.

XLI. OMNES Kidelli de cætero deponantur penitùs de *Tamiſia* & de *Medewaia*, & per totam Angliam; niſi per Coſtam maris.

XLII. *BREVE* quod vocatur *Præcipe*, de cætero non fiat Alicui de aliquo tenemento, unde liber homo || *perdat cauſam ſuam.*

|| In C. & S. poſſet amittere Curiam ſuam.

XLIII. UNA menſura vini ſit per totum regnum noſtrum, & una cerviſiæ; & una menſura bladi, ſcilicet Quarterium *Londinenſe.* Et una latitudo pannorum tinctorum & ruſſettorum & *Albergertorum*, ſcilicet duæ ulnæ infra liſtas: De ponderibus autem ſicut de menſuris.

XLIV. NICHIL detur vel capiatur de cætero pro *Brevi Inquiſitionis*, * *ab eo qui Inquiſitionem petit de vita, vel membris; ſed gratis concedatur & non negetur.*

* Deſunt in C. & S.

XLV. SI aliquis teneat de nobis per feodi Firmam vel per Socagium vel per Burgagium, & de alio teneat terram per ſervitium militare, nos non habebimus cuſtodiam hæredis, nec terræ ſuæ, quæ eſt de feodo alterius, occaſione illius feodi, firmæ, vel Soccagii, vel Burgagii; nec habebimus cuſtodiam illius feodi Firmæ vel Soccagii, vel Burgagii, niſi ipſa feodi firma debeat Servitium militare.

XLVI. NOS non † *tenebimus* cuſtodiam hæredis vel terræ alicujus, quam tenet de alio per ſervitium militare, occaſione alicujus parvæ Sergentiæ, quam tenet de nobis per ſervitium reddendi Nobis cultellos, vel ſagittas vel hujuſmodi.

† In C. & S. habebimus.

XLVII. NULLUS Ballivus ponat aliquem de cætero ad legem, || *nec ad Juramentum* ſimplici loquela ſua; ſine teſtibus fidelibus ad hoc inductis.

|| Deſunt in M. P.

XLVIII. NULLUS liber homo capiatur, vel impriſonetur aut diſſeiſietur * *de aliquo libero tenemento ſuo, vel Libertatibus vel liberis Conſuetudinibus ſuis*; aut utlagetur aut exuletur, aut aliquo alio modo deſtruatur; nec ſuper eum *ibimus*, nec † *eum in carcere* mittemus, niſi per Legale judicium Parium ſuorum, vel per Legem Terræ.

* Deſunt in C. & S.

† Deſunt in S. & C. ubi [*nec ſuper eum.*]

XLIX. NULLI vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus Rectum, vel Juſtitiam.

* Deſunt in C. & S.

L. OMNES mercatores [* *niſi publice prohibiti fuerint*] habeant ſalvum & ſecurum exire de Anglia & venire in Angliam, & morare & ire per Angliam tam per terram, quam per aquam, ad emendum vel vendendum ſine omnibus Toltis malis, per antiquas & rectas Conſuetudines, præterquam in tempore Gwerræ, & ſi ſint de terra contra Nos Gwerrina.

† In C. & S. qui tunc inveniuntur.

LI. ET ſi Tales inveniantur in terra noſtra in principio Gwerræ, attachientur ſine damno corporum vel rerum; donec ſciatur a Nobis, vel a capitali Juſtitiario noſtro, quomodo Mercatores terræ noſtræ tractentur † in terra contra nos Gwerrina; & ſi noſtri ſalvi ſint ibi, alii ſalvi ſint in Terra noſtra.

|| Deeſt totum in Charta H. 3.

LII. || *LICEAT unicuique de cætero exire de regno noſtro, & redire ſalvo & ſecure per terram & per aquam, ſalva fide noſtra; niſi in tempore Gwerræ per aliquod breve tempus propter Communem utilitatem Regni; exceptis impriſonatis & utlagatis, (ſecundum legem Regni) & Gente de Terra contra nos Gwerrina & Mercatoribus, de quibus fiat ſicut prædictum eſt.*

† Deſunt in C. & S.

LIII. SI quis tenuerit de aliqua *Eſchaeta*, ſicut de honore ***Walingfordiæ, Notingham, Bononiæ, Lancaſtriæ***, vel de aliis Eſchaetis, quæ ſunt in manu noſtra, & ſint Baroniæ, & obierit; hæres ejus non det aliud relevium, nec faciat nobis aliud ſervitium, quàm faceret Baroni, ſi illa Baronia eſſet in manu Baronis: & nos eodem modo eam tenebimus quo Baro eam tenuit, † [***nec nos occaſione talis Baroniæ, vel Eſchaetæ habebimus aliquam Eſchaetam vel cuſtodiam aliquorum Hominum noſtrorum, niſi alibi tenuerit de nobis in Capite ille qui tenuit Baroniam vel Eſchaetam.***]

Deeſt in C. & S.

LIV. HOMINES qui manent extra Foreſtam, non veniant de cætero coram Juſtitiariis noſtris de Foreſta per Communes ſummonitiones; niſi ſint in Placito, vel plegii alicujus vel aliquorum, qui attachiati ſint pro Foreſta.

Deeſt in C. & S.

LV. OMNES autem Boſci qui fuerint afforeſtati per Regem ***Richardum*** fratrem noſtrum, ſtatim deafforeſtentur, niſi fuerint dominici boſci noſtri.

Deeſt in S. & C.

LVI. NULLUS Liber homo de cætero det amplius alicui, vel vendat de terra ſua, quam ut de reſiduo terræ ſuæ poſſit ſufficienter fieri Domino feudi ſervitium ei debitum, quod pertinet ad feudum illud.

LVII. OMNES Patroni Abbatiarum, qui habent Chartas regum Angliæ de advocatione, vel per aliquam antiquam tenuram vel poſſeſſionem, habeant earum cuſtodiam cum vacaverint; ſicut habere debent, & ſicut ſupra declaratum eſt.

Hoc invenitur in C. & S. ſed alio loco.

LVIII. NULLUS capiatur vel impriſonetur, propter Appellationem fœminæ, de morte alterius quam viri ſui.

Deeſt in C. &. S.

LIX. NULLUS Comitatus teneatur de cætero, niſi de menſe in menſem; & ubi major terminus eſſe ſolebat, major ſit.

LX. NEC Vicecomes aliquis, vel Ballivus ſuus faciat terminum ſuum per Hundredum, niſi bis in anno, & non niſi in loco debito & conſueto; videlicet ſemel poſt paſcha, & iterum poſt feſtum Sancti Michaelis. Et viſus ſimiliter de Franco plegio, tunc fiat ad illum terminum Sancti Michaelis ſine occaſione, ita ſcilicet quod quilibet habeat ſuas libertates, quas habuit & habere conſuevit tempore Henrici Regis avi noſtri, vel quas poſtea adquiſivit.

LXI. FIAT autem viſus de Franco plegio ſic, ut pax noſtra teneatur, & quod tethinga integra ſit ſicut eſſe conſuevit. Deeſt in C. & S.

LXII. ET quod Vicecomes non quærat occaſiones; & quod contentus ſit de eo quod Vicecomes habere conſuevit de viſu ſuo ſaciendo, tempore *Henrici* Regis avi noſtri. Deeſt in C. & S.

LXIII. NON liceat de cætero, alicui dare terram ſuam domui religionis; ita quod illam reſumat tenendam de eadem domo. Deeſt in C. & S.

LXIV. NEC liceat alicui domui religionis terram ſic accipere, quod tradat eam illi à quo illam recepit tenendam. Si quis autem de cætero terram ſuam ſic dederit domui religioſæ, & ſuper hoc convincatur; donum ſuum penitus caſſetur, & terra illa domino ſuo illius feudi incurratur. Deeſt in C. & S.

LXV. SCUTAGIUM de cætero capiatur, ſicut capi tempore Regis *Henrici* avi noſtri conſuevit; & quod Vicecomes non quærat occaſiones, & quod contentus ſit de eo quod Vicecomes habere conſuevit. Deeſt in C. & S.

LXVI. OMNES autem conſuetudines prædictas & libertates quas conceſſimus in regno noſtro tenendas, quantum ad nos pertinet erga omnes homines noſtros de regno noſtro, tam Clerici quam Laici noſtri obſervent, quantum ad ſe pertinet erga homines ſuos. Deeſt in C. & S.

LXVII. SALVIS Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Templariis, Hoſpitalariis, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus, & omnibus aliis tam Eccleſiaſticis Perſonis quam ſæcularibus, libertatibus & liberis conſuetudinibus, quas prius habuerunt. His teſtibus, *&c.* Deeſt in C. & S.

[BESIDES the above written Articles contain'd in the Charter of King *John*, as it is in *Mat. Paris*, and the Manuſcript Copy of *Bennet* College, there follow in the Manuſcript Originals abovementioned, as alſo in the Copy in *Lambeth* Library, theſe following additional Chapters which are not found in thoſe Copies; beginning after the 55*th* Chapter, and ſo proceeding to the end of the ſaid Charter, thoſe that are in the Print being all omitted except the 58*th*.]

LXVIII. OMNES autem Foreſtæ, quæ afforeſtatæ fuerint tempore noſtro, deafforeſtantur; & ita fiat de Ripariis, quæ per nos tempore noſtro poſitæ ſunt in defenſo.

LXIX. NOS non faciemus Juſtitiarios, vel Conſtabularios, Vicecomites, vel Ballivos, niſi de talibus qui ſciant *Legem Regni*, & eam bene velint obſervare.

LXX. OMNES malæ conſuetudines de Foreſtis & Warrennis, & de Foreſtariis & Warrennariis, Vicecomitibus & eorum miniſtris, Ripariis & earum Cuſtodibus, ſtatim inquirantur in quolibet Comitatu per duodecim milites juratos de eodem Comitatu, qui debent eligi per probos homines ejuſdem Comitatus; & infra quadraginta dies poſt Inquiſitionem factam, penitus (ita quod nunquam revocentur) deleantur per eoſdem; ita quod nos hoc ſciamus prius vel Juſtitiarius noſter, ſi nos in Anglia non fuerimus.

LXXI. OMNES Obſides & Cartæ ſtatim reddentur, quæ liberatæ fuerint nobis ab *Anglicis* in ſecuritatem Pacis velut fideles Servientes.

LXXII. NOS amovebimus penitus de Baliis, Parentes *Girardi* de *Atris*, quod de cætero nullam habeant Balliam in *Anglia*, ſcil. *Engelar-*

dum de *Cigonum*, *Andream*, *Petrum* & *Simonem* de *Chancellie*, *Simonem* de *Cigonum*, *Galfridum* de *Martem*, & Fratres ejus, & *Galfridum* nepotem ejus, & totam ſequelam eorundem.

LXXIII. ET ſtatim poſt Pacis Reformationem amovebimus de Regno, omnes Alienigenas milites, Baliſtarios ſervientes & ſtipendarios, qui venerunt cum equis & armis ad nocumentum *Regni*.

LXXIV. SI quis fuerit diſſeiſitus vel elongatus per nos ſine legali Judicio Parium ſuorum, de Terris, Caſtellis, Libertatibus, vel Jure ſuo, ſtatim ei reſtituentur; & ſi contentio ſuper hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiet per Judicium Viginti quinque Baronum, de quibus fit mentio inferius in ſecuritate Pacis.

LXXV. DE omnibus autem aliis, de quibus aliquis diſſeiſitus fuerit, vel elongatus, ſine legali Judicio Parium ſuorum, per *Henricum* Regem Patrem noſtrum, vel per *Richardum* Regem Fratrem noſtrum, quæ in manu noſtra habemus, vel quæ alii tenent, quæ nos oportet Warrantizare, reſpectum habebimus uſque ad Communem Terminum * *Cruce ſignatorum*, exceptis illis de quibus placitum motum fuerit, vel Inquiſitio facta per Præceptum noſtrum ante ſuſceptionem Crucis noſtræ.

* i. e. *Thoſe who had undertaken the* Cruſado.

LXXVI. CUM autem redierimus de † Peregrinatione noſtra, vel ſi forte remanſerimus a Peregrinatione noſtra, ſtatim inde Plenam Juſtitiam exhibemus.

† Scil. ad *Terram Sanctam.*

LXXVII. EUNDEM autem reſpectum habebimus & eodem modo de Juſtitia exhibenda de Foreſtis deafforeſtandis, vel remanſuris Foreſtis, quas *Henricus* Pater noſter & *Richardus* Frater noſter afforeſtaverunt.

LXXVIII. ET de Cuſtodiis Terrarum, quæ fuerunt de alieno Feodo, cujuſmodi cuſtodias hucuſq; habuimus occaſione feodi, quod aliquis de nobis tenuit per ſervitium militare, & de Abbatiis quæ fundatæ fuerunt in Feodo alterius quam noſtro, in quibus Dominus Feodi dicit ſe Jus habere, cum redierimus; vel ſi remanſerimus a Peregrinatione noſtra, ſuper hiis Conquerentibus plenam Juſtitiam ſtatim exhibebimus.

LXXIX. OMNES Fines, qui injuſte & contra Legem Terræ facti ſunt nobiſcum, & omnia Amerciamenta facta injuſte, & contra Legem Terræ, omnino condonentur; vel fiat inde per judicium Viginti quinque Baronum, de quibus fit mentio inferius in ſecuritate Pacis, vel per Judicium majoris Partis eorundem, una cum prædicto *Stephano* Cantuar. Archiepiſcopo, ſi intereſſe poterit, & aliis quos ſecum ad hoc vocare voluerit; & ſi intereſſe non poterit, nihilominus procedat negotium ſine Eo: ita quod ſi aliquis vel aliqui de prædictis viginti quinque Baronibus fuerint in Simili Querela, amoveantur quantum ad hoc Judicium, & alii loco Illorum per reſiduos de Viginti quinque eiſdem tantum ad hoc faciendum Electi & Jurati ſubſtituentur.

LXXX. SI nos diſſeiſivimus vel elongavimus Wallenſes de Terris vel Libertatibus vel rebus aliis, ſine Legali Judicio Parium ſuorum in *Anglia* vel in *Wallia*, eis ſtatim reddantur; & ſi contentio ſuper hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat in *Marchia per Judicium Parium ſuorum* de Tenementis *Angliæ* ſecundum Legem *Angliæ*, de Tenementis *Walliæ* ſecundum Legem *Walliæ*, de Tenementis *Marchiæ* ſecundum Legem *Marchiæ*: idem facient *Wallenſes* nobis & noſtris.

LXXXI. DE omnibus illis autem de quibus aliquis Wallenſium diſſeiſitus fuerit, * *vel Elongatus* ſine Legali Judicio Parium ſuorum,

* Deeſt in C. & S.

rum, per *Henricum* Regem Patrem noſtrum, vel per *Richardum* Regem Fratrem noſtrum, quæ nos in manu noſtra habemus, vel quæ alii tenent, quæ nos oportet Warrantizare, reſpectum habebimus uſq; ad Communem Terminum Cruce Signatorum, exceptis illis de quibus Placitum motum fuerit, vel Inquiſitio facta per Præceptum noſtrum ante ſuſceptionem Crucis noſtræ, cum autem redierimus; vel ſi forte remanſerimus a Peregrinatione noſtra, ſtatim eis inde plenam Juſtitiam exhibebimus ſecundum * *Leges Wallenſium*, & Partes Prædictas.

* In S. Legem Walliæ.

LXXXII. NOS reddemus filium *Lewelini* ſtatim, & omnes obſides de *Wallia*, & Cartas, quæ nobis liberatæ fuerunt in ſecuritatem Pacis.

LXXXIII. NOS faciemus *Alexandro* Regi *Scotorum* de ſororibus ſuis, & de obſidibus reddendis, & libertatibus ſuis, & de Jure ſuo, ſecundum formam in quo faciemus aliis Baronibus noſtris *Angliæ*, niſi aliter eſſe debeat per Cartas, quas habemus de *Willielmo* Patre Ipſius, quondam Rege *Scotorum*; & hoc erit per Judicium Parium in Curia noſtra.

LXXXIV. OMNES autem iſtas Conſuetudines Prædictas & Libertates quas Nos conceſſimus in Regno noſtro, tenendas quantum ad Nos pertinet, erga noſtros omnes de Regno noſtro, tam Clericos quam Laicos, quantum ad ſe pertinet obſervent *erga ſuos*.

LXXXV. CUM autem pro Deo & ad Emendationem Regni noſtri, & ad melius ſopiendam Diſcordiam inter Nos & Barones noſtros ortam, hæc omnia prædicta conceſſerimus, ea volentes firma & integra ſtabilitate, in perpetuum gaudere facimus, & concedimus eis Securitatem ſubſcriptam, *viz.* quod Barones eligant viginti quinque Barones de Regno, quos voluerint, qui debeant pro totis viribus ſuis obſervare, tenere, & facere obſervari Pacem & Libertates quas ei conceſſimus, & hâc præſenti Carta noſtra confirmavimus; ita ſcilicet, quod ſi Nos vel Juſtitiarius vel Ballivi noſtri, vel aliquis de Miniſtris noſtris in aliquo erga aliquem deliquerimus, vel aliquem Articulorum Pacis, aut ſecuritatis tranſgreſſi fuerimus, & delictum fuerit oſtenſum, quatuor Baronibus de prædictis viginti quinque Baronibus; illi quatuor Barones accedant ad Nos vel ad Juſtitiarium noſtrum, proponentes Nobis exceſſum, & petent ut exceſſum illum ſine dilatione faciamus emendari; & ſi Nos exceſſum non emendaverimus, vel ſi fuerimus extra Regnum, Juſtitiarius noſter non emendaverit infra tempus quadraginta dierum, computandorum a Tempore quo monſtratum fuerit Nobis vel Juſtitiario noſtro, ſi extra Regnum fuerimus, prædicti quatuor Barones referent cauſam illam ad Reſiduos de illis Viginti quinque Baronibus, & illi viginti quinque Barones cum *Communia* totius Terræ diſtringent & gravabunt Nos modis omnibus quibus poterant, ſcilicet per Captionem Caſtrorum, Terrarum, poſſeſſionum & aliis modis quibus poterunt, donec fuerit emendatum, ſecundum Arbitrium eorum, *ſalva Perſona noſtra & Reginæ noſtræ & Liberorum noſtrorum*; & cum fuerit emendatum, intendant Nobis ſicut prius fecerunt.

Note, this Clauſe is in Mat. Paris, *p.* 251. *immediately after the* Charter *of* Foreſts.

LXXXVI. ET quicunque voluerit de Terra, Juretquod ad *Placita* omnia prædicta exequenda, parebit mandatis prædictorum Viginti quinque Baronum; & quod gravabit Nos pro poſſe ſuo cum ipſis, & Nos publice & libere damus Licentiam jurandi cuilibet qui jurare voluerit, & nulli unquam jurare prohibemus.

And this.

LXXXVII. OMNES autem illos de Terra, qui per ſe & ſponte ſua voluerint Jurare prædictis Viginti quinque Baronibus de diſtrin-

And this.

gendo & gravando Nos, cum eis faciemus Jurare eoſdem de mandato noſtro, ſicut prædictum eſt.

But not this is wanting. LXXXVIII. ET ſi Aliquis de prædictis Viginti quinque Baronibus deceſſerit, vel a Terra receſſerit, vel aliquo alio modo impeditus fuerit, quo minus iſta prædicta poſſet exequi, qui reſidui fuerint de prædictis viginti quinque Baronibus, eligant alium loco ipſius pro arbitrio ſuo, qui ſimili modo erit Juratus, quo & cæteri.

This follows the laſt but one in M. P. * Deeſt in S. LXXXIX. IN omnibus autem, quæ iſtis Viginti quinque Baronibus committantur exequenda, ſi forte ipſi Viginti quinque * ***Barones*** Præſentes fuerint, & inter ſe ſuper re aliqua diſcordiaverint, vel aliqui ex eis ſummoniti, nolint vel nequeant intereſſe, ratum habeatur & firmum, quod major pars eorum qui præſentes fuerint, providerint vel præceperint; ac ſi omnes Viginti quinque Barones in hæc conſenſiſſent, & prædicti Viginti quinque jurent, quod omnia antedicta fideliter obſervabunt, & pro toto poſſe ſuo faciant obſervari.

As alſo this. XC. ET Nos nichil impetrabimus ab Aliquo per Nos nec per alium, per quod aliqua iſtarum Conceſſionum & Libertatum revocetur vel minuatur, vel ſi aliquid tale imperatum fuerit, irritum ſit, & inane, & nunquam eo utemur, per Nos nec per alium, & omnes malas Voluntates, Indignationes, & Rancores ortos inter Nos & homines noſtros Clericos vel Laicos tempore Diſcordiæ plene omnibus remiſimus & condonavimus.

XCI. PRÆTEREA omnes Tranſgreſſiones factas occaſione ejuſdem Diſcordiæ a Paſcha anno Regni noſtri ſexto decimo uſque ad Pacem reformatam, plene remiſimus omnibus Clericis & Laicis, &, quantum ad nos pertinet, plene condonavimus: & inſuper fecimus eis fieri Literas Teſtimoniales patentes Domini ***Stephani Cantuar.*** Archiepiſcopi, *Henrici Dublin.* Archiepiſ. & Epiſcoporum prædictorum, & Magiſtri *Pandulfi*, ſuper ſecuritate iſta & Conceſſionibus præfatis.

XCII. QUARE volumus & firmiter præcipimus quod ***Anglicana*** Eccleſia libera ſit, & quod homines in Regno noſtro habeant & teneant omnes præfatas Libertates, Jura & Conceſſiones omnes bene & in Pace, libere & quiete, plene & integre, ſibi & hæredibus ſuis, de Nobis & hæredibus noſtris in omnibus rebus & locis in perpetuum, ſicut prædictum eſt.

XCIII. JURATUM eſt autem, tam ex parte Noſtra, quam ex parte Baronum, quod hæc omnia ſupradicta bona fide & ſine malo Ingenio obſervabuntur.

TESTIBUS ſupradictis, & multis aliis datum per manum Noſtram in Prato quod vocatur ‖ ***Ronimede*** inter Windeſore & Stane, 15° die Junii, Anno Regni noſtri ſeptimo Decimo. ‖ In S. Runningmede.

AD finem harum Cartarum apparent foramina ubi Labella quibus Sigilla affigebantur fuerant appoſita, ſed quæ modo avulſa ſunt.

IN Carta Cotton. *ad finem ſcriptum reperitur, eadem manu qua Carta ipſa exarata eſt: in hæc verba deleantur per eoſdem.* [Ita quod Nos hoc ſciamus prius vel Juſtitia. noſter, ſi Nos in Anglia non fuerimus, eundem reſpectum habebimus, & eodem modo de Juſtitia exhibenda de Foreſtis deforeſtandis, vel remanſuris Foreſtis.]

EXAMINATUR per nos Thom. Jenkinſon.
George Holmes.

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* *THIS Original of* King John *having lain hid for this laſt Age, in the* Cottonian *Library, was accidentally diſcover'd by the abovemention'd Mr.* George Holmes, *Deputy to* William Petyt, *Eſq; Keeper of the Records in the* Tower *of* London, *and is extant in that Library*, ſub Effig. AUGUSTI. *A.* 2. *f. penult.*

King

King John's *Charter of Foreſts, as it is to be found in* Matt. Paris, *Fol.* 259. N. 40. *divided into Articles or Chapters.*

JOHANNES Dei Gratia, Rex *Angliæ*, &c. Sciatis quod intuitu Dei & pro ſalute animæ noſtræ & animarum anteceſſorum & ſucceſſorum, ad exaltationem Sanctæ Eccleſiæ, & emendationem Regni noſtri; ſpontanea & bona voluntate noſtra dedimus, & conceſſimus pro Nobis & hæredibus noſtris, has libertates ſubſcriptas, habendas & tenendas in regno noſtro Angliæ in perpetuum.

I. IN primis omnes Foreſtæ quas Rex *Henricus* avus noſter afforeſtavit, videantur per probos & legales homines; & ſi Boſcum aliquem alium quam ſuum Dominicum, afforeſtaverit ad damnum illius cujus boſcus fuerit, ſtatim deafforeſtetur. Et ſi boſcum ſuum proprium afforeſtaverit, remaneat Foreſta, ſalva *Communia* de herbagio & rebus aliis in eadem Foreſta, illis qui eam prius habere conſueverunt.

II. HOMINES qui manent extra Foreſtam, non veniant de cætero coram Juſticiariis noſtris de Foreſta, per communes ſubmonitiones; niſi ſint in Placito, vel Plegii alicujus vel aliquorum qui attachiati ſunt propter Foreſtam: Omnes autem boſci qui fuerunt afforeſtati per Regem *Richardum* fratrem noſtrum, ſtatim deafforeſtentur; niſi fuerint Dominici boſci noſtri.

III. ARCHIEPISCOPI, Epiſcopi, Abbates, Priores, Comites, Barones, Milites, & Libere Tenentes, qui boſcos habent in Foreſta, habeant boſcos ſuos ſicut eos habuerunt tempore primæ Coronationis prædicti Regis *Henrici* avi noſtri; ita quod quieti ſint in perpetuum de omnibus Purpreſturis, Vaſtis & Aſſartis factis in illis boſcis poſt illud tempus, uſque ad principium ſecundi anni coronationis noſtræ. Et qui de cætero Vaſtum, Purpreſturam, vel Eſſartum facient ſine licentia noſtra in illis boſcis, de Vaſtis, Purpreſturis, & Aſſartis reſpondeant.

IV. REGARDATORES noſtri eant per Foreſtas, ad faciendum regardum, ſicut fieri conſuevit tempore primæ Coronationis prædicti Regis *Henrici* avi noſtri, & non aliter.

V. INQUISITIO vel viſus de expeditatione canum exiſtentium in Foreſta de cætero fiat, quando fieri debet Regardum; ſcilicet de tertio anno in tertium annum; & tunc fiat per viſum & teſtimonium legalium hominum, & non aliter. Et ille cujus canis inventus fuerit tunc non expeditatus, pro miſericordia det tres ſolidos; & de cætero nullus bos capiatur pro expeditatione. Talis autem expeditatio ſit per Aſſiſam communiter, quod tres ortelli abſcindantur de pede anteriori ſine poleta. Non expeditentur canes de cætero, niſi in locis ubi expeditari ſolent tempore primæ Coronationis prædicti *Henrici* Regis avi noſtri.

VI. NULLUS Foreſtarius vel Bedellus, faciat de cætero * *Scotallum*, vel colligat garbas, vel avenam, vel bladum aliud, vel agnos, vel porcellos, nec aliquam collectam faciat; & per viſum & ſacramentum duodecim

* i. e. *taking Ale to excuſe the Offender.*

duodecim Regardatorum, quando facient regardum, tot Foreſtarii ponantur ad Foreſtas cuſtodiendas, quot ad illas Cuſtodienas, rationabiliter viderint ſufficere.

VII. NULLUM Suanimotum de cætero teneatur in regno noſtro, niſi ter in anno; videlicet in principio quindecim dierum ante feſtum *Sancti Michaelis*, quando Agiſtatores veniunt ad Agiſtandum Dominicos boſcos, & circa feſtum *Sancti Martini* quando Agiſtatores noſtri debent accipere panagium ſuum. Et ad iſta duo Suanimota, convenient Foreſtarii, Viridarii, & Agiſtatores; & nullus alius per diſtrictionem. Et tertium Suanimotum teneatur in initio XV dierum ante feſtum Sancti *Johannis Baptiſtæ* pro *fœnatione* beſtiarum noſtrarum; & ad iſtum Suanimotum convenient Foreſtarii, Viridarii, & non alii per diſtrictionem.

VIII. ET præterea ſingulis quadraginta diebus, per totum annum convenient Viridarii & Foreſtarii ad videndum Attachiamenta de Foreſta tam *de Viridi* quam de *Venatione*, per præſentationem ipſorum Foreſtariorum, & coram ipſis attachientur: Prædicta autem Suanimota non teneantur, niſi in Comitatibus in quibus teneri conſueverunt.

IX. UNUSQUISQUE liber homo agiſtet boſcum ſuum in Foreſta pro voluntate ſua, & habeat pannagium ſuum.

X. CONCEDIMUS etiam quod unuſquiſque liber Homo poſſit ducere porcos ſuos per Dominicum boſcum noſtrum, libere & ſine impedimento; & ad Agiſtandum eos in boſcis ſuis propriis, vel alibi ubi voluerit. Et ſi porci alicujus liberi hominis una nocte pernoctaverint in Foreſta noſtra, non inde occaſionetur, ita quod aliquid de ſuo perdat.

XI. NULLUS de cætero amittat vitam vel membra pro Venatione noſtra; ſed ſi aliquis captus fuerit & convictus de captione Venationis, graviter redimatur, ſi habeat unde redimi poſſit; & ſi non unde redimi poſſit, jaceat in priſona noſtra per annum unum & unum diem. Et ſi poſt annum unum & unum diem Plegios invenire poſſit, exeat à priſona; ſin autem, abjuret regnum noſtrum *Angliæ*.

XII. QUICUNQUE Archiepiſcopus, Epiſcopus, Comes vel Baro veniens ad Nos per mandatum noſtrum, tranſierit per Foreſtam noſtram, licet illi capere unam vel duas beſtias per viſum *Foreſtarii* ſi præſens fuerit; ſin autem, faciat cornari, nè videatur hoc furtive facere: Item licet in redeundo idem eis facere, ſicut prædictum eſt.

XIII. UNUSQUISQUE liber homo de cætero ſine occaſione, faciat in boſco ſuo vel in terra ſua, quam habeat in Foreſta molendinum, vivarium ſtagnum, marleram, foſſatum vel terram arabilem, extra coopertum in terra arabili, ita quod non ſit ad nocumentum alicujus Vicini.

XIV. UNUSQUISQUE liber homo habeat in boſcis ſuis Ærias Accipitrum, Spervariorum, Falconum, Aquilarum & Heironum; & habeant ſimiliter mel quod inventum fuerit in boſcis ſuis.

XV. NULLUS Foreſtarius de cætero, qui non ſit Foreſtarius de feudo, reddens firmam Nobis pro balliva ſua, capiat Cheminagium, ſcilicet pro careta per dimidium annum, duos denarios; & per alium dimidium annum, duos denarios; & pro Equo, qui portat ſummagium, per dimidium annum, unum obolum; & per alium dimidium annum, unum obolum; & non niſi de illis, qui extra ballivam ſuam tanquam mercatores veniunt, per licentiam ſuam in Ballivam ſuam, ad buſcam, meiremium, corticem, vel carbonem emendum, & alias ducendum ad vendendum ubi voluerint. Et de nulla careta alia, vel ſummagio, aliquod Cheminagium capiatur; non capiatur cheminagium, niſi in locis illis, ubi antiquitus capi ſolebat & debuit: Illi autem qui portant ſuper dorſum ſuum, buſcam, corticem vel carbonem ad vendendum, quamvis inde vivant, nullum de cætero dent Cheminagium de boſcis aliorum; nullum detur Cheminagium Foreſtariis noſtris præterquam de Dominicis boſcis noſtris.

XVI. **OMNES** Utlagati pro Foreſta a tempore Regis *Henrici* Avi noſtri, uſque ad primam Coronationem noſtram, veniant ad pacem ſine impedimento & Salvos plegios inveniant, quod de cætero non forisfacient nobis de Foreſta noſtra.

XVII. **NULLUS** Caſtellanus vel alius teneat Placitum de Foreſta ſive de Viridi ſive de Venatione; ſed quilibet Foreſtarius de feudo attachiat Placita de foreſta, tam de Viridi quam de Venatione, & ea præſentet Viridariis Provinciarum; & cum rotulata fuerint, & ſub ſigillis Viridariorum incluſa, præſententur capitali Foreſtario, cum in partes illas venerit ad tenendum placita foreſtæ, & Corona, eo terminentur.

XVIII. **OMNES** autem Conſuetudines prædictas & Libertates, quas Nos conceſſimus in Regno tenendas, quantum ad Nos pertinet erga noſtros, omnes de Regno noſtro, tam Laici quam Clerici obſervent, quantum ad ſe pertinet erga ſuos.

NVLLA invenitur Charta originalis Chartæ de Foreſta Reg. Johan. *nec aliud exemplar antiquius anno primo Regis* Henrici III.

Rot. Cart. 5°. Johannis M. 5. N°. 33. *N.* 7.

Carta Dominæ Reginæ de Dote ſua.

JOHANNES Dei Gratia, *&c.* Sciatis Nos dediſſe, conceſſiſſe, & præſenti Carta noſtra confirmaſſe Dilectæ Uxori noſtræ *Iſabellæ*, eadem gratia Reginæ *Angliæ*, &c. Quæ in *Anglia de Communi Aſſenſu & Concordi voluntate* Archiepiſcorum, Epiſcoporum, Comitum, Baronum, Cleri & Populi totius Regni in Regina *Angliæ* eſt Coronata, Dominia ſubſcripta in Dotem. ſcilicet in *Devonia* Civitatem *Exon.* cum feria ejuſdem Civitatis; Leſtag. & Stallag. & *Lifftoniam* quam *Willielmus de Gateſden* & *Agatha* uxor ſua tenebunt tota vita ſua, reſpondendo de Servitio illius terræ dictæ Reginæ, poſt quorum mortem revertetur terra illa in Dominicum ejuſdem Reginæ: Et præterea *Kentonam* & *Aibricheſton* & *Wike* in *Sumerſet*, *Ivelceſtre* in *Welteſir. Wilton. Maumesbir. Beteſdun.* quam *Henricus de Bernavall* tenet, qui reſpondebit eidem Reginæ de Servitio ejuſdem terræ; & *Wilterſlawe*, in *Suſſex*, Civitatem *Cyceſter.* Salva tenura Simon *Ciceſtr.* Electi, de tota illa Civitate cum pertin. per antiquam firmam, ſicut in Carta noſtra quam modo habet continetur. In *London. Hetham* Reginæ. In *Eſſex* Villam de *Waltham*, quam Abbas & Canonici de *Waltham* tenent ad firmam. In *Hertfordſhire* Honorem *de Berkehameſtud*, cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis, tam in dominicis quam feodis. Et præterea Comitatum de *Roteland*, & villam de *Rokingham*. Et in *Norman. Faleis* & *Danfront*, cum pertin. Bonamvillam ſuper *Tokam*: & præterea omnia alia quæ dilectæ Matri noſtræ * *A.* Reginæ *Angl.* in dotem fuerunt aſſignata, tam citra mare quam ultra: & ſiquid inde fuerit ſubtractum vel ablatum per Werram vel aliter, volumus quod ei competens & ſufficiens inde fiat eſcambium in *Angl.* ſine contradictione, vel aliqua diminutione. Quare volumus & firmiter præcipimus quod prædicta *J.* Regina Uxor noſtra in Regno *Angl.* tam ſolempniter, ut prædictum eſt, in Reginam *Angl.* coronata, habeat & teneat tota vita ſua omnia prædicta, cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis, Libertatibus, & liberis Conſuetudinibus, adeo bene & in pace, libere & quiete, integre & plenarie, ſicut aliquis prædeceſſorum noſtrorum Regum *Angliæ* vel Nos unquam melius, plenius, & liberius habuimus, ea in manu noſtra. Prohibemus etiam ne quis Juſticiarius, Vicecomes, vel Foreſtarius, vel aliquis alius Ballivus, exceptis Ballivis ipſius Reginæ in prædictam manum mittant, vel de aliquo ſe inde intromittat, niſi de voluntate & Aſſenſu ipſius Reginæ. Si vero magis in augmentum dotis dictæ Reginæ uxoris noſtræ, de Concilio fidelium noſtrorum aſſignaverimus, volumus, & firmiter præcipimus quod illud integrè habeat, & plenariè teneat tota vita ſua per eaſdem Libertates & Immunitates per quas alia præſcripta ei conceſſimus. Teſtibus Dominis *P. Dunolm.* & *H. Sar.* Epiſcopis, Fratre *Eymerico* Magiſtro Milit. Templi in *Anglia*, *G.* filio *Petri* Com. *Eſſex* titulo Juſtic. *Angl.* Com. *Rog. le Bigot*, *W.* Com. *Arundel. A. de Veer* Com. *Oxon. Henrico de Bohun*, Com. *Heref. W. de Braos*, *Rob.* fil. *Rogeri*, *Will. Briwer*, *Hug. de Nevill*, *Roberto de Traſgoz*, *Roberto de Veteriponte*, *Stephani de Thurnham.* Dat. per manum *S. Ciceſtr.* Electi apud *Porceſtr.* v° die Maii, Anno Regni noſtri v°. Ad majorem autem Securitatem, & majus hujus facti teſtimonium, Subſcripti tam *Ordinati* in verbo veritatis, quam *Laici* Juramento corporali præſtito, omnia prædicta fideliter & firmiter obſervanda pro poſſe ſuo conceſſerunt, & Sigillorum ſuorum appoſitione roboraverunt; ſcil. Dominus ———— & Domini *Dunolm.* & *Sar.* Epiſcopi prænominati, *G.* fil. *Petri* Com. *Eſſex*, Com. *R. le Bigot*, *W.* Com. *Arundell*, *A. de Veer* Com. *Oxon. H. de Bohun* Com. de *Heref. Will. de Braos*, *Rob.* Fil. *Rog. W. Briwer*, *Hug. de Nevill*, *G. Winton.* Epiſ. *S. Bathon.* Epiſcopus, *Rob. de Treſgoz*, *Rob. de Veteriponti*, *Steph. de Turnham.*

* *i.e.* Aleonora.

Rot. Clauſ. 1. *H.* 3. *m.* 10. *dorſo.*

N. 8. REX Vicecom. *Wigorn.* Salutem; præcipimus tibi quod die & loco Comitatui tuo legi facias, Cartas Libertatum quas Baronibus & omnibus aliis de Regno noſtro, per *Commune Concilium* Regni noſtri conceſſimus, & quam Dominus Legatus Sigillo ſuo confirmavit, & Libertates in Cartâ ipſâ contentas, omnibus fidelibus noſtris, firmiter facias obſervari in Balliva tua. Quia vero nondum ſigillum habuimus, eaſdem in proceſſu Temporis de majori Concilio proprio ſigillo ſignaturi, Teſte * *Comite* apud *Certeſy* xxiii die Junii.

* *i.e.* Guil. *Comes* Pembroc.

Hic eſt finis & concordia facta inter Henricum *Regem* Angliæ, *& Dominum* Lodovicum *Primogenitum filium* Philippi *Regis* Franciæ; *ſub hac forma.*

N. 9.
An.Chr.1217.
ex Chartul. S. Egidii, apud Pontem Audomaria eruit D. d'Herouval.

XXIV. NOTUM ſit tam præſentibus, quam futuris, quod hæc eſt forma pacis facta inter Dominum Regem *Angliæ* illuſtrem & Dominum *Lodovicum*, Domini Regis *Franciæ* Primogenitum: In primis quod omnes Homines & * Impriſii domini *Lodovici*, & Coadjutores ſui *Anglici*, & alii qui terram tenuerunt in principio Gwerræ in Regno *Angliæ*, habeant terras ſuas & ſaiſinas ſuas, quas habuerunt in initio guerræ, & rectas conſuetudines & Libertates Regni *Angliæ*; & ſi emendationes inde factæ fuerint, communes ſint tam illis quam aliis.

* i.e. *Partakers.*

ITEM dominus *H.* Rex *Angliæ* & omnes homines & Impriſii ſui, qui terram tenuerunt in initio guerræ in Regno *Angliæ*.

ITEM Civitas *Londonienſis*, & omnes aliæ Civitates & Burgenſes habeant ſuas rectas conſuetudines & libertates.

ITEM omnes Priſones qui capti fuerunt ex utraque parte, poſtquam dominus *Lodovicus* applicavit in *Anglia*, deliberentur; De aliis vero qui capti fuerunt ante primum ejus adventum in *Anglia*, ſic erit, quod Conſilium Domini Regis *Angliæ* eliget tres de Conſilio Domini *Lodovici*, per quorum ſacramentum fiat inquiſitio, qui fuerint Homines vel Impriſii domini *Lodovici* die quo capti fuerint, & per ſacramentum prædictorum deliberentur.

ITEM de omnibus Priſonibus ſic erit, quod omne quod ſolutum eſt de redemptionibus illorum ſolutum ſit; & id quod ſolutum non eſt, unde termini tranſierunt, ſolvatur, & redemptionum reſiduum quietum ſit: & ſi contentio fiat, & dicatur quod termini de redemptionibus Priſonum præteriti ſint, Conſilium domini *Lodovici* eligat tres de Conſilio domini Regis *Angliæ*, per quorum ſacramentum declarentur; ſi termini de redemptionibus tranſierunt necne. Et ſi á die Martis proxima ante feſtum Exaltationis ſanctæ Crucis, aliqua deſtructio fieret priſonibus, de ſolutione redemptionum facienda, inde quieti ſint omnes Priſones & alii de Regno *Angliæ*, qui contra dominum Regem *Johannem* quondam Regem *Angliæ* fuerint, faciant per homagium ſecuritatem Domino *H.* Regi *Angliæ* ſecundum Legem ad conſuetudinem Regni *Angliæ*, & per ſacramenta & Cartas ſuas.

ITEM, dominus *Lodovicus* reddet omnes obſides illis, a quibus eos habuit, qui traditi fuerint pro pecunia, unde termini tranſierunt, ſolutâ pecuniâ liberabit.

ITEM, reddentur domino *H.* Regi *Angliæ* & ſuis, omnes civitates, Burgos, & caſtra & terras quæ occupatæ ſunt per Guerram iſtam in quocunque loco Regni *Angliæ* ſint.

ITEM, de Inſulis ſic fiet, Dominus *Lodovicus* mittet litteras ſuas patentes fratribus *Euſtachii* Monachi, præcipiens quod illas reddant domino *H.* Regi *Angliæ*; & niſi illas reddiderint, diſtringent illos dominus *L.* pro legale poſſe ſuo per feoda, & per terras eorum, quæ de feodo ſuo movent ad illas reddendas, & ſi hæc facere noluerint, ſint extra pacem iſtam, De Rege *Scotorum* ſic fiat, Dominus *L.* mandet eis formam pacis factæ inter dominum Regem *Angliæ* & ipſum, & quod ſi noluerint eſſe in pace illa, reddant domino Regi *Angliæ* omnia Caſtra & Priſones, & terras quas occupavit occaſione hujus guerræ: Idem faciet dominus Rex *Angliæ* dicto Regi *Scotorum*; Eodem modo mandabit dominus prædictus, D. *Lewellino* & aliis Walenſibus.

ITEM, dominus *L.* adquietabit omnes Barones & homines de Regno *Angliæ* ab omnibus homagiis, fidelitatibus, confederationibus & impriſiis; & de cætero nullam inibit confæderationem, unde malum vel damnum poſſit aliquo tempore evenire domino *H.* Regi *Angliæ*, vel hæredibus ſuis de Regno *Angliæ* occaſione hujus guerræ. Idem facient Barones *Angliæ* domino *Henrico* Regi *Angliæ*, quòd nullam facient prædicto Domino *L.* vel alicui alii confederationem, homagium, fidelitatem vel impriſiam contra dominum ſuum *H.* Regem *Angliæ* vel hæredes ſuos.

ITEM, dominus *L.* faciet Juramentum Corporale, & ſui cum eo & Cartas ſuas facient ſinguli, quos Conſilium Domini Regis voluerit, quod pacem præſcriptam firmiter & fideliter tenebunt. Ad impetrandum ſuper hoc confirmationem Domini Papæ & Domini Legati apponet Legale poſſe ſuum per preces.

ITEM, de debitis, ſic fiat, quòd omnia debita quæ debentur domino *L.* unde termini tranſierunt, ei reddantur.

ITEM, notandum eſt quòd in primo capitulo ubi legitur, de Impriſiis domini *L.* intelligitur de Laicis tantùm; Clerici tamen *Anglici*, qui laica feoda habuerunt, habeant terras & ſaſinas ſuas, quas habuerunt in initio guerræ.

UT omnia prædicta perpetuam obtineant firmitatem,dominus *Gwalterius* Tituli ſancti *Martini* Presbyter Cardinalis Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus; dominus *H.* Rex *Angliæ*, *Willielmus* Mareſchallus Comes *Penbroc*, *H. de Burgo* Juſtitiarius *Angliæ*, *R.* Comes de *Ceſtria*, *Willielmus* Comes *Saresberii*, *Willielmus* Comes *de Warenne*, *Willielmus* Comes *de Arondel*, *Willielmus Aubenii*, *Willielmus Briwere*, *Willielmus* Mareſchallus juvenis, *Falcaſius de Breante*, *R. de Mortuo-mari*, *L. de Erdivert*, *R. de Veteri-Ponte*, *Gaufridus de Nova-villa*, *R. de Inſula*, *Philippus de Aubinie*, * R. filius Regis, Huic ſcripto ſigilla ſua appoſuerunt.

* *i. e.* Richardus.

DATUM apud Lamech Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCCXVII. die Septembris, Anno D. *Henrici* Regis *Angliæ* tertii primo.

A

A Charter of King Henry *the* Third, *in the old Engliſh of that Time, inforcing the late Proviſions of* Oxon.

Rot. Pat. 43. *H.* 3. *m.* 15. *n*° 40.

*HENRY thurg Godes fultome King on Engleneloande Lhoauerd on Yrloand Duk on Normand. on Acquitain and Eorl on Anjou, ſend I, greting to alle hiſe holde ilærde and ilewede on Huntindonn-ſchiere; thæt witen ge wel, alle thæt we willen and unnen, thæt ure rædeſmen alle other the moare del of heom, thæt beoth ichoſen thurg us and thurg thæt *Loandes Folk*, on ure Kuneriche habbeth idon, and ſchullen don in the worthnes of Gode, and ure treowthe for the freme of the Loande, thurg the beſigte of than to foren iſeide rædeſmen beo ſtedefæſt and ileſtinde in alle thinge abutan ænde, and the heaten alle ure treowe in the treowthe thet heo us ogen, thet heo ſtede-feſtliche healden and weren to healden and to ſwerien the iſetneſſes thæt beon makede and beon to makien thurg than to foren iſeide rædeſmen, other thurg the moare dæl of heom alſwo, alſe hit is beforen iſeid. And thæt æhcother helpe thæt for to done þitham ilche other agenes alle men [*paucula quædam hic deeſſe videntur, hæc ſcilicet aut ſimilia:* in alle thinge thæt) ogt for to done and to foangen. And noan ne mine of Loande ne of egetewher thurg this beſigte muge beon ilet other iwerſed on oniewiſe. And gif oni ether onie cumen her ongenes we willen and heaten, thæt alle ure treowe heom healden deadlichiſtan. And for thæt we willen thet this beo ſtedefæſt and leſtinde, we ſenden gew this Writ open iſeined with ure Seel to halden amanges gew ine Hord. Witnes us ſeluen æt Lundænthane egtetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr, in the two and fowertigthe geare of ure crunninge. And thir wes idon ætforen ure iſworen redeſmen, Bonefac. Archebiſchop on Kanterbur. Walter of Cantelop, Biſchop of Wirecheſter, Sim. of Montfort Eorl on Leicheſtre, Rich. of Clare Eorl on Glocheſter and on Hartford; Roger Bigod Eorl on Northfolk and Mareſcal on Engleloand, Perres of Sauueye, Will. of Fort Eorl on Aubem, John de Pleſſe Eorl on Warwik, Joh. Gefferees-ſune Perres of Muntfort, Rich. of Grey, Rog. of Mortemer, Iames of Aldithel, and ætforen othre moge.

AND all on tho ilche worden is iſend into aurichte othre Schire ouer al thare Kuneriche on Engleneloande and ek intel Irelonde.

* *You may ſee this alſo in* Somners *Saxon* Dictionary, ſub verbo unnan, *to* give *or* grant. *It is written in* Saxon Characters, *and ſhould have bin ſo here, but that it would have rendred it difficult to be read by moſt ordinary Readers.*

The ſame in Modern Engliſh, tranſlated by Mr. Somner.

HENRY by God's help, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, Duke of *Normandy*, and of *Aquitain*, and Earl of *Anjoy*, Greeting to all his faithful Clerks and Laics of *Huntingdonſhire:* This know ye all well, that we Will and * *Grant*, that which our Counſellors all, or the moſt part of them that be choſen by us, and the † People (or *Commons*) of our Land, have done, and ſhall do, for the Honour of God, and of their Allegiance to us, for the || Benefit (or Amendment) of the Land, by the Advice or Conſideration of our foreſaid Counſellors, be ſtedfaſt and perform'd in every thing for ever. And we Command all our Liege People in the Fealty that they owe us, that they ſtedfaſtly hold, and ſwear to hold [or keep] and to defend [or maintain] the Statutes [or Proviſions] which be made, and ſhall be made, by thoſe aforeſaid Counſellors, or by the more part of them, alſo as it is beforeſaid; and that they each other aſſiſt the ſame to perform, according to that ſame Oath, againſt all Men, both for to do, and cauſe to be done: And none neither of my Land, neither from elſewhere may for this be hindered, or damnified in any wiſe: and if any Man or Woman oppoſe them againſt, we Will and Command that all our Liege People them hold for deadly Enemies; and becauſe we will, that this be ſtedfaſt and laſting, we ſend you this Writ open, ſigned with your Seal to be kept amongſt you in * Store; witneſs our ſelf at *London* the 18*th* day of the Month of *October*, in the two and fortieth Year of our Coronation; and this was done before our ſworn Counſellors, *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Walter* of *Cantelow* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Richard* of *Clare* Earl of *Gloceſter* and of *Hartford*, *Roger Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk* and Mareſchal of *England*, *Peter* of *Savoy*, *William* of *Fort* Earl of *Aubemarle*, *John* of *Pleſſeiz* Earl of *Warwick*, *John Gefferiſſon*, *Peter* of *Montfort*, *Richard* of *Grey*, *Roger* of *Mortimer*, *James* of *Aldithly*, and before others moe.

AND all in theſe ſame words is ſent into every other Shire over the Kingdom of *England*, and alſo into *Ireland*.

* *Unnen.*

† Loandeſfolke *ſignifies the Common People, called by us* Folk *at this day.* Vid. *Dr.* Brady's Com. Hiſt. *p.* 68.

|| Freme.

* Hord.

Traite entre le Roy ſaint Louis *&* Henry *Royd'* Angleterre *pour les terres, qu'l tenoit & pretendoit en* France, *data* Londres, *en* Octobre 1259.

N. 11. Ex Bibliotheca Guelſbythana, edit. per virum Clar. G. Leibnitium in Cod. Diplomatico, *p.* 22.

HENRY par la grace de Dieu Royd' *Angleterre*, ſire *d' Irelande*, Ducd' *Acquitanie*, Nous faiſons á ſcavoir á tous ceux qui ſont, & qui a venir ſont, que Nous par la volunté de Dieu avec noſtre tres cher Couſin le Noble Roy *Louis* de *France*, avons paix faicte et affermeé en cette maniere, c'eſt aſſavoir, qu'l donné a Nous, nos Heirs et nos Succeſſeurs toute la Droicture, qu'il avoit & tenoit en ces trois Evechez & ces Citez ce'ſt aſſavoir de *Limoges* de *Cahors* & de *Perigort* en fiefs, & en domaines, ſaouf l'hommage de ſes freres, ſe ils aucune choſe y tiennent, dont ils ſoient ſi hommes, et ſauves les choſes qu'il ne peut mettre hors de ſa main par lettres de luy, ou deſes Anceſſeurs, les quelles choſes il doibt pourchaſſer en bonne foy vers ceux, qui ces choſes tiennent, que nous les ayons dedans la *Touſſaincts* en un an, ou faire nous eſchange convenable a l'egard de preud' hommes, qui ſoient nommez d'une part et d'autre, le plus convenable au prouffict des deux Parties.

2. §. ET encores lydevant dit Roy de *France* nous donnera la vallue de la Terre des *Agenois* en deniers chacun an, çelon ce qu'elle ſera preiſéé a droicte value de Terre des preud' hommes, nommez d'une part & d'autre, & ſera faite la paye a *Paris* au *Temple* chacun An, á la quinzaine de Aſcention, la moctis, & a la quinzaine de la *Touſſaincts* l'autre: Et s'il advenoit, que cette terre s'echeoit de la Comteſſe *Jeanne* de *Poictiers* au Roy de *France*, ou á ſes heirs, il ſeroit tenu ou ſes heirs de rendre á nous ou a nos hoirs; & rendue la terre, s'il ſeroit quiete de la ferme & elle venoit á autre, que au Roy de *France*, ou a ſe heirs, il nous donroit le fief d' *Agenois*, avec la ferme devant dicte & ſi elle venoit en Domaine a Nous, Le Roy de *France* ne ſeroit pas tenu de rendre celle, et s'il eſt vit eſgarde par la cour du Roy de *France*, que pour la terre d'*Agenois* avoir, deuſſions mettre ou rendre aucuns deniers par raiſon degaigerie ly Roy de *France* rendroit ſes deniers, ou nous tendrions & aurions la ferme, tant que nous euſſions eu ce que nous aurions mis pour celle Gaigerie.

3. §. DE rechef il ſera enquis en bonne foy & de plain á noſtre requeſte per preud'hommes d'une partie & d'autre a ce eſleus, ſi la terre, que le Cuent de *Poictiers* tient en *Caorſin* de part ſa femme, fut du Roy d'Angeterre donnéé ou baillée avec la Terre d'*Agenois* par marriage, ou par Gaigerie, ou toute, ou en partie, a ſa Soeur, qui fut Mere le Comte *Raymond de Thoulouze*, dernierement mort, & s'il eſtoit trouve qu'il euſt ainſyeſte, á celle terre luy eſchozit ou a ſes heirs, du deceds dela Conteſſe de *Poicteirs*, illa donneroit a Nous, ou á nos hoirs, & ſe il elle eſcheoit a autre, & il eſt trouvé par telle Inqueſte toutes voyes quelle euſt eſté ainſy donnee ou baillee ainſy, comme, il eſt dict deſſus apres le deceds, de la Comteſſe de *Poictiers*,

il doneroit le Fief a nous & a nos hoirs, ſaouf l'Hommage, de ſes Freres, s'ils, aucune choſe y tenoient tant comme ils vivroient.

4. §. DE rechef apres le deceds de la Comteſſe *de Poictiers* ly Roy de *France* donnera á nous & á nos heirs la Terre, que le Cuens de *Poictiers* tient ores en *Xantonge* outre Riviere de la *Charante* en Fief & en Domaine, ſi elle echoit au Roy de *France*, ou a ſes heirs, & ſi elle ne luyechoit, il pourchaſſeroit en bonne maniere par Eſchange ou autrement, que nous ou nos heirs l'ayons ou il nous feroit avenable Eſchange a' l'eſgard des Preud 'hommes qui ſeront nommez d'une part & d'autre,et de ce,qu'il donra á nous & á nos heirs en Fief & en Domaine, Nous et nos heirs ly feront hommage lige, & a ſes heirs Roys de *France*, & auſſis de *Bourdaeux*, de *Bayonne* & de *Gaſcongne*, de toute la Terre, quæ nous tenons de la la Mer d' Angleterre en Fiefs & en Domaine, & des Iſles, ſy aucunes y en á, qui nous tenions, qui ſoient du Royaume de *France* & tiendrons de ly Comme Pair de *France* & Ducd' *Aquitainie*, & de toutes les choſes devant dictes ly ferons nos Services avenables, juſques a tant, qu'il fut trouve quels ſervices les choſes deuroient, & lors nous ſerons tenus de faire les tielx, comme il ſeroit trouve; de *l'Hommage* de la Compté de *Bigorre* & *D'armignac* & de *Franſac*, ſoit ce que droit en ſera, & ly Roys de *France* Nous clame quitte, ſe nous ou noſtre Anceſſeur luy fiſmes oncques tort de tenir ſon fief, ſans lay faire Hommage & ſans luy rendre ſon ſervice & tous arrerages.

5. §. DE rechef le Roy de *France* nous donnera ce, que cinque cens Chevaliers deburoient couſter raiſonablement á tenir deux ans a'l'eſgard des Preud' hommes, qui ſeront nommez d'une part & d'autre, & ces deniers ſera tenu de payer á *Paris* au Temple á ſix payes par deux ans, c'eſt á ſçavoir á la Quinzaine de la *Chandeleur*, qui vient prochainement, lapremire paye, c'eſt á dire laſixieſme partie, & á la quinzaine de l'*Aſcenſion* en ſuivant, l'autre paye, & á la quinzaine de la *Tous-ſaincts*, l'autre, & auſſy des autres payes en l'an enſuivant & de ce donnera ly Roy *de France* ſes lettres pendant en Temple ou l'Hoſpital ou Ambedeux enſemble en Pleige, & nous ne debuons ces deniers deſpendre, ſi non que au ſervice de Dieu & de l'Egliſe, ou au proffict du Royaume *d'Angleterre*, & ce par l'adveu des Preud' hommes de la terre eſleus par le Roy *d' Angleterre* & les hauts hommes de la terre.

ET par cette Paix faiſans, avons quiete & quicterons de tout en tout & noſtre dict Fils, au Roy de *France* & á ſes Anceſſeurs, & á ſes hoirs, & á ſes freres, & á leurs hoirs, & á leurs ſucceſſeurs pour nous ou pour nos hoirs & pour nos ſucceſſeurs, ou noſtre Anceſſeurs, aucune droiture que avons ou meſme euſſions, oncques en choſe, que le Roy de *France* tienne ou teinſt oncques, ou ces Anceſſeurs ou ſes Freres, c'eſt aſſavoir en la Duche, et en toute la Terre de *Normandie*, en la Comte & toute la Terre d'*Anjou*, de *Tourraine* & de *Maine*, & en la Comte'et toute la Terre de *Poictiers*, ou ailleurs en aucune partie du Royaume de *France*, ou ez Iſles, ſe aucunes en tient le Roys de *France* ou ſis Freres, ou autres de par eux & tous arrerages.

6. §. ET auſſy avons quicté & quictons nous & noſtre dict Fils a tous ceux qui de par le Roy de *France*, ou de ſes Anceſſeurs, ou de ſes Freres tiennent aucune choſe par Don, par Eſchange, ou par Vente, ou par Achapt, ou par Aſenſement, ou par autre ſemblable

maniere en la Duche, & en toute la terre de *Normandie*, en la Comté, & en toute la terre d'*Anjou*, de *Tourraine*, & *du Mayne*, & en la Comté & en toute la Terre de *Poictiers* ou ailleurs en aucune partie du Royaume de *France*, ou ez Iſlis deſſus dictes, ſauf a nous, & a nous hoirs noſtre droicture ez terres, dont nous debuons faire homage lige au Roy de *France* par cette pais, comme il eſt deſſus diviſé, ſaouf, ce que nous peuſſions demander noſtre droicture, ſy nous la cuidions avoir en *Agenois* & avoir la, ſi la Cour le Roy de *France* le Juge & auſſy de *Caorſin*.

7. §. ET donrons au Roy de *France* les lettres, qu'on dict, qu'il a da Roy *Richard* noſtre Frere, de quittance de totes ces choſes par eſchange, qui en ot; & ſe pouvons ne les trouver ou avoir, donrons nos lettres pendans au Roy de *France*, & des Barons & des Prelates & des Prodes hommes qui y furent de teſmoignage de la quittance, que li Roy *Richard* en feit et avoit encor; a noſtre ſerment & es nos lettres pendans, que puis cette quittance nulle droicture, ne nous donnera en nulle de ces choſes en cette meſme quittance au Roy de *France* & aux autres devant dits. Ferons fair a noſtre Sueur la Comteſſe de Leyceſtre, por ſoy por ſes hoirs & des enfans de ceux, qui l'en requerra, & li Roy de *France* nous clamera auſſi quitte, ſi il ou ſi Anceſſeur li firent onques tort, de tenir ſon Fié ſans li faire homage & ſans li rendre Son ſervice & tous arrerages. Et avons pardonné & quit l'un a l'autre, pardonnons & quictons tous maltalens de cogtans & de Guerre & tous arrerages, & toutes Iſſues, qui ont eſte eues, ou qui purroient eſtre eues en toutes les choſes devant dites & toutes les dommages & toutes miſes, qui ont eſté faicts ou faites deça & dela en Guerre & en autre maniere.

8. §. ET pource, que cette Paix fermement & auſſy eſtablement ſans nulle enfraignance ſoit tenue á touſjours, ly Roys de *France* a faict jurer en ſon Ame par ſes Procureurs eſpeciaux á ce eſtablis & ſes deux Fils ont juré a tenir ces choſes, tant comme á chacun appartiendra, & á ce tenir ont obligee eux & leurs hoirs par leurs lettres pendans; & nous de ces choſes tenir, ſommes tenus de donner ſeurete au Roy de *France* des Chevalliers des Terres devant dictes meſme, qui il donne, & des Villes, ſelon ce que il nous requerra: et la forme de la ſeureté des hommes et des Villes pour nous ſera telle: Ils jureront que Ils ne donneront ne Conſeil, force, ne ayde parquoy nous ou noſtre hoir vinſſions alencontre, et ſil advenoit (que Dieu ne veuille) que nous ou noſtre hoir vinſſions al encontre & ne voulſiſſions amender, puis que le Roy de *France*, ou ſes hoirs Roys de *France* nous en auroient faicte requerre chil qui la ſeurete avoit faicte, dedans les trois mois qu'ils en auroient fait requerre, ſeroient tenus d'eſtre aydans au Roy de *France* & á ſes hois contre nous, & nos hoirs juſques á tant que cette choſe fut amendée ſuffiſamment á l'eſgard de la Cour du Roy de *France*, & ſera renouvellée cette ſeurette de dix ans en dix ans á la Requeſte du Roy de *France* ou de ces hoirs Roys de *France* & nous: cette paix & cette compoſition entre nous & le devant dict Roy de *France* ſera affermée & toutes les devant dictes choſes & chacunes, ſy comme elles ſont deſſus contenues, promettons en bonne foy pour nous ſucceſſeurs au devant dict Roy de *France* & a ſes hoirs & a ſes ſucceſſeurs loyalment & fermement garder, & que nous en contre ne viendrons par nous, ou par

autre en nulle maniere & que riens n'avons faict ne ferons, par quoy les devant dites choſes toutes, óu acunes, en tout, ou en partie ayent moins de fermeté.

9. §. ET pour ce que cette paix fermement,eſtablement & ſans nulle enfraignance ſoit tenue á tours jours, á ce obligeons nous & nos hoirs & avons faict jurer en noſtre ame par nos Procureurs, en noſtre preſence cette paix, ſy comme elle & deſſus deviſée et eſcripte a tenir en bonne foy tant comme a nous appartiendra, & que nous ne viendrons encontre ne par nous ne par autre. En teſmoing de toutes ces choſes nous avons faict ces lettres au Roy de *France* pendans, ſeelez de noſtre ſeel ; & cette paix et toutes ces choſes, qui ſont deſſus contenues, par noſtre commandement eſpecial ont juré *Eduuard* & *Eadmont* noſtre Fils en noſtre preſence á garder et tenir fermement, et que ils encontre ne vendront par eux ne par autre : Ce fut donne á *Londres*, Lundy prochain devant la feſte ſainct *Luc* Evangelieſte, La'n de L'incarnation noſtre Seigneur, Mil deux cens cinquante neuf, au mois d' Octobre.

N. 11.
Ex Tomo 12. *Spicil. Luc. Dacher*.p.588. Eruit ac deſcripſit *d'Herouval.*
† *i. e.* S. Ludovicus IX.

Compromiſſum Regis Henrici *ac Baronum* Angliæ, *in quo eligunt arbitrum omnium contentionum & diſcordiarum Regem* Franciæ † Ludovicum ; *& Dictum, ſeu Sententia ejuſdem Regis ſuper Præmiſſis.*

X. LUDOVICUS Dei Gratiâ *Francorum* Rex, Univerſis præſentes litteras inſpecturis ſalutem. Notum facimus, quod cariſſimus conſanguineus noſter *Henricus* illuſtris Rex *Angliæ*, & ſubſcripti Barones *Angliæ* in nos, compromiſerunt, prout continetur in litteris eorum infraſcriptis. Tenor autem litterarum ipſius Regis talis eſt.

HENRICUS Dei Gratiâ Rex *Angliæ*,Dominus *Hiberniæ*, & Dux *Aquitaniæ*, omnibus ad quos præſentes litteræ pervenerint ſalutem : Noveritis quod nos compromiſimus in Dominum *Ludovicum* Regem *Francorum* illuſtrem, ſuper Proviſionibus, Ordinationibus, Statutis & Obligationibus omnibus *Oxonienſibus*, & ſuper omnibus contentionibus & diſcordiis, quas habemus & habuimus uſque ad feſtum *Omnium Sanctorum* nuper præteritum, adverſus Barones Regni noſtri, & ipſi adverſus nos, occaſione Proviſionum, Ordinationum, Statutorum vel Obligationum *Oxonienſium* prædictarum, Promittentes, & per dilectos & fideles noſtros *Willelmum Belet* militem & *Robertum Fulconis* Clericum de mandato noſtro ſpeciali in animam noſtram jurantes, tactis ſacroſanctis Evangeliis, quod quicquid idem Rex *Franciæ* ſuper omnibus prædictis, vel eorum aliquibus de alto & baſſo ordinaverit, vel ſtatuerit, nos obſervabimus, bona fide, ita tamen quod idem dominus Rex *Franciæ* dicat ſuper his Dictum ſuum citra *Pentecoſtem* proximo venturam.

IN cujus rei teſtimonium præſentibus litteris ſigillum noſtrum fecimus apponi.

NOS autem *Edwardus* prædicti Domini Regis *Angliæ* primogenitus, *Henricus* filius *Ricardi* Regis *Alemanniæ*, *Rogerus* Comes *Norff.* & Mareſcallus *Angliæ*, *Johannes* de *Warenna*, *Willielmus* de *Valentia*, *Hunfredus* de *Bohun* Comes *Hereford* & *Eſſex*, *Hugo* de *Bigod*, *Philippus Baſſet*, *Johannes* filius *Alani*, *Robertus* de *Bruis*, *Rogerius* de *Mortuomari*, *Johannes* de *Verdun*, *Willielmus* de *Beiis*, *Johannes* de *Baliol*, *Henricus* de *Pertiz*, *Reginerius* filius *Petri*, *Jacobus* de *Alditel*, *Alanus La Zuche*, *Rogerius de Clifford*, *Hamo Extraneus*, *Johannes* de *Grey*, *Philippus Marmion*, *Robertus* de *Neville*, *Johannes* de *Vallibus*, *Johannes* de *Muſegros*, *Warinus* de *Baſſingburn*, *Adam* de *Geſenuich*, *Rogerius* de *Somery*, *Richardus Foliot*, *Rogerius* de *Leyburn*, & *Willielmus* de *Latimer*; prædicto compromiſſo, per dictum Dominum noſtrum Regem *Angliæ* facto, ſicut prædictum eſt, conſentimus, & juramus, tactis ſacroſanctis Evangeliis, quod quicquid dominus Rex *Franciæ* ſuper omnibus prædictis vel eorum aliquibus de alto & baſſo ordinaverit, vel ſtatuerit, obſervabimus bona fide: ita tamen quod idem Dominus Rex *Franciæ* dicat ſuper his Dictum ſuum citra Pentecoſtem proximo futuram, ſicut ſuperiùs eſt expreſſum.

IN cujus rei teſtimonium præſenti ſcripto ſigillo domini noſtri prædicti Regis *Angl.* ſignato, ſigilla noſtra fecimus apponi. Datum apud *Windeſor* Dominica proxima poſt feſtum ſanctæ Luciæ Virginis, anno Domini MCCLXIII. Litteræ vero Baronum tales ſunt.

UNIVERSIS præſentes litteras inſpecturis, *H. Londonenſis*, &c. *W. Wigornenſis* Epiſcopi, *S.* de *Monteforti* Comes *Leyceſtriæ* & Seneſcallus *Angliæ*, *Hugo le Deſpenſ.* & Juſtiriarius *Angliæ*, *Humfredus* de *Bohun* juvenis, *H.* de *Monforti* juvenis, *Adam* de *Novomercato*, *Petrus* de *Monforti*, *Radulfus Baſſet* de *Sapetot*, *Baldwinus Wake*, *Robertus* de *Boſs*, *Willielmus* de *Bland*, *Willielmus Mareſcallus*, *Walterus* de *Coleville*, *Ricardus* de *Grey*, *Willielmus Badouf*, *Ricardus* de *Tamuy*, *Henricus* de *Haſting*, *Johannes* filius *Johannis*, *Robertus* de *Veteriponte*, *Johannes* de *Veſey*, *Nicolaus* de *Segrave*, *Galfridus* de *Lucy*, ſalutem in Domino: Noveritis quod nos compromiſimus in dominum *Ludovicum* Regem *Franciæ* illuſtrem, ſuper Proviſionibus, Ordinationibus, Statutis & Obligationibus omnibus *Oxoniæ*, & ſuper omnibus contentionibus & diſcordiis quas habemus & habuimus uſque ad feſtum omnium Sanctorum nuper præteritum, adverſus Dominum noſtrum Regem *Angliæ* illuſtrem, & ipſe adverſus nos, occaſione Proviſionum, Ordinationum, Statutorum, vel Obligationum Oxonienſium prædictarum; firmiter promittentes & jurantes, tactis ſacroſanctis Evangeliis, quod quicquid idem Rex *Franciæ* ſuper omnibus prædictis vel eorum aliquibus, de alto & baſſo, ordinaverit, vel ſtatuerit, nos obſervabimus bona fide, ita tamen quod idem dominus Rex *Franciæ* dicat ſuper his Dictum ſuum citra *Pentecoſt.* proxima venturam.

ACTUM *London.* die Sanctæ *Luciæ* Virginis, Anno Domini milleſſimo, ducenteſſimo, ſexageſſimo tertio.

INSUPER prædictus Rex *Angl.* & ſuperius nominati, ex alia parte Barones, de omnibus contentionibus exortis inter eos poſt prædictum feſtum uſque in præteritum diem ſanctæ *Luciæ*, occaſione prædicta, in nos compromiſerunt & promiſerunt per Juramenta, tactis ſacroſanctis Evangeliis, præſtita, bona fide ſe ſervaturos quicquid ſtatuerimus

tuerimus & ordinaverimus de his vel eorum aliquibus, ita tamen quod citra *Pentecoſtem* proximò venturam dicamus ſuper his Dictum noſtrum & ſuper omnibus, quæ ſuper Rebus in compromiſſum deductis, vel circa ipſius interim contingerit attemptari. Nos vero Partibus propter hoc convocatis *Ambiani*, dicto Rege perſonaliter & quibuſdam de Baronibus per ſe, & aliis per Procuratores comparentibus coram nobis, auditis hinc inde propoſitis, & etiam defenſionibus ac rationibus Partium pleniùs intellectis, Attendentes per Proviſiones, Statuta & Obligationes *Oxonienſes*, & per ea quæ ex eis & occaſione eorum ſubſecuta ſunt, juri & honori Regio plurimum fuiſſe detractum, Regni turbationem, Eccleſiarum depreſſionem, & deprædationem, & aliis perſonis ipſius Regni Eccleſiaſticis & ſæcularibus, Indigenis, & Alienigenis graviſſima diſpendia proveniſſe; & quod veriſimiliter timebatur ne graviora contingerent in futurum, *Communicato Baronum & Magnatum Conſilio*.

Sententia Regis *Franciæ*.

IN nomine Patris, & Filii, & *Spiritus Sancti*, prædictas Proviſiones, Ordinationes, & Obligationes omnes quocunque modo cenſeantur, & quicquid ex eis vel occaſione eorum ſubſecutum eſt, per Dictum noſtrum ſeu Ordinationem noſtram caſſamus & irritamus, maxime cum appareat ſummum Pontificem eas per ſuas litteras caſſas & irritas nunciaſſe; ordinantes quod tam dictus Rex quam Barones & alii quicunque præſenti compromiſſo conſenſerunt, & de prædictis obſervandis ſe quoquomodo aſtrinxerunt, ſe de eiſdem quittent penitus & abſolvant.

ADJICIMUS etiam, quod ex vi, ſeu viribus prædictarum Proviſionum ſive Obligationum, ſeu Ordinationum, vel alicujus rei ſuper hoc conceſſæ poteſtatis à Rege, nullus nova ſtatuta faciat, nec jam facta teneat vel obſervat, nec propter non obſervantiam prædictorum debeat aliquis alterius capitalis, vel aliter Inimicus haberi, vel pœnam propter hoc aliquam ſuſtinere. Decernimus etiam, quod omnes litteræ ſuper præmiſſis Proviſionibus & earum occaſione confectæ, irritæ ſint & inanes; & ordinamus, quod ipſi Regi *Angliæ* reſtituantur a Baronibus & reddantur.

ITEM dicimus & ordinamus, quod caſtra quæcunque fuerint tradita cuſtodienda ad ſecuritatem, ſeu occaſione prædictorum & adhuc ſunt detenta, liberè a dictis Baronibus eidem Regi reddantur, tenenda ab eodem Rege, ſicut ea tenebat ante tempus prædictarum Proviſionum.

ITEM dicimus & ordinamus quòd liberè liceat prædicto Regi, Capitalem Juſtitiarium, Cancellarium, Theſaurarium Conſiliarios, Juſtitiarios minores, Vicecomites, & quoſcunque alios Officiales ac Miniſteriales Regni ſui ac domus ſuæ, præficere, inſtituere, deſtituere & amovere pro ſuo libito voluntatis, ſicut faciebat & facere poterat ante tempus Proviſionum prædictarum.

ITEM retractamus & caſſamus illud ſtatutum factum, quod Regnum *Angliæ* de cætero per Indigenas gubernetur, nec non ut exirent Alienigenæ non reverſuri, exceptis illis quorum moram Fideles Regni communiter acceptarent. Ordinantes per Dictum noſtrum, quod liceat Alienigenis morari in dicto Regno ſecurè ad concilium ſuum, quos viderit utiles & fideles, ſicut facere poterat ante tempus prædictum.

ITEM dicimus & ordinamus, quod dictus Rex plenam poteſtatem & liberum regimen habeat in Regno ſuo & ejus pertinentiis, &

ſit in eo ſtatu, & in ea plenaria poteſtate in omnibus & per omnia, ſicut erat ante tempus prædictum.

NOLUMUS autem nec intendimus per præſentem Ordinationem, derogare in aliquo Regiis Privilegiis, Chartis, Libertatibus, Statutis, & Laudabilibus Conſuetudinibus Regni *Angliæ*, quæ erant ante tempus Proviſionum ipſarum: Ordinamus etiam quod Idem Rex prædictis Baronibus indulgeat, & remittat omnem rancorem, quem habet adverſus eos occaſione præmiſſorum; ſimiliter Barones eidem. Et quod unus alterum occaſione præmiſſorum, de quibus in nos extitit compromiſſum per ſe vel per alium de cætero non gravet in aliquo vel offendat.

HANC autem Ordinationem noſtram ſeu Dictum noſtrum protulimus *Ambianis* in craſtino Beati *Vincentii* Martyris, Anno Domini milleſimo ducenteſſimo ſexageſſimo tertio, menſe Januario.

IN cujus rei Teſtimonium, præſentibus litteris noſtrum opponi fecimus ſigillum, Actum Anno, menſe, die, & loco prædictis.

Breve Regis Henrici *Tertii.*

Anno Regni 49°.

N. 12.
Ex Libro de Antiquis Legibus, in Bib. Roll. S. Benedicti Cantab. & Bib. Cotton. in Libro de Antiquis Legibus.

Per quod nonnullas Proviſiones Oxon. *editas publicari mandavit.*

HENRICUS Dei Gratia, *&c.* Vicecom. & omnibus aliis de Comitat. *Middleſex*, ſalutem. Cum dudum ad Reformationem & meliorationem Regni noſtri Proviſiones & Conſtitutiones ſubſcriptas per Vicecomites noſtros Singulorum Comitatuum noſtrorum, per *Angliam* publicari, & per totum Regnum noſtrum firmiter obſervari præcepimus; ac cum eaſdem Proviſiones & Conſtitutiones occaſione Tribulationis nuper habitæ in Regno noſtro nondum fuerunt obſervatæ, nos eas---to præſentibus duximus inferendas, & per totum Regnum noſtrum publicandas ſub hac forma.

DE mera voluntate ipſius Domini Regis, & plena & libera Poteſtate ipſius, interveniente Conſilio Fidelium ſuorum, per ipſum Dominum Regem, Conſtitutiones ſubſcriptæ ad Reformationem Regni noſtri ſunt Statutæ.

Cap. Primum de Sectis faciendis ad Curias Magnatum.

NOTA quod omnia Capitula quæ ſequuntur in hoc Brevi invenies in Statuto de Marlebrige: *concluſio vero hujus Brevis ita ſe habet.*

ET quia nolumus quod aliquis ſuper obſervatione præmiſſorum de cætero ſe poſſit per Ignorantiam excuſare, ſeu quod dictæ Proviſiones & Conſtitutiones tan-tummodo verbales ab aliquibus ulterius reputentur, ſed quod univerſa & ſingula prædicta opere compleantur de Conſilio Prælatorum & Magnatum noſtrorum præcipimus, firmiter injungentes, quod eaſdem Proviſiones, & Conſtitutiones per Vicecomites noſtros de menſe in menſem in Comitat. Hundredis, & Wapentachiis, imo & in Curiis Baronum publicentur, & ad utilitatem totius *Communitatis Angliæ* ab omnibus de cætero firmiter obſervantur: & ſi aliquis his Proviſionibus & Conſtitutionibus contrarie præſumpſerit, volumus quod ipſi per Vicecomites noſtros tanquam Præcepti noſtri contemptores & earundem Proviſionum & Conſtitutionum tranſgreſſores graviter punientur: quod ſi dicti Vicecomites ad hoc non ſufficiant, tunc nomina eorum nobis ſcire faciant, ut ipſos, & prædictos Vicecomites ſi in permiſſis negligentes fuerint vel remiſſi punire faciamus, prout de Jure fuerit faciendum. In cujus Rei Teſtimonium has litteras noſtras fecimus fieri patentes, teſte meipſo apud *Wigorniam* 13° die Decembris Anno Regni noſtri 49°.

Charta Pardonationis, per Regem Henricum *poſt Bellum de Lewes.*

Rot. Cart. 49. Hen. 3. M. 4.

HENRICUS Dei Gratia Rex *Angliæ*, Dominus *Hiber.* & Dux *Acquitan.* omnibus de Comitatu *Middleſex* Salutem. Cum propter hoſtilem turbationem habitam in Regno noſtro de unanimi Aſſenſu & voluntate noſtra & *Edwardi filii* noſtri Primogeniti, Prælatorum, Comitum & Baronum, & *Communitatis* Regni noſtri pro Regni ipſius Pace, & ejus ſecuritate Dictus *Edwardus* & *Henricus* fililius Regis *Aleman.* nepos noſter, obſides dati fuerunt, concorditer ſicut proviſum, quod quædam ordinatio de unanimi conſenſu noſtro Prælatorum, Comitum & Baronum prædictorum, ſuper noſtro & Regni noſtri ſtatu *London.* menſe Junii 1°. Regni 48°. facta inviolabiliter obſerventur, Univerſitatem veſtram ſcire volumus, quod nos Ordinationem ipſam & Pacem & Tranquillitatem Regni bona fide obſervare, & in nullo contravenire ad ſancta Dei Evangelia juravimus, hoc adjecto in eodem ſacramento ſpecialiter & expreſſe, quod occaſione factorum præcedentium tempore turbationis aut Guerræ præcedentis neminem occaſionabimus aut inculpabimus de illis, aut de parte illorum, quos tanquam Inimicos noſtros diffidavimus puta Comites *Leyceſtriæ* & *Gloceſtriæ* & alios, ſibi adhærentes aut Barones, ſeu Cives noſtros *London.* & *Quinque Portuum*, nec alicui de prædictis damnum faciemus aut fieri procurabimus, nec per Ballivos noſtros aliquatenus fieri permittemus. Juravimus etiam quod ea omnia quæ pro Liberatione dictorum filii noſtri & nepotis, ſunt proviſa & Sigillo noſtro ſigillata, quantum ad nos pertinet, inviolabiliter obſervabimus, & ab aliis pro poſſe noſtro faciemus obſervari: volentes & conſentientes expreſſe, quod ſi *Nos*, aut *Edwardus* filius noſter contra prædictam Ordinationem & Proviſionem noſtram, ſeu Juramentum (quod abſit) in aliquo venire, ſeu Pacem & Tranquillitatem Regni noſtri turbare, ſeu occaſione factorum præcedentium tempore turbationis, aut Guerræ præcedentis aliquem de prædictis aut de parte prædictorum, quos defidavimus occaſionare, ſeu alicui eorum damnum facere aut fieri, præſtare præſumſperimus, liceat omnibus in Regno noſtro contra nos inſurgere, & ad gravamen noſtrum opem & operam dare juxta poſſe, ad quod ex præſenti præcepto noſtro omnes & ſingulos obligari, fidelitate & homagio nobis factis non obſtantibus, ita quod nobis in nullo intendant, ſed omnia quæ gravamen noſtrum reſpiciunt faciant, ac ſi in nullo nobis tenerentur, donec quod in hac parte tranſgreſſum fuerit ſeu commiſſum, cum ſatisfactione congrua in Statum debitum ſecundum prædictarum Ordinationis & Proviſionis noſtræ ſeu Juramenti formam fuerit reformatum: quo facto, nobis ſicut prius intendentes exiſtant, & ſi aliquis alius de Regno noſtro contra prædicta venire, ſeu Pacem & Tranquillitatem Regni noſtri turbare præſumpſerit, ſeu Nobis vel ***Edwardo*** filio noſtro, aut alicui alteri, contra prædicta vel aliquod prædictorum venientibus Opem, Conſilium, Conſenſum, vel Auxilium quoquo modo præſtiterit, ſi hoc notorium fuerit, aut de hoc per conſiderationem Conſilii noſtri & Magnatum Terræ noſtræ convictus fuerit, ſtatutum eſt quod corpus ipſius ſi inventum fuerit, capiatur, alioquin a Regno noſtro utlagetur; & ſive inventus fuerit, ſive non, tam ipſe, quam Hæredes ſui in perpetuo exhæredentur, & de Terris & Tenementis eorum fiat, prout de Terris eorum qui de Felonia convicti ſunt, ſecundum leges & conſuetudines Regni noſtri fieri conſuevit, ad hæc de unanimi Aſſenſu & voluntate noſtra & ***Edvardi*** filii noſtri, Prælatorum, Comitum, Baronum, & ***Communitatis*** Regni noſtri Concorditer proviſum eſt, quod Cartæ antiquæ Communium Libertatum & Foreſtæ ***Communitati*** Regni noſtri (per nos dudum & * Apoſtolicum ſpecialiter confirmatæ) nec non & omnes Articuli de noſtro & Magnatum Terræ noſtræ Communi Aſſenſu dudum Conceſſæ, in quarum Violatores ad petitionem veſtram Sententia Excommunicationis dudum lata eſt, & per Sedem Apoſtolicam ſpecialiter Confirmata, nec non & omnes Articuli de noſtro & Magnatum Terræ noſtræ Communi Aſſenſu dudum proviſi, quos nos nuper apud ***Wigorn.*** exiſtentes per ſingulos Comitatus ſub ſigillo noſtro tranſmiſimus, inviolabiliter obſerventur in perpetuum: ad quorum obſervationem Sacramento ad Sancta Dei Evangelia corporaliter præſtito ſponte Nos obligavimus, & omnes Juſticiarios, Vicecomites & quoſcunque Ballivos de Regno noſtro, tam noſtros, quam aliorum, ſimili Sacramento volumus obligari, ita quod nullus teneatur alicui Ballivo obedire, donec Sacramentum præſtiterit: & ſi quis contra Cartas ipſas vel Articulos prædictos in aliquo venire præſumpſerit, præter perjurii reatum, & Excommunicationis ſententiam quam incurret, per conſiderationem Curiæ noſtræ graviter puniatur, ſalvo in præmiſſis (prout decet) Privilegio Clericali: & quia volumus quod hæc omnia firmiter & inviolabiliter obſerventur, Univerſitati veſtræ firmiter injungendo & præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus vos omnes & ſinguli prædicta omnia & ſingula, ſicut ſuperius ſcripta ſunt, faciatis, teneatis, & inviolabiliter obſervatis, & ad ea omnia facienda, tenenda & obſervanda ad ſancta Dei Evangelia Sacramento Corporaliter præſtito ad invicem vos obligetis. In cujus Rei Teſtimonium Cartas & Ordinationes prædictas cum præſentibus Litteris patentibus vobis ſub ſigillo noſtro in Comitatu veſtro ſub Cuſtodia fide dignorum ad hoc electorum, ad rei memoriam ſalvo cuſtodiendas: contra quas ne quis Ignorantiam prætendere poſſit in futurum, ad minus bis in Anno pleno Comitatu ipſas præcipimus publicari, ita quod prima publicatio fiat in proximo Comitat. poſt inſtantem feſtum *Paſchæ*, ſecunda vero fiat in proximo Comitat. poſt feſtum Sancti *Michael.* & ſic deinceps fiat annuatim. Volumus inſuper, quod, ſalvis omnibus ſupra dictis, omnes aliæ Ordinationes & Articuli per nos & Concilium noſtrum hactenus proviſi, qui poterint ad honorem Dei & Eccleſiæ fidem, noſtrum

&

† *i. e.* Papam.

& Regni noſtri Commodum obſervari, inviolabiliter obſerventur & teneantur, ut autem præmiſſa omnia firma maneant & inconcuſſa, reverendi Patres Epiſcopi per Regnum noſtrum conſtituti, ad inſtantiam noſtram ſententiam Excommunicationis fulminarunt in omnes illos qui contra præmiſſa vel aliquid præmiſſorum ſcienter venerint, aut venire temptaverint cum effectu: quorum Juriſdictioni, ſeu coercioni ſpontanea voluntate, quantum ad præmiſſa nos ſubmittimus, privilegiis noſtris omnibus impetratis aut impetrandis, ſeu proprio motu Domini Papæ nobis conceſſis aut in poſterum concedendis in hoc pure renunciantes, prout in litteris noſtris ſuper hoc confectis penes dictos Prælatos reſidentibus plenius continetur. In cujus rei Teſtimonium has litteras fecimus patentes. Teſti meipſo apud *Weſtm.* 14° die Martii, Anno Regni noſtri 49°.

After this Charter follows the Writ that was ſent down into all the Counties, together with *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſta*, which were now again confirm'd in the ſame manner and words as in 9° of this King's Reign; then there alſo follows in the Book belonging to *Bennet* College (already mention'd) a like Charter of Prince *Edward*, containing his Confirmation of the ſaid *Oxford* Proviſions, being drawn up almoſt in the very ſame words as this of the King his Father, here recited *mutatis mutandis*, and ſo need not be tranſcribed; it alſo bears date at *London* the 10*th* of *March* in the 49*th* of his Father's Reign; but I ſuppoſe it is a miſtake of the Clerk's, and ſhould bear date the ſame day with this.

Rot. Pat. 49 H. 3. M. 16.

N. 13. REX omnibus Tenentibus de *Maneriis* de *Meleburn*, *Gunthorp*, *Soca* de *Ludham*, *Eſingwand*, *Kingiſhae*, *Everle*, *Colingburne*, *Cumpton*, *Sepwyk*, *Bere*, *Hungerford*,& *Chauton*,Salutem. Cum dilectus & fidelis noſter *Simon* de *Monteforti* Comes *Leyc.* per Cartam ſuam tradiderit nobis maneria prædicta cum pertinentiis, in Eſcambium aliarum terrarum: Nos maneria illa cum pertinentiis dilecto filio *Edwardo* primogenito noſtro commiſimus habenda quamdiu nobis placuerit. Et ideo Vobis mandamus, quod eidem filio noſtro in omnibus quæ ad maneria illa pertinent, intendentes ſitis & reſpondentes, ſicut prædictum eſt. In cujus *&c.* Teſte Rege apud *Hereford.* viii. die Maii.

Rot. Clauſ. 54 H. 3. m. 11. dorſo.

N. 14. REX dilectis & fidelibus ſuis *Thomæ Trevet*, & *Johanni Quintyn*, aſſignatis ad Viceſimam in Com. Dorſet. taxandam, ſalutem.

CUM occaſione Viceſimæ prædictæ nobis in ſubſidium *Terræ Sanctæ* conceſſæ, tam a *Magnatibus* & *Militibus*, quam *Aliis Laicis Hominibus*, de Bladis & aliis Bonis ſuis Mobilibus, quæ per vos & quoſdam alios fideles noſtros taxari præcepimus, intentionis noſtræ non extiterit per hoc, quod Bona Eccleſiaſticarum Perſonarum ipſas ratione Eccleſiarum ſuarum contingentia ad præſens taxarentur, Vobis mandamus, quod de hujuſmodi Bladis, ſeu aliis Bonis Spiritualibus, ipſarum Perſonarum Eccleſiaſticarum, ratione prædicta taxandis, in nullo vos ad præſens intromittatis. Teſte Rege apud *Clarendon* xiv°. die Decembris.

EODEM modo mandatum eſt *Petro* de *Scudamor*, *Ric.* de *Wigorn.* & Sociis ſuis aſſignatis, ad viceſimam in Comitatu *Wilteſ.* taxandam, & *Sampſoni Folyot*, *Petro Alhardo*, & Sociis ſuis in Com. *Berks.* Aſſignatis pro Clero Epiſcopatus *Sarum.*

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Made Seneſchal of France, *and does Homage for* Poictou, *&c.* 348

Receives the Homages of the K. of Scots *and Princes of* Wales, *&c. as alſo of the Nobility and Clergy of* England, 356

Is Crowned King by his Father's Command, and left Vice-Roy of England, ib.

His ingratitude to his Father, ib.

Is crowned again, together with his Queen, 376

Alienated from his Father by the King of France's *Practices,* ib.

Sends for the Prior and Monks of Canterbury, *gives them leave to chuſe an ABp, and then hinders their Election,* 377

He and his Queen go over into Normandy, *and thence to the K of* France, 378

His firſt difference with his Father, and on what occaſion, ib.

Leaves his Father, and goes over to the K. of France, 380

Forces his Servants to ſwear Fealty to him, againſt his Father, ib.

Receives Homage of ſeveral Princes and Great Men of France, ib.

Beſtows great Boons on the K. of Scots, *and other Noblemen, that took his part againſt his Father,* ib.

Deſigns to invade England, *but is diſappointed,* 387

Is recalled from it by the French *K.* 389

Is reconciled to his Father, and kindly received, 390

Comes again to him, tho not without ſome difficulty, ib.

Does Homage to his Father, 395

Returns with him into England, ib.

Paſſes over into Normandy *with his Brother E.* Richard, *where they reduce the* Brabanters, ib.

Deſires his Father's leave to go on Pilgrimage to St. James, *but is diverted from it,* 403

Takes the Caſtles of Ralph de Doles *in*

Normandy, 407
Proves again undutiful to his Father, yet makes a new Agreement with him, 426
Demands Normandy *of his Father, but is content to take a daily allowance in lieu of it.* ib.
Receives Homage from his Brother E. Geoffrey, *but his Brother E.* Richard *refuſes it,* 428
Perſwades his Father to make Peace between his Brother E. Richard *and the Barons of* Aquitain, 429
He and his Brother Geoffrey *ſecretly confederate againſt their Father,* ib.
He undertakes the Cruſado *againſt his Father's Will,* ib.
His great Falſeneſs and Fickleneſs, 431
Falls ſick and dies, ib.
His Character, ib.
Is buried at Rouen, 432
Henry, *eldeſt Son to K.* John, *born,* 806
Is elected and crown'd King, and called Henry *the Third,* 824
Swears Fealty, and does Homage to the Pope, with the Form of that Oath, ib.
Receives Homage of the Biſhops, Earls, &c. 825
Is crown'd with a golden Chaplet, ib.
Makes a Truce with Pr. Lewis, 827
Confirms the great Charter of his Father, 828
Concludes a Peace with Pr. Lewis, *and the Form of it,* 834
Comes to London, *and is joyfully received,* 835
Seizes ſome Caſtles of the E. of Albemarle, ib.
Iſſues out Writs for the Obſervation of the Great Charters, 837
Makes Peace with the Princes of Wales, *and on what Terms,* 836
Iſſues out Writs for the obſervation of the Charter *of Liberties,* ib.
Sends a Writ of Inquiry to 12 *Knights to ſearch out what they were,* ib.
Sends Itinerant Juſtices all over England, 839
Is crowned anew, and for what reaſon, 840
Iſſues out Writs to the Sheriffs to enquire what were the antient Liberties of England, 845
Sends Ambaſſadors to K. Lewis *of* France, *to demand* Normandy, *and his other Dominions detain'd by him,* 847
Again grants the Great Charter of Liberties and Foreſts, and receives a great Aid for it, 852
Has a Fifteenth from the Clergy, with the Pope's conſent on that account, as alſo a Subſidy, 853
Knights his Brother Richard, *makes him Earl of* Cornwal, *and ſends him into* Gaſcoigny *as his Lieutenant,* ib.
Appoints 12 *Knights to ſet out the number and bounds of Foreſts,* ib.
Calls a Council, and demands Judgment againſt Faukes de Brent, 854
Is declared by the Pope of full Age, 859
Forbid by him to make War upon France, *and why,* 860
Lays many heavy Taxes upon his Subjects, 861
Extorts great Sums of Money from the Londoners *and others, as alſo from the Religious Orders.* 862
Holds a Council at Oxford, *wherein he is declared of full Age, and vacates the great Charters,* ib.
Falls out with his Brother E. Richard, *and why,* 863
Is reconciled to him and the Great Men that took his part, 864
Makes a diſadvantageous Peace with the Welſh, 865
Appoints new meaſures of Grain, Wine and Ale, ib.
By his Envoys at Rome *he promiſes the Pope a Tenth of all Moveables,* 866
Calls a Council concerning the granting it, ib.
In which the Barons refuſe it, but the Clergy being afraid of the Pope, grant him a Tenth, ib.
He prepares for an Expedition into France, *which is put off for want of Ships,* 867
Whereupon he falls into a great Rage againſt Hubert de Burgh *as the Cauſe of it,* ib.
Has an Interview with the K. of Scots, 868
Has a great Aid for his War againſt France, ib.
Muſters a great Army, and going over, is kindly received by the E. of Bretaigne, ib. 869
Is invited by ſeveral Noblemen into Normandy, *but dares not accept it,* ib.
Marches through Anjou *into* Poictou *and* Gaſcoigny, ib.
Lies idly at Nants, *waſtes his Treaſure, and returns home,* 870
Calls a Council, and demands a Scutage *of three Marks on each Knight's Fee, which is granted by the Laiety, but refuſed by ſome of the Biſhops,* ib.
Falls out with E. Richard *the Marſhal, and refuſes his Homage,* 871
Yet at laſt accepts it, 872
Offers to marry the K. of Scots *Siſter, but is diſſuaded from it, and why,* ib.
Holds a great Council, wherein he declares his great Debts abroad, and demands

an Aid, but is refuſed it, and why, 873
Complaining of his Poverty, he is adviſed to call his Officers to account, and thereby gets much Money from them, 874, 875
Is again incenſed againſt Hubert de Burgh, and puts him out from being Juſtitiary, ib.
Holds another great Council, wherein he has granted him a Fortieth part of all Moveables, 876
Commands Hubert de Burgh to be fetch'd out of Sanctuary, but by the Interceſſion of the E. of Cheſter revokes that Order, ib.
Seizes all Hubert's Treaſure in the Temple, 877
Yet conſidering his Services, permits him to enjoy all his antient Eſtate, ib.
Removes all the Engliſh from Places at Court, 879
Receives a very ſharp Meſſage from the Barons, 880
Breaks his Agreement with the E. Marſhal, 882
Commands the Bps to excommunicate the E. Marſhal, but they refuſe it, ib.
Is ſupplicated by the great Men to reform what was amiſs, but in vain, ib.
Marches into Wales againſt the Marſhal, but is there defeated, ib.
Holds a Treaty with his Nobility, and rebukes ſome of the Biſhops for correſponding with the Marſhal, 886
Is adviſed by the ABp of Canterbury to diſmiſs the Poictovins, which he at laſt complies with, ib.
Sends Ambaſſadors to treat with the Prince of Wales, 887
At the deſire of that Prince he is reconciled to all the proſcribed Noblemen, 888
Makes a Truce with that Prince for two years, 889
Denies his Knowledg of the Letters ſent into Ireland againſt the Marſhal, ib.
Summons the Bp of Wincheſter, and Peter Rievaulx, with the other late Miniſters, to give up their Accounts, 889
His ſevere Charge againſt the ſaid Peter, ib.
As alſo upon Stephen de Segrave, 890
Refuſes to give the E. of Bretaigne any farther Aſſiſtance, ib.
Receives a Scutage of two Marks for the Marriage of his Siſter Iſabel to the Emperor, 891
Is married to Eleanor Daughter to the Earl of Provence, ib.
Calls a Council of the great Men at Wincheſter, where he removes all corrupt Sheriffs, 893
Calls a Parliament at Wincheſter, and demands Money, 895
And then promiſes to obſerve the great Charters, ib.
Squanders away the Money granted by Parliamen, 897
Sends Aſſiſtance of Men to the Emperor, 901
Is like to be murder'd by one that pretended himſelf mad, 902
Shews a ſudden Diſpleaſure againſt the E. of Leiceſter, and the Counteſs, and why, 904
Sends Juſtices Itinerant over all England to fleece the People, 907
Knights the Nephew of the Pope's Legate, and another Foreigner, and gave them Eſtates, 908
Seems diſpleaſed with the Practices of the Italian Clerks, 910
Summons David Pr. of Wales to appear before him at Worceſter, 912
Has notice of that Prince's Confederacy againſt him, 913
Yet receives his Submiſſion, ib.
Calls a Parliament, where he propoſes a War againſt France, which being vigorouſly oppoſed by the Nobility, he endeavours to prevail with them apart, but without ſucceſs, 917
Summons all his military Tenants to meet him with Mony inſtead of Men and Arms, 918
Paſſes over into France, ib.
Sends Meſſengers to the K. of France, who are kindly received, 919
Is over-perſwaded by the Poictovins not to accept of K. Lewis's fair Offers, ib.
Being afraid to be taken Priſoner, he flies from his Camp to Xaintes, 920
Loſes the Affections of that City, and flies to Blaye, 921
Has a Scutage given him of 3 Marks out of every Knight's Fee, 922
Sends to the ABp of York for freſh ſupplies, 923
His Extravagance at Bourdeaux reduces him to great Neceſſities, ib.
Does little in France, beſides reducing ſome Gaſcoign Rebels, 924
Writes over again for more Supplies to the ABp of York, ib.
Renews the Truce with the French King for five years longer, ib.
His grievous Exactions from the City of London, ib.
His Return into England, where he is received with much Joy, 925
He makes the Jews pay a great Sum of Money, ib.

Summons a great Council, wherein he demands an Aid, but is denied, 926

His promiſe to obſerve the Great Charters better, upon which he obtains an Aid of 20 s. *upon each Knight's Fee,* 928

He makes ſome Alterations in his Court and Council, 929

Summons all his Tenants in Capite *to march againſt the K. of* Scots, 930

Requires another Aid againſt the Welſh, *but is denied,* ib.

Seizes the Eſtates of the Normans *in* England, *and why,* 932

Orders an Enquiry to be made into the Revenues of the Italian *Clergymen in* England, 934

Swears never to pay any more Tribute to the Pope, 936

Summons all his military Tenants to attend him into Wales, ib.

He only builds a Caſtle on the Borders, and returns home, ib.

His Letters to the Pope, ſetting forth the Grievances of the Kingdom, ſent by Ambaſſadors from him and the Parliament, 939

Forbids the Biſhops to pay any further Taxes to the Pope, and why, 940

Iſſues forth Prohibitions againſt making Enquiries concerning any Matters but purely Eccleſiaſtical, 941

Summons a Council for preventing the Pope's Exactions, ib.

Orders that no Layman ſhould appear before an Eccleſiaſtical Judg, unleſs for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, 943

And another at Oxford *for the ſame purpoſe,* 944

Sends Ambaſſadors to the K. of France *to demand* Normandy, 945

Calls a Parliament, and demands an Aid, but is denied, 946

Is therefore forced to ſell his Plate and Jewels, 947

Proclaims a Fair at Weſtminſter, *at the Feaſt of* St. Edward, *to the prejudice of the City of* London, ib.

Exacts large New-Year's-Gifts from the Citizens; and continues his oppreſſions on the Clergy, with ſeveral inſtances of it, 948

Tries to borrow Money of the Great Men, but without ſucceſs, ib.

Undertakes the Cruſado *with many of the Nobility and Clergy,* 950

Excuſes his uſing the Clauſe of Non-Obſtante, *from the Pope's Example,* 953

Sends an Officer to enquire into the Tranſgreſſions of Foreſts, ib.

Sets his Affections wholly upon Strangers, 955

Falls out with the E. of Leiceſter, *and calls him* Traytor, *yet is again reconciled to him,* 957

Declares his Son Pr. Edward *Lord of* Gaſcoigny, 958

Is very angry with the Biſhops, and why, 959

Beſtows his Eccleſiaſtical Benefices on Foreigners or mean Perſons, ib.

Moves the Bps for Money towards his Voyage for the Holy Land, *but without Succeſs,* ib.

His Diſpute with the Counteſs of Arundel, ib. 960

Extorts Money from the Citizens of London, *and makes them ſhut up their Shops during St.* Edward*'s Fair,* ib.

His unjuſt dealing with certain Abbots, 962

Calls a Parliament, wherein he confeſſes his Failings, yet reflects ſharply on the Biſhops, 964

There confirms the Great Charters, yet contrives to break them as ſoon as he had done, ib.

Goes over to Gaſcoigny *with a great Force, and recovers ſeveral Caſtles there,* ib.

Sends Ambaſſadors to the K. of Caſtile, *to propoſe a Match between his Siſter and Pr.* Edward, ib.

His Commiſſioners demand an Aid of the Parliament, but are refuſed it, 966, 967

He imprudently accepts the Pope's Offer of the Kingdom of Sicily, *&c, for his Son* Edmund, 968

Paſſes through France, *and is there magnificently entertained,* ib.

Returns into England, *and is joyfully received at* London, ib.

Exacts great Preſents from the Citizens, ib.

His Demands for the War in Apulia, 976

Forbids his Chancellor to iſſue out Writs againſt his Half-Brothers and ſeveral great Men, 973 (3)

Makes all that are capable of Knighthood to fine, ib.

Preſents his Son to the Parliament in an Apulian *Habit, and there makes great Demands of Money,* 974 (3)

Marches againſt the Welſh, *but returns without ſucceſs,* 976 (3)

Coins a piece of Gold of the Weight of two Sterlings, 975 (3)

Sends the Pope 5000 *Marks to hinder the* Interdict *threatned againſt him,* 978 (3)

Makes freſh Demands for Money without effect, 979 (3)

Makes the Abbot of Weſtminſter *to ſeal a Bond for* 2500 *Marks, and would have done the ſame by others,* 980

Seems ſenſible of his former Miſcarriages, and promiſes to amend them for the future, 981
Is not believed by the Great Men, ſo the Parliament is adjourned to Oxford, ib.
Grants by Charter, that the Government ſhould be put into the Hands of twenty four Earls, Biſhops, and Barons, ib.
Grants other Charters to the E. of Glouceſter, and the reſt of the twenty four, to proceed in the Reformation of the Kingdom, 984
Iſſues Commiſſions to Governors of Caſtles, who were to take a new Oath, 985
His half Brothers refuſing to give up their Caſtles, &c. fly to Wincheſter, and being perſued by the Barons, quit the Kingdom, ib. 986
Iſſues out a Charter or Declaration, commanding all Men to ſwear to maintain the Proviſions of Oxford, 990
His great fear of the E. of Leiceſter diſcover'd by an Accident, 991
He with the Barons ſends Ambaſſadors to the French King about the Reſignation of Normandy, 994
Which came then to nothing, but the Reaſon does not appear, ib.
Holds a Parliament at Weſtminſter, wherein he commands the Proviſions of Oxford to be read, and the ABp of Canterbury, and the reſt of the Biſhops, pronounce Sentence of Excommunication againſt the breakers of them, 995
Goes over into France, and makes a full Agreement with K. Lewis for his loſt Dominions, and on what Terms, ib.
Keeps his Chriſtmaſs at Paris, and is magnificently entertain'd by K. Lewis, 997
There ſurrenders to the King of France all his Right in Normandy, &c. and on what Conſiderations, ib.
Pr. Edward and E. Richard did not then agree to it, ib.
Is on his return for England, recall'd by the death of the French King's Son, 998
Defers his coming over upon a report of his Son Pr. Edward's conſpiring againſt him, ib.
But finding it falſe, he came over; yet ſtays in London, and why, ib.
He cauſes all the Men in London above 12 Years of Age, to take a new Oath of Fealty, 999
Summons all the Military Tenants of England for an Expedition againſt the Welſh, 1000
Is weary of the Proviſions of Oxford, and obtains the Pope's Bull of Abſolution from his Oath to obſerve them, 1001
Summons a Parliament, and there plainly declares that he would be no longer bound by them, ib.
Provides Forces, ſhuts himſelf up in the Tower, and fortifies it, ib.
Iſſues out a Declaration to clear himſelf from divers falſe Reports, 1002
Goes to the Cinque-Ports, and takes Oaths of Fidelity from the Barons there, ib.
Goes a Progreſs, and repoſſeſſes himſelf of all his Caſtles in the Cuſtody of the Barons, 1003
Openly ſhews the Pope's Bull of Abſolution, ib.
Upon News of the Barons taking Arms, he retires into the Tower, 1004
Iſſues out Writs or Declarations to juſtify his late Proceedings with them, ib.
Summons all thoſe who owed him military Service, to aſſiſt him againſt the Barons, 1005
Agrees to refer all Differences between him and them, to the Arbitrement of certain noble Perſons, ib.
Cauſes the Pope's Diſpenſation to be read at St. Paul's Church, which widens the breach between him and the Barons, ib.
Goes over with his Queen into France, 1007
Makes a Temporary Agreement with the Barons, and again promiſes to obſerve the Oxford-Proviſions, 1011
Being overpower'd by the E. of Leiceſter, and the Barons, is again forc'd to be reconciled to them, 1013
Calls a great Council, wherein the Proviſions of Oxford are again eſtabliſh'd, ib.
Goes over with his Queen into France, to confer with K. Lewis, ib.
Calls another Parliament at Weſtminſter, and offers the Barons very fair Conditions, which are refus'd, 1014
Finding his Party grown ſtronger, reſolves to take Dover, and other Caſtles, out of the hands of the Barons, 1015
Surprizes only Windſor, but fails in ſeizing of Dover, ib.
Makes the Cinque-Ports renew their Oaths of Fealty to him, ib.
Agrees to refer all Differences between him and the Barons, to the Arbitration of the French King, 1016
Goes over to meet that King at Amiens, ib.
Having received K. Lewis's Award to his Satisfaction, he returns into England, 1017
Demands entrance into Dover Caſtle, but is refuſed it, 1018
Being at Oxford, he enters into a Treaty with the Barons, 1019

He with his Son the Prince, marches towards Northampton, *againſt the Barons,* ib.

Which he beſieges, and takes by Storm, 1020

Takes Leiceſter *and* Nottingham, *and relieves* Rocheſter *Caſtle,* 1021

Marches towards London, *but the Citizens ſallying out, he retreats into* Kent, ib.

Comes to Lewes *in* Suſſex, *and takes up his Quarters in the* Priory. 1022

His Anſwer to the Barons Letter ſent him thither a little before the Battel, ib.

Is taken Priſoner in that Fight, and forced to ſeal a Charter of Agreement with the Barons, 1024

The Articles of that Agreement, ib.

Is carried up and down by Simon Montfort, *to take in thoſe Places that held out,* ib.

Appoints, by Simon Montfort's *procurement, new Conſervators of the Peace,* 1025

Orders them to return four diſcreet Knights for the next Parliament, 1026

Iſſues out Writs to divers Conſtables of Caſtles, to bring up thoſe that had been taken Priſoners at the Battel of Northampton, ib.

Sends certain Biſhops and Barons Commiſſioners to treat with the K. of France, *and the Pope's Legate, with the effect of that Ambaſſy,* 1030, 1031

Being under the Government of Simon Montfort *and his Sons, he is no more than a Cypher,* 1037, 1038

Grants a Charter for the Liberty of the Prince his Son, with the Form of it, 1041, 1042

Comes with Simon Montfort *to* Eveſham, 1051

Is there ſet at Liberty by the Prince after that Battel, 1052

Comes to Worceſter, *and there revokes all Grants made whilſt he was in* Simon Montfort's *Cuſtody,* 1053

Then holds a Parliament at Wincheſt. 1054

Comes to Windſor, *and there detains the Mayor, and* 40 *Citizens of* Lon. *Priſoners, notwithſtanding their ſafe Conduct,* 1055

He likewiſe then ſeizes all the Liberties of the City, 1056

Appoints ſeveral Noblemen Guardians of it, ib.

Returns to Weſtminſter, *and there holds a Parliament,* ib.

Beſtows the Eſtates of the principal Citizens upon his Favourites, 1057

Demands a Fine from the City of 50000 *Marks,* ib.

Orders the Tenths of the Clergy to be paid to certain Biſhops, 1062

Marches to the Siege of Kenelworth *Caſtle,* ib.

Holds a Parliament at Kenelworth, 1064

Keeps the Feaſt of St. Edward *at* Weſtminſter, *and makes the Legate ſit above him at Dinner,* 1069

Summons a Parliament at St. Edmunds-Bury, 1070

Sends to the Rebels in the Iſle of Ely *to perſuade them to their Allegiance,* 1071

Not being able to reduce that Iſle, he retires to Cambridg, 1073

Marches with his Army towards London, *againſt the E. of* Glouceſter, 1075

Encamps at Stratford le Bow, *and lies there two Months without fighting the Earl,* ib.

Concludes a Treaty with that Earl, and on what Terms, 1076

Grants the Londoners *a Charter of Pardon,* ib.

Has the Tenth of all Eccleſiaſtical Revenues granted him by the Pope for three Years, 1078

Summons a Parliament to meet at Northampton, ib.

Iſſues a ſevere Proclamation againſt Thieves, 1079

Summons a Parliament at Marlebridg, ib.

Squanders away the vaſt Sums he had received by Forfeitures and Ranſoms, 1081

Summons all the Nobility to be preſent at the Tranſlation of St. Edward's *Bones,* 1085

By the Prince's Interceſſion he reſtores to the City of London *her former Privileges,* 1091

Falls deſperately ſick, but recovers, 1092

Writes to Pr. Edward *to return from the* Holy-Land, ib.

Calls a Great Council at St. Edmundſbury, *to adviſe him how to proceed againſt the Citizens of* Norwich, 1097

Summons a Grand Jury out of four adjacent Counties to inquire concerning them, ib.

Returns from Norwich *to* St. Edmundſbury, *where he falls ſick,* 1099

Returns to Weſtminſter, *and there dies,* ib.

His Character, ib. 1100

His Wife and Iſſue, 1100, 1101

Taxes in his Reign, 1101 *to* 1103

His Laws and Ordinances, ib. *to* p. 1118

Henry, *ſirnamed the* Lion, *Duke of* Saxony, *is betrothed to* Mathilda, *Daughter to K.* Henry *II.* 328

Comes with the ABp of Cologne, *and other Biſhops and Noblemen, on an Ambaſſy from the Emperor, and the effect of it,* 347

Is cited to the Diet, and baniſhed the Empire, 424

Comes into Normandy *with his Dutcheſs,* 427

The preſent Dukes of Brunſwick *and* Lunenburgh *lineally deſcended from him and her,* ib.

Henry

Henry *VI.* (*Emperor*) *demands K.* Richard's *Perſon of the Duke of* Auſtria, 518

Receives K. Richard *at firſt very roughly, but is at laſt prevail'd upon by his Reaſons and Eloquence to compaſſionate him,* ib.

Holds a private Treaty with the K. of France, *to deliver up K.* Richard *to him,* 522

Gives K. Richard *the Sovereignty over divers Provinces,* 523

Appoints a certain day for K. Richard's *Deliverance, and gives notice of it by his Letters to all* England, 524

Is prevailed upon by the K. of France *and E.* John, *to keep K.* Richard *ſtill Priſoner, in conſideration of* 150000 *Marks to be paid him,* 526

Yet is at laſt wrought on to ſtick to his firſt Agreement with K. Richard, ib.

Writes to the K. of France *and E.* John, *to reſtore to K.* Richard *all his Rights,* 527

Sends K. Richard *a golden Crown, and excites him to renew the War againſt the* French *King,* 545

He dies, and on his Death-bed repents of his keeping K. Richard *Priſoner, and orders a Reſtitution of his Ranſom,* 560

Henry, *Son to the K. of the* Romans, *taken Priſoner at* Boloign, 1010

Is ſet free, 1012

Brought over by the Prince to the King's Intereſt, 1014

Forced to ſurrender himſelf Priſoner after the Battel of Lewes, 1024

Sent by Pr. Edward *to govern* Gaſcoigny, *but killed in the Church of* Viterbo, 1091

Peter Equeblank, *Bp. of* Hereford, *his knaviſh Invention to help the King to Money,* 971

Taken Priſoner by the Barons, 1010

Hereward, *a* Saxon *Nobleman, drives away the Abbot of* Peterburgh, *and betakes himſelf to the Iſle of* Ely, 33

His valiant Exploits there, 34

His eſcape thence, 36

Herlot, *the Pope's Secretary, ſent* Nuntio *into* England, *to demand more Money,* 979

William *Earl of* Holland, *choſen King of the* Romans, 945

Is ſlain in a Fight againſt the Friſons, 973, 974

Honorius *the 2d choſen Pope,* 169

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FINIS.

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The moſt conſiderable *ERRATA.*

The Author having been for the moſt part abſent from the Preſs, the Reader will, I hope, pardon the following *Errata*, which either his own Inadvertency, or the Negligence of the Tranſcriber or Printer, have left to be corrected.

In the INTRODUCTION.

PAge 36. line 3. dele *not*, ib. after *being*, read *almoſt*, p. 41. l. 1. over againſt *That*, add 5. in the Margin. P. 51. l. 30. *Seals* r. *Seats.*

In the HISTORY,

BOOK I.

P. 4. l. 30. after *Brion*, add a *Comma*, p. 39. l. 6. for *him*, r. *the Elect*. p. 64. l. 31. d. *to her*, p. 67. l. 46. d. *for*.

BOOK II.

P. 83. l. 35. for *Egelwin*, r. *William*, p. 97. l. 8. d. *and which*, p. 107. l. 44. for *being*, r. *was*.

BOOK III.

P. 120. l. 1. *the* r. *then*, p. 136. l. 28. r. *Ante-Pope*, p. 142. l. 39. for *never*, r. *now*, p. 146. l. 7. *after condemned*, r. *to perpetual Impriſonment*, p. 171. l. 21. for *Geoffrey* r. Son to *Fulk*.

BOOK IV.

P. 199. l. 12. for *proceed*, r. *precede*, p. 201. l. 10. d. *or after*, p. 202. l. 25. for *Tenure* r. *Tenor*, p. 212. l. 20. *after the*, r. *more*, p. 215. l. 21. for *Albert* r. *Alberic*, p. 225. l. 8. r. *Borders*, p. 241. l. 34. for *Emperor* r. *Empreſs*, p. 248. l. 44. for *King*, r. *Duke*.

BOOK V.

P. 304. l. 4. d. *out*, p. 325. l. 36. r. *interpreted*, p. 330. l. 14. for *Alexander* r. *William*, p. 334. l. 15. for *iſſued forth a*, r. *renewed his*, p. 337. l. 9. after *that*, r. *there*, p. 339. l. 12. after *alſo* r. *he*, p. 346. l. 7. r. *encouraged*, p. 347. l. 11. r. *Luſignian*, p. 353. l. 35. after *and*, r. *Robert*, p. 365. l. 29. f. *Ryne* r. *Ryme*, p. 385. l. 18. after *and* r. *took*, p. 388. l. 2. for *Archbiſhop* r. *Saint*, p. 397. l. 23. for *England*, r. *Scotland*, p. 420. l. 5. for *from* r. *for*, p. 427. l. 1. r. *were*, p. 452. l. 18. d. *poor old*, p. 457. l. 19. d. *Reſides*, ib. l. 26. after *renewed* r. *in part*.

BOOK VI.

P. 473. l. ult. r. *to receive*, p. 487. l. 11. *forget* r. *forge*, p. 528. l. 12. d. *or*.

BOOK VII.

P. 703. l. 33. r. *were*, p. 709. l. 24. d. *Eſtates*, p. 716. l. 24. r. *Laws*, p. 722. l. 9. d. *of*, & in Margin, r. *Dutcheſs*, d. *of*. P. 723. l. 22. for *degred* r. *deſired*, p. 744. l. ult. r. *aſſerting*, p. 745. l. 29. *Nuntio* r. *Nuntios*, p. 765. in Margin for *Alphonſo* r. *Peter*, p. 791. l. 23. *Seal* r. *Seals*, p. 798. l. 49. d. *Male Iſſue*, *viz*. ib. l. 50. after *Siſter* r. *had ſtill the better Title*.

BOOK VIII.

P. 839. l. 18. d. *whole*, p. 845. l. 8. d. *Parliament* r. *Treaty*, ib. l. 20. after *ſo* r. *much*, p. 853. l. 14. for *alſo that*, r. *likewiſe*, p. 855. l. 4. d. *an Addreſs*, p. 862. l. 29. d. *were*, ib. after *forced* r. *them*, p. 876. after *and* r. *ſent*, p. 886. l. 24. for *Reaſon* r. *Realm*, p. 918. l. 38. for *at*, r. *in*, p. 925. l. 34. for *he* r. *they*, l. *penult*, for *Conſecration* r. *Excommunication*, p. 946. l. 23. r. *exacting*, p. 976. l. 24. d. *was*, p. 975. l. 2. after *held* r. *either this, or:* p. 980, in Margin, f. *Waltham* r. St. *Albans*, p. 983. l. 8. after *Biſhops* r. *were*, ib. after *alſo* r. *to*. p. 1005. l. 31. after *of* r. *Cincia*, or. p. 1012. l. 5. d. *in France*, ib. l. 8. after *all* r. *Strangers*, p. 1030. l. 12. for *eighth* r. *fourth:* p. 1040. l. 12. d. *at laſt*, p. 1069. l. 4. for *Roger Wendover*, r. *Will. Riſhanger*, p. 1079. l. 33. d. *Parliament*, r. *Aſſembly:* p. 1100. l. 13. for *he*, r. *King*, p. 1101. l. 41. after *Men* r. *leave to take*, l. 42. after *Fee*, r. *held of them:* p. 1109. l. 1. after *by the* r. *common*. p. 1111. l. 6. for *and* r. *of the*. p. 1113. l. 1. after *for* r. *all*, l. 2. for *his*, r. *their Fees*, l. 3. for *to* r. *for*.

The *ERRATA* in the *APPENDIX*.

P. 1. cap. 11. l. 3. for *Regni* r. *Regi*, p. 4. cap. xiv. l. 4. for *quodam* r. *quod in*, id. l. 9. for Ceaþȝel r. Ceaþȝeld, cap. xvii. Tit. r. *Suppliciorum*, p. 6. cap. xi. l. 2. for *ſui* r. *ſua*, p. 9. cap. iii. l. 2. r. *Servitium*, p. 12. l. 4. dele *terminari non poſſunt*, p. 18. cap. xc. l. 3. r. *impetratum*, p. 21. cap. xvii. l. 6. r. *Coronæ*, p. 23. l. 16. r. *Burgi*, ib. l. 36. r. *et*, p. 26. l. 24. r. *Our*, p. 33. l. 15. r. *apponi*, p. 36. l. ii. r. *Teſte*.

Corrigenda & Delenda.

UPON the Review of this Volume, ſince it came from the Preſs, I perceive I have committed ſome Miſtakes, which I deſire the Candid Reader to pardon, and thus rectify.

Book I. p. 22. Having followed the printed Copies of *William* of *Malmesbury*, concerning the Revolt of the City of *Oxford* from K. *William* I. I there mention'd that Story as I found it in my Author; but ſince, upon conſulting the Manuſcript Copies in the *Cottonian* and *Bodleian* Libraries, as alſo *Cambden*'s * *Britannia*, I own I was under a Miſtake, for it was *Exeter*, and not *Oxford*, which then revolted: the nearneſs of the Latin names of thoſe two Places, viz. *Exonia*, and *Oxonium*, I ſuppoſe led the Tranſcribers of the Manuſcript Copies into that Error, and conſequently my ſelf into the ſame.

* In *Devonſhire*.

B. III. p. 145. over againſt theſe words, *the King ſpent all this Year*, &c. Add the Year of our Lord in the Margin, *viz.* Anno Dom. *MCXII.* which is there omitted.

B. III. P. 177. *A.D.* 1134. Whereas there is mention'd a terrible Fire in *London*, which is ſaid to have burnt down the greateſt part of that City; upon ſecond Thoughts, I am now ſatiſfied that it was no other than what *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Matt. Paris*, mentioned two Years before, *viz.* *A.D.* 1132. and which I have ſet down under that Year, *P.* 175. tho it is moſt probable, that the Circumſtances of this Fire might be as the Manuſcript Author of the Annals of the City of *London* has related (tho falſly) under that Year (and who was the cauſe of my miſtake) but he flouriſhed not till towards the latter end of King *Henry* III.

B. VI. p. 475, 476. The Appeal of the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Salisbury*, againſt the Election of *Geoffrey* Archbiſhop of *York* being twice mention'd, *dele* the firſt Relation of it, it being overſeen.

B. VII. p. 771. *l.* 38, 39. dele theſe words, *This preſent Charter made by the Popes*, and for them read, *that the ſame was ſoon after confirmed by the Pope's Bull.*

B. VIII. p. 991. Over againſt the words, *This Writ or Charter*, beginning at the third Paragraph, add in the Margin; ſee the Charter in the *Appendix*, N. 10.

ADDENDA

ADDENDA.

THE Author, ſince the finiſhing of this Work, having found ſome things of Conſequence that he thought worthy to be added, deſires the Reader to inſert theſe following particulars, as he is here directed to, in their proper places.

Book I. *P.* 63. l. penult. *Man-bote*, that is, *Amends for a Crime*, from the *Saxon* word, Man, *Crimen*, *Noxa*, *Peccatum*, *Nocumentum*.

Book II. *P.* 89. under *N*° [5] after *Malcolm*, add this, "Yet he reigned but a Year and "a half, and was then treacherouſly ſlain by *Donald*'s inſtigation, who again recovered the "Crown, and kept it for near four Years.

Id. *P.* 106. Under *N*° [5] after the laſt word of that Paragraph (viz. *Death*) inſert this, "And not long after Pope *Urban* himſelf deceaſed.

Book V. *P.* 308. In the beginning of the Year MCLXI. after the words *this Year*, add, "The King having kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Bayeux*, in the beginning of *Lent*, held a Great Council of the Biſhops and Abbots at *Roüen*, after which he ſeized, *&c.*

Id. *P.* 371. *L.* 1. After *Ireland*, add this, "One of the moſt conſiderable "things that happ'ned there this Year * was, that *Dermot Mac-Murrough* King "of *Leinſter*, deceaſed at *Fernes* about the end of *April*, being then well "ſtricken in Years. Sometime after which, whilſt, *&c.*

* *Chron. Hibern.*

Id. *P.* 379. At the end of the Paragraph under *N*° [5] after *againſt their Father*, inſert this, "† What *Brompton* in his Chronicle relates concerning this Affair "is very conſiderable, if it be true, *viz.* that upon this Quarrel the two young "Princes laſt mention'd, privately left the Court, but the Queen endeavouring to do ſo too, was "taken diſguiſed in a mean Habit; and being looked upon as the Contriver of all this Miſchief, "was kept cloſe Priſoner for moſt part of this King's Reign.

† *Col.* 1424.

Id. *P.* 449. *l.* 32. After *Truce*, add, "Nothing elſe fell out conſiderable in foreign Parts, except the Death of *William* King of *Sicily*, who left his Queen *Joan*, Daughter to this King "*Henry*, beſides her Dower or Jointure, a great Legacy in Gold, Plate, and other rich Moveables; and alſo what he bequeathed to the King his Father-in-Law, of which you will hear more "in the next Reign.

Book VII. *P.* 730. *l.* 44. Inſert this, next to *hereafter*, "Nothing elſe relating to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs happened worth noting, but that *John Ferentine*, a Cardinal, came this Year "into *England*, and having amaſſed a mighty Sum of Money from the Clergy, held a Great "Council or Synod at *Reading*, wherein ſome Canons were made, and then preſently after returned into *Italy*.

FINIS.

8 JA 56